THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

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TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE Hiſtory of the Romans, collected from the remains of antient Authors, has been often written in the different languages of Europe. But a relation worthy of the ſubject, ſimple and unambitious of ornament, containing in the parts an uſeful detail, and in the whole a juſt repreſentation, of the military conduct and political experience of that people, appeared to me to be ſtill wanting.

Having earneſtly endeavoured to ſupply this defect, at leaſt in what relates to the later times of the

DEDICATION.

Republic, the intention, I hope, joined to the importance of the matter, will juſtify my humble deſire to inſcribe this Performance to your MAJESTY.

I am, with the moſt profound Reſpect,

SIR,

YOUR MAJESTY's

Moſt faithful Subject, and

Moſt obedient humble Servant,

EDINBURGH,
February 1, 1783.

ADAM FERGUSON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, with reſpect to the geographical names uſed in the following Hiſtory, that the Author has endeavoured to conform himſelf to common practice. This is ſo various as not to admit of any general rule. *Rome*, *Athens*, *Italy*, and *Greece* are uſed for *Roma*, *Athenæ*, *Italia*, et *Grecia*; but *France*, *Hungary*, and *Savoy*, are not uſed for *Gaul*, *Panonia*, or the *Allobroges*. Cities and races of men have changed ſo much, that we cannot employ modern names in ſpeaking of the antients, except where cuſtom abſolutely requires it. But the natural features of the earth, as rivers, ſeas, and mountains, being unchanged, are expreſſed by the modern name, except where they are better known by their antient appellations, as in the geography of Greece, Aſia, and Africa. This mixture of antient and modern language may appear exceptionable, eſpecially in the Maps; but it is hoped that the general intention, to render the ſubject as clear as poſſible, will be an excuſe for any particular difference of opinion in the choice of names.

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 3, for *bas* read *bave*.
15, note, bottom of the page, for *Polecola* read *Poplicola*.
48, line penult. for *thei* read *their*.
80, note 27, for *U. C.* 325 read *U. C.* 485.
Ibid. for *ſubjectes* read *ſubjectis*.
131, line 25, for *their* read *bis*.
141, —— ult. for *them* read *him*.
191, —— 17, for *Lampaſcus* read *Lampſacus*.
215, —— 8, for *Penæus* read *Peneus*.
220, —— 11, for *Enipæus* read *Eniſeus*.
272, —— 6, for *were* read *was*.
7, for *ſacred rites* read *a ſacred rite*.
351, —— 18, for *Thaſpa* read *Thapſa*.
354, —— 24, for *er* read *of*.
381, note 6, for *rhetorici* read *rhetoricorum*.
458, line 19, for *mankind. A populous city* read *mankind, a populous city*.
25, for *this* read *their*.
26 for *others: where* read *others. Where*.

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CHAP. I.

The Subject.——Supposed Origin of the Roman State.——Its Government.——The King.——Senate.——People.——Curiæ.——Centuries.——Tribes.——Religion.——The Triumph.——Original Maxims.——Progress of the State under its Kings.——Change to a Republic.

THE Roman State was originally a small principality, and one of the many little cantons, which, under the denomination of Latins, occupied the left of the Tiber, from its confluence with the Anio to the Sea, and from Ostia to Circeii on the coast. Within this narrow tract, reaching in breadth inland no more than sixteen miles, and extending on the coast about fifty miles, the Latins are said to have formed no less than forty-

BOOK II. ſeven independent ſtates[1]; each of whom had a ſeparate capital or ſtrong hold, to which they occaſionally retired for ſafety, with their cattle and other effects, and from which they made frequent wars on each other[2]. The country, divided into ſo many ſeparate territories, we may conſider as reſembling ſome of the lately diſcovered iſlands in the Southern or Pacific Ocean[3], where every height is repreſented as a fortreſs, and every little townſhip, that can maintain its poſſeſſions, as a ſeparate ſtate. Among ſettlements of this deſcription, the Romans, though they were originally no way diſtinguiſhed in point of poſſeſſions or numbers, yet, in conſequence of ſome ſuperiority of inſtitution or character, they came to have a decided aſcendant.

Beyond the Tiber on the one hand, and the Liris on the other, the contiguous parts of Italy were poſſeſſed, in the ſame manner with Latium, by different races of men, who, under various denominations of Etrurians, Samnites, Campanians, and others, formed a multiplicity of little nations, united by leagues for common ſafety, and ranged under oppoſite intereſts, with a view to ſome balance of power which they endeavoured to maintain. The peninſula towards one extremity[4], was from time immemorial peopled with Grecian colonies. Towards the other, it was, in the firſt ages of the Roman ſtate, overrun by nations of Gauliſh extraction[5].

The land throughout, in reſpect to ſituation, climate, and ſoil, was highly favoured, diverſified with mountain and plain, well wooded and watered, repleniſhed with uſeful materials, fit to yield paſture for numerous herds, and to produce abundance of corn, wine, and oil. And, what is ſtill of more importance, was already become the flouriſhing nurſery of ingenious men, ardent and vigorous in their purſuits, though, in reſpect to many arts and inventions, yet in a ſtate of great ſimplicity or ignorance.

[1] Dionyſ. Halicar. lib. iv.
[2] Liv. lib. i. c. 1, &c.
[3] See Cook's Voyage to New Zealand.
[4] Magna Græcia.
[5] Gallia Ciſalpina.

The

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The Romans, who made their firſt ſtep to dominion by becoming heads of the Latian confederacy, continued their progreſs to the ſovereignty of Italy; or, after many ſtruggles with nations poſſeſſed of reſources ſimilar to their own, united the forces of that country under their own direction, became the conquerors of many kingdoms in Aſia and Africa, as well as in Europe; and formed an empire, if not the moſt extenſive, at leaſt the moſt ſplendid of any that is known in the hiſtory of mankind. In poſſeſſion of this ſeeming advantage, however, they were unable to preſerve their own inſtitutions; they became, together with the conqueſts they had made, a prey to military government, and a ſignal example of the viciſſitudes to which proſperous nations are expoſed.

This mighty ſtate, remarkable for the ſmallneſs of its origin, as well as for the greatneſs to which it attained, has, by the ſplendor of its national exertions, by the extent of its dominion, by the wiſdom of its councils, or by its internal revolutions and reverſes of fortune, ever been a principal object of hiſtory to all the more enlightened nations of the weſtern world. To know it well, is to know mankind; and to have ſeen our ſpecies under the faireſt aſpect of great ability, integrity, and courage. There is a merit in attempting to promote the ſtudy of this ſubject, even if the effect ſhould not correſpond with the deſign.

Under this impreſſion the following narrative was undertaken, and chiefly with a view to the great revolution, by which the republican form of government was exchanged for deſpotiſm; and by which the Roman people, from being joint ſovereigns of a great empire, became, together with their own provinces, the ſubjects, and often the prey, of a tyranny which was equally cruel to both.

As in this revolution men of the greateſt abilities, poſſeſſed of every art, and furniſhed with the moſt ample reſources, were acting

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in concert together, or in oppoſition to each other, the ſcene is likely to exhibit what may be thought the utmoſt range or extent of the human powers; and to furniſh thoſe who are engaged in tranſactions any way ſimilar, with models by which they may profit, and from which they may form ſound principles of conduct, derived from experience, and confirmed by examples of the higheſt authority.

The event which makes the principal object of this Hiſtory, has been ſometimes conſidered as a point of ſeparation between two periods, which have been accordingly treated apart—the period of the republic, and that of the monarchy. During a conſiderable part of the firſt period, the Romans were highly diſtinguiſhed by their genius, magnanimity, and national ſpirit, and made ſuitable attainments in what are the ordinary objects of purſuit—wealth and dominion. In the ſecond period they continued for ſome time to profit by the attainments which were made in the former, and while they walked in the tract of the commonwealth, or practiſed the arts and retained the leſſons which former ages had taught, ſtill kept their poſſeſſions. But after the ſprings of political life, which were wound up in the republic, had ſome time ceaſed to act; when the ſtate was become the concern of a ſingle perſon, and the veſtige of former movements were effaced, the national character declined, and the power of a great empire became unable to preſerve what a ſmall republic had acquired. The example, whether to be ſhunned or imitated, is certainly inſtructive in either period; but moſt ſo in the tranſition that was made from one to the other; and in the forfeiture of thoſe public advantages, of which the Roman people, in ſome part of their courſe, availed themſelves with ſo much diſtinction, and which, in the ſequel, they abuſed with ſo much diſorder at home, and oppreſſion of their ſubjects abroad.

With this object before me, I haſten to enter on the ſcenes in which it begins to appear; and ſhall not dwell upon the hiſtory of the

the firſt ages of Rome; nor ſtop to collect particulars relating to the origin and progreſs of the commonwealth, longer than is neceſſary to aid the reader in recollecting the circumſtances which formed the conjuncture in which this intereſting change began to take place.

For this purpoſe, indeed, a general deſcription of the ſtate and its territory, ſuch as they were in the beginning of this tranſaction, might have been ſufficient; but as it is difficult to fix the preciſe point at which cauſes begin to operate, or at which effects are complete, I have indulged myſelf in looking back to the origin of this famous republic, whether real or fabulous, and ſhall leave the reader to determine, at what time he will ſuppoſe the period of authentic hiſtory to begin, or at what time he will ſuppoſe the cauſes of this revolution to operate, and to produce their effects.

As it is impoſſible to give, in mere deſcription, a ſatisfactory account of a ſubject which is in its nature progreſſive and fluctuating, or to explain political eſtabliſhments without ſome reference to the occaſions from whence they aroſe, I have, upon theſe accounts, endeavoured to give, even to the firſt part of my labours, the form of narration; and, together with the progreſs of political inſtitutions in the ſtate, remarked its territorial acquiſitions and conqueſts, in the order in which they were made. In proportion as the principal object of the hiſtory preſents itſelf, I ſhall wiſh, as far as my talents and the materials before me allow, to fill up the narration, and give to every ſcene of the tranſaction its complete detail. When this is done, and the cataſtrophé is paſſed, I ſhall wiſh again to contract my narration; and as I open with a ſummary account of what preceded my period, cloſe with a ſimilar view of its ſequel.

The Romans are ſaid to have made their ſettlement in the end of the ſixth, or beginning of the ſeventh Olympiad[6], about two hundred

[6] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. i.

years.

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years before the acceſſion of Cyrus to the throne of Perſia, ſeven hundred years before the Chriſtian Æra, and long before the date of any authentic profane hiſtory whatever. The detail of their ſtory is minute and circumſtantial; but on this account is the more to be ſuſpected of fiction: And in many parts, beſides that of the fable, with which it is confeſſedly mixed, may, without any blameable ſcepticiſm, be rejected as the conjecture of ingenious men, or the embelliſhments of a mere tradition, which partakes in the uncertainty of all other profane hiſtory of the ſame times, and labours under the obſcurity which hangs over the origin of all other nations [7].

That the Roman ſtate was originally a ſmall one, and came by degrees to its greatneſs, cannot be doubted. So much we may ſafely admit on the faith of tradition, or in this inſtance, infer, from the continuation and recent marks of a progreſs which the people were ſtill making, after they became an object of obſervation to other nations [8], and after they began to keep records of their own: That they had been an aſſemblage of herdſmen and warriors, ignorant of letters, of money, and of commercial arts, enured to depredation and violence, and ſubſiſting chiefly by the produce of their herds, and the ſpoils of their enemies, may be ſafely admitted; becauſe we find them, in the moſt authentic parts of their hiſtory, ſupplying theſe defects, and coming forward in the ſame direction, and conſequently proceeding from the ſame origin, with other rude nations; being, in reality, a horde of ignorant barbarians, though likely to become an accompliſhed nation.

In the firſt accounts of their ſettlement, it is ſaid that they muſtered three thouſand men on foot and three hundred on horſeback [9]. Their eſtabliſhment being effected by ſurpriſe or by force, and their

[7] Liv. lib. vi. [8] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. i. [9] Liv. lib. i. c. 4.

people

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people conſiſting of armed men who had every acquiſition to make at the expence of their neighbours, they were naturally in a ſtate of war with the country around them. They took poſt on the Palatium, a ſmall height on the Tiber, which, according to former traditions, had been previouſly occupied by five different races of men, who, in a country ſo precariouſly ſettled, were frequently changing their places [10]. Their city was the firſt model of a Roman camp, fortified with a ſquare breaſt-work and ditch, to ſerve as an occaſional retreat to themſelves and their cattle. Their leader, or chief, was the ſole magiſtrate or officer, either civil or military. The members of the commonwealth were diſtinguiſhed into different claſſes or ranks, under the names of Patrician and Plebeian, Patron and Client. "The Patron," ſays Dionyſius, "was to protect, to "give counſel; and, whether preſent or abſent, was to his clients "what the father is to his family. The Clients, in return, were to "contribute to the ſupport of their Patron, to aid him in placing his "children in marriage; and, in the caſe of his being taken by an ene-"my, were to pay his ranſom; or of his being condemned in a "fine, were to diſcharge it for him [11]."

The limits of prerogative and privilege, as in other rude ſocieties, were yet imperfectly marked. It was the prerogative of the king to lead in war, and to rule in peace; but it is probable that he no more wiſhed to deliberate, than to fight alone; and, though he may have done either occaſionally, yet numbers of his followers were ever ready to attend him in both. The people acknowledged him as their leader, or prince; but they themſelves, as in other inſtances of the ſame kind, were accuſtomed, on remarkable occaſions, to aſſemble; and, without any concerted form of democracy, became the ſovereign power, as often as their paſſions engaged them to act in a body. The ſuperior claſs of the people as naturally came to have their meetings

[10] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. i.

[11] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 10.

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apart, and may have aſſembled frequently, when the occaſion was not ſufficient to require the attention of the whole [12]. Hence probably the eſtabliſhments of the ſenate and of the popular aſſemblies, which were called the *Comitia*, and were both of ſo early a date as to be aſcribed to the firſt of their kings [13].

Even this founder of the ſtate, we are told, was diſtinguiſhed by his uſhers or lictors carrying before him the axe and the rods, as the emblems of his power, and the inſtruments of his juſtice. The names of the ſenators were entered in a liſt, and they were ſeparately called to their meetings. Aſſemblies of the People were intimated by the ſound of a horn. The citizens were diſtinguiſhed into Curiæ, Centuries, and Tribes; diviſions under which they formed their ſeveral compartments, for military array, religious ceremonies, or political deliberations. When met to decide on any public queſtion, each diviſion apart collected the votes of its members, from thence formed a vote for the Curia or Century; and, by the majority of theſe, determined the whole. The Curiæ were fraternities, or diviſions of the people, which met for the performance of religious rites: each had its ſeparate prieſt, and place of aſſembly. When the Curiæ were called on matters of ſtate, they retained part of their religious forms; opened their meeting with obſerving the auſpices, or ſigns of futurity; and if theſe were unfavourable, could not proceed on buſineſs. The Augurs, therefore, in this mode of aſſembly, had a negative on the proceedings of the People.

The Centuries were formed on a more artful idea, to make power accompany wealth. The people were divided into claſſes, according to the rate of their fortunes: each claſs was divided into Centuries; but the number of Centuries in the different claſſes was ſo unequal, that thoſe of the firſt or richeſt claſs made a majority of the whole; and when the Centuries of this claſs were unanimous, they decided

[12] De minoribus rebus Principes, de majoribus omnes conſultant. Tacit. de Moribus Germ.
[13] Dionyſ. lib. i.

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the queſtion. By this inſtitution, the rich were maſters of the legiſlature, though not without ſome compenſation to the poor, as the ſeveral claſſes were charged with taxes and public ſervices, in the ſame proportion in which they were veſted with power.

The people, when thus aſſembled, were diſtinguiſhed in their claſſes by their enſigns and arms, and, though called together on political affairs, were termed the army [13].

In the firſt ages of this principality or commonwealth, the meetings of the people were held firſt by Curiæ, and afterwards by Centuries. The practice of voting by Tribes was of a later date than either, and was the device of a popular party to exclude the auſpices, to level the condition of ranks, and by theſe means to turn the channels of power in their own favour. The people were formed into their Claſſes and Centuries, to elect their officers, to enact laws, or to deliberate on other affairs of ſtate; but they did not without ſtruggle or conteſt always acquieſce in this mode of aſſembly. The poorer citizens often inſiſted to be called in the Curiæ, and afterwards in the Tribes, to decide on affairs which the rich would have referred to the Centuries alone. The queſtion on theſe occaſions went to the foundation of the conſtitution, and implied a doubt whether the ſtate was to be governed by the balance of numbers, or the balance of property [14].

[13] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. iv. c. 16, 17, 18. Liv. lib. i. c. 43.

[14] State of the Claſſes and Centuries at the eſtabliſhment of the Cenſus:

Claſs.	Roman.	Valuation. Sterling. l. s.	No of Cent.	
1.	100,000	322 18	98	
2.	75,000	242 3	21	
3.	50,000	161 9	21	
4.	25,000	80 14	21	
5.	11,000	35 10	31	
6.			1	
Total - - - -			193	From
Firſt Claſs - - -			98	Sub.
			95	
Majority of the firſt Claſs -			3	

A property of 100,000 aſſes or pounds of copper intitled the owner to a place in the firſt Claſs, 75,000 to a place in the ſecond, 50,000 to a place in the third, 25,000 to a place in the fourth, 11,000 to a place in the fifth, and the remainder of the people, having no valuation, or having leſs than that of the fifth Claſs, were thrown into the ſixth or laſt Claſs. The whole were divided into 193 Centuries, of which the firſt Claſs contained 80 Centuries of foot, and 18 of horſemen, in all 98; being a majority of the whole. The ſixth Claſs formed no more than one Century, as appears from the inſpection of the preceding table.

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To theſe original ſprings of the political frame may be joined thoſe of religion, which in all governments muſt have a conſiderable force; and in this has always been ſuppoſed a principal power to regulate its movements. Here indeed, there being no diſtinction of clergy and laity, the authority of the ſtateſman, augur, and prieſt, was united in the ſame perſons, or in the ſame orders of men: and as, in the mind of every citizen, notwithſtanding the high meaſure of his ſuperſtition, the ſword of ſtate was preferred to the altar, the politician and warrior availed himſelf of the reſpect which was paid to the prieſt, and made ſuperſtition itſelf ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ſtate. With preſages and prodigies he encouraged or reſtrained the people in their deſires and purſuits; he bound them with vows and with oaths, to a degree that has not been equalled by mankind in any other inſtance; and, with reference to this circumſtance in particular, it has been obſerved, that the ſeeds of Roman greatneſs were laid in the implicit reſpect with which every citizen revered the firſt inſtitutions of his country [15].

The wants by which the Romans were impelled in the firſt ſtate of their ſettlement, made it neceſſary for them to vanquiſh ſome of their neighbours, or to periſh in the attempt. Valour, accordingly, in their eſtimation, was the principal quality of human nature, and the defeat of an enemy the chief of its fruits. Every leader who obtained a victory made his entry at Rome in proceſſion; and this gave riſe to the triumph, which continued, from the firſt to the laſt age of the commonwealth, to be the higheſt object of ambition.

Hiſtorians, admiring the effect of this and of other practices of an early date among the Romans, have repreſented their founder, and his immediate ſucceſſors, as philoſophers, ſtateſmen, and able tutors, who, with a perfect foreſight of the conſequences, ſuggeſted the maxims which gave ſo happy a turn to the minds of men in this infant

[15] See Machiavel's Diſcourſes on Livy.

republic,

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republic. They are ſaid to have taught, that by frugality and valour the Romans were to conquer the world: that they ought not to lay waſte the lands which they conquered, but to poſſeſs them with colonies of their own people: that they ought not to ſlay the vanquiſhed, but tranſport their captives to Rome, as an acceſſion to the number of their own citizens: that they ought not to make war without provocation, nor to commence hoſtilities until they had demanded and had been refuſed reparation of wrongs. In whatever degree we ſuppoſe theſe maxims to have been expreſſed or underſtood in the councils of Rome, it is certain that the ſucceſsful conduct of the ſtate in theſe particulars was ſufficient to have ſuggeſted the idea that they were known.

To the other fortunate cuſtoms which may be traced up to thoſe early times of the ſtate, we may join that of the Cenſus, by which the people, at every period of five years, took a regular account of the numbers and eſtates of their citizens, as the beſt meaſure they could have of their own progreſs or decline, and the ſureſt teſt of their policy and conduct as a nation.

The Romans reckoned in the firſt period of their hiſtory a ſucceſſion of ſeven kings [16], to each of whom they aſcribed the invention of their ſeveral inſtitutions. To Romulus, the mixed form of their government, the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate and aſſemblies of the people, the ranks of Patrician and Plebeian, the relations of patron and client. To Numa, the religion of the people, and their regard to oaths. To Servius Tullius, the Cenſus, or periodical muſter; and ſo on. But whether we ſuppoſe theſe inſtitutions to have been the ſuggeſtion of particular occaſions, or the invention of ingenious men, directed by a deep premeditation of all their effects, there is no doubt that ſuch inſtitutions exiſted in very early times, and ſerved

[16] Romulus, Numa, Tullus Hoſtilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priſcus. Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus.

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as the foundation of that policy which diſtinguiſhed the Roman ſtate.

The monarchy of Rome is ſaid to have laſted two hundred and forty-four years, a period in which the numbers of the people, and the extent of their ſettlement, had greatly increaſed. During this period, they had drawn many of their neighbours to Rome, and ſent many of their own people to occupy ſettlements abroad. By the inrolment of aliens, they procured a certain increaſe of people; and by ſpreading their colonies around, they made acquiſitions of territory, and extended the nurſery of Roman citizens. We find, nevertheleſs, that, by the laſt part of this policy, they incurred a danger of loſing the people whom they thus eſtabliſhed or bred up in new ſettlements, however little removed from the metropolis. Men had not yet learned to conſider themſelves as the citizens of one place, and inhabitants of another. In departing from Rome, the Coloniſts ceaſed to be inrolled in any tribe or ward of that city, or of its diſtrict; or to be ranked in any claſs of the people. They ceaſed, of courſe, to be called upon to vote in any of the aſſemblies, which they no longer attended. They formed notions of an intereſt ſeparate from that of their original country, ſo much, that the colonies which had been planted by one prince, reſiſted the power of his ſucceſſors; and conqueſts, where the Roman citizens were mixed with the natives, in order to keep them in ſubjection, were ſometimes in danger of being loſt. The colony itſelf took a part in the diſcontents of the people they were ſent to reſtrain, and became parties with the vanquiſhed in their quarrel with the victors [17]. But, notwithſtanding frequent inſtances of this ſort among the Roman colonies, the memory of their deſcent and the ties of conſanguinity, the pride of their diſtinction as Romans, the capacity which every coloniſt retained of returning to Rome, and of being reinſtated in the rolls of the people, for the moſt part pre-

[17] Liv. lib. iii. c. 4.

ſerved

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ſerved their attachment to Rome, and made them ſtill a part of her ſtrength, and a principal ſource of her greatneſs.

During this period of the kingly government, the numbers that were inrolled in the city and its territory increaſed from three thouſand and two hundred to eighty thouſand men of an age fit to carry arms[18]. The number of Roman tribes or wards of the city was augmented from three to twenty-one: The kingdom itſelf extended over the greater part of Latium, and had an intimate alliance with the whole of it. The city of Rome was become the principal reſort of all the Latin confederates, the place of their meetings for devotion or pleaſure, and the ſeat of their political conſultations[19].

To accommodate and ſecure this populous and growing community, ſeveral of the heights contiguous to their original ſettlement were, during the ſame period, ſucceſſively occupied, the marſhes between them were drained by excavations and works of great magnificence, of which a conſiderable part is ſtill entire. The city itſelf, inſtead of an earthen rampart, was ſurrounded with towers and battlements of hewn ſtone[20].

So

[18] Liv. lib. i. c. 44.

[19] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. iv. p. 250.

[20] The ſtones employed in building the walls of Rome were ſaid each to have been ſufficient to load a cart.

The common ſewers were executed at a great expence. It was propoſed that they ſhould be of ſufficient dimenſions to admit a waggon loaded with hay (Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 15.). When theſe common ſewers came to be obſtructed, or out of repair, under the republic, the Cenſors contracted to pay a thouſand talents, or about 13,000 l. for clearing and repairing them (Dionyſ. Hal. lib. iii. c. 67.). They were again in diſrepair at the acceſſion of Auguſtus Cæſar, and the reinſtating them is mentioned among the great works of Agrippa. He is ſaid to have turned the courſe of ſeven rivers into theſe ſubterraneous paſſages, to have made them navigable, and to have actually paſſed in barges under the ſtreets and buildings of Rome. Theſe works are ſtill ſuppoſed to remain; but, as they exceed the power and reſources of the preſent city to keep them in repair, they are quite concealed, except at one or two places. They were, in the midſt of the Roman greatneſs, and ſtill are, reckoned among the wonders of the world (Liv. lib. i. c. 38); and yet they are ſaid to have been works of the elder Tarquin, a prince whoſe territory did not extend, in any direction, above ſixteen miles; and, on this ſuppoſition, they muſt have been made to accommodate a city that was calculated

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Change to republic.

So far it appears, that while every ſucceſſive prince gratified his own ambition by ſubduing ſome neighbouring diſtrict or village, and brought an acceſſion of riches or territory to his country, the genius of monarchy was favourable to the growth of this riſing empire. But when princes became ſatiated with conqueſts abroad, or began to meditate ſchemes to increaſe their own importance at home, their ambition took a different direction, and led them to aim at making the kingdom hereditary, and the people more ſubſervient to their pleaſure. Under this direction of the monarch's ambition, the ſtate, as Monteſquieu obſerves, was likely to become ſtationary, or even to decline. A revolution became neceſſary, in order to preſerve it in its former progreſſive ſtate.

U. C. 244. Such a revolution, we are told, took its riſe from the reſentments of the people, excited by abuſes of power, and was haſtened by a momentary indignation, rouſed by an inſult offered by a ſon of the king to a Roman matron. As the political evils which this revolution was intended to remedy were, *the ſtate of degradation and weakneſs to which the Senate had been reduced*, the *uſurpation of hereditary ſucceſſion to the crown*, and the *general abuſes of government*, ſuitable remedies were ſought for to theſe evils, by reſtoring the numbers

calculated chiefly for the reception of cattle, herdſmen, and banditti. Rude nations ſometimes execute works of great magnificence, as fortreſſes and temples, for the purpoſes of war and ſuperſtition; but ſeldom palaces, and ſtill more ſeldom works of mere convenience and cleanlineſs, in which, for the moſt part, they are long defective. It is not unreaſonable, therefore, to queſtion the authority of tradition in reſpect to this ſingular monument of antiquity, which ſo greatly exceeds what the beſt accommodated city of modern Europe could undertake for its own conveniency. And as thoſe works are ſtill entire, and may continue ſo for thouſands of years, it may be ſuſpected that they were even prior to the ſettlement of Romulus, and may have been the remains of a more ancient city, on the ruins of which the followers of Romulus ſettled, as the Arabs now hut or encamp on the ruins of Palmyra and Balbeck. Livy owns, that the common ſewers were not accommodated to the plan of Rome, as it was laid out in his time; they were carried in directions acroſs the ſtreets, and paſſed under buildings of the greateſt antiquity. This derangement indeed he imputes to the haſty rebuilding of the city after its deſtruction by the Gauls; but haſte, it is probable, would have determined the people to build on their old foundations, or at leaſt not to change them ſo much as to croſs the direction of former ſtreets.

and

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and power of the Senate, by abolifhing the royalty, and by fubfti-tuting in its place an elective and temporary magiftracy.

The principal part of the revolution confifted in fubftituting the Confuls, two annual magiftrates, in place of the King. Thefe officers were chofen in the aflembly of the Centuries. The officer who was to prefide at the election erected his ftandard, and pitched his tent in the field of Mars [21], a meadow which lay on the banks of the Tiber, above the city. The people repaired to him in arms, and, diftinguifhed by the enfigns and armour of their different claffes, proceeded to make their election.

That the city might not be furprifed while its defenders were thus abroad in the fields, a guard was pofted, with its colours difplayed, on the Janiculum, a hill on the right of the Tiber, which overlooked the river and contiguous plains. If an enemy appeared during the election, the guard had orders to ftrike their enfign; and on this fignal every Century repaired to its poft of alarm, and queftions of ftate were fufpended until the danger was removed. As it became an article of fuperftition, that the Centuries could not proceed in any bufinefs without having an enfign difplayed on the Janiculum, it was in the power of any perfon, by ftriking the enfign, to break up an aflembly of the people: and this expedient for ftopping the progrefs of any bufinefs was accordingly made ufe of at different times to the end of the republic [22].

It was meant that the Confuls fhould fucceed to all the powers of the King; and in order to enforce their authority, a penalty of five oxen and two fheep was denounced againft every perfon who refufed to obey them [23]. Their joint and divided command, with the limited term of one year, which was to be the duration of their power, were thought fufficient fecurities againft the abufe of it.

[21] Campus Martius. [22] See Book III. Chap. III. [23] Plutarch. in Vit. Polecalæ.

The

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The government, by this revolution, devolved on the ſenate and nobles. The Plebeians, in the firſt formation of it, were favoured by the admiſſion of a certain number of their order to fill up the ſenate, which had been reduced in its numbers by the tyranny of the late king; and they were declared, in caſe of any oppreſſion, to have a right of appeal from any ſentence or command of the magiſtrate to an aſſembly of the people at large. This was underſtood to be the great charter of every citizen. But the Patricians alone could be choſen into the newly eſtabliſhed offices of ſtate. They alone were to furniſh the ordinary ſucceſſion of members to the ſenate, and, by their inrolment in the firſt and ſecond claſſes, to have a decided majority in all the meetings or *comitia* of the Centuries[24]; that is, in all aſſemblies of the people that were called to elect officers of ſtate, to enact laws, or to judge of appeals. By theſe ſeveral proviſions in their favour, they were in poſſeſſion of a complete ariſtocracy, which they claimed as hereditary in their families, but which they were not likely to retain, without much diſcontent and animoſity on the part of their ſubjects.

[24] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. v.

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CHAP. II.

Form of the Republic.——Diſſention of Parties.——Firſt Dictator.——Seceſſion of Plebeians.——Tribunes of the People.——Their Objects.——Diſtribution of Corn.——Diviſion of Lands.——Pretenſions of the Plebeians.——Commiſſion to compile Laws.——Decemvirs.——Twelve Tables.——Intermarriage of Ranks.——Claim of the Plebeians to the Conſulate.——Military or Conſular Tribunes.——Cenſors.——Ædiles.——Præfectus Annonæ.——Fortune of the Republic.——Reduction of Veiæ——Deſtruction of Rome by the Gauls.——Rebuilding of the City.

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U. C. 244

THE government of Rome, as it is repreſented after the expulſion of the king, was become entirely ariſtocratical. The nobles had the excluſive poſſeſſion of office, without any third party to hold the balance between themſelves and the people. The Conſuls were the ſole executive magiſtrates, and the only miniſters of the ſenate; they were underſtood to come in place of the king; performed all the functions of royalty; and, in the manner of the kings, to whom they ſucceeded, united in their own perſons all the dignities of the ſtate, thoſe of *Judge*, *Magiſtrate*, and *Military Leader*.

Such, at the firſt inſtitution of the commonwealth, was, both in reſpect of government and manners, the ſimplicity or rudeneſs of this community. The People, however, in their new ſituation, were gradually and ſpeedily led, by the accumulation of their affairs, by the conteſt of their parties, and by the wants of the public, to a variety of eſtabliſhments, in which they ſeparated the departments of ſtate, more equally diſtributed its powers, filled up the liſts of office, and

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put themſelves in a poſture to wield with advantage their ſtrength as it encreaſed, and to avail themſelves of every circumſtance that occurred in their favour.

While the exiled king was endeavouring, by continual invaſions, to recover his power, diſputes aroſe between the parties who had joined to expel him[1]; creditors, ſupported by the ariſtocracy, of which the nobles were now in full poſſeſſion, became ſevere in the exaction of debts, or the patrons laid claim to more than the clients were willing to pay[2]. The ſtate was diſtracted at once by its enemies from abroad, and by the diſſention of parties at home. The authority of the new government not being ſufficient to contend with theſe

[1] In theſe original diſputes between the Patricians and Plebeians at Rome, it is implied that they frequently or commonly ſtood in the relation of creditor and debtor, as well as of patron and client. And we may account for this circumſtance in either of two ways: Firſt, by ſuppoſing that the client was, in ſome degree, tributary to his patron, as the vaſſal was tributary to his lord in the original ſtate of modern nations. Dionyſius of of Halycarnaſſus has laid ſome foundation for this ſuppoſition, in the paſſage above cited. Or we may ſuppoſe, in the ſecond place, that the debts in queſtion were money or effects actually borrowed by the client and lent by the patron. The firſt ſuppoſition is moſt agreeable to the manners of modern times; but the laſt is more likely to have been the fact in the original ſtate of the Romans, and of ancient republics in general. Among them the great diſtinction of perſons was that between freemen and ſlaves. The rich freeman was ſupplied with every thing he wanted by the labour of his ſlaves. The neceſſitous freeman toiled with his own hands in labouring a ſmall piece of ground, or in tending a few beaſts. He had no trade by which to ſupply the luxuries of the rich, or by which, as in modern times, to make them his debtors. When he wanted their aid he was obliged to borrow; and there was, perhaps, but one occaſion on which he had credit for this purpoſe; when he was going to war, and when he both had a reaſonable excuſe for borrowing, and a probable proſpect of being able to pay, perhaps with intereſt, from the ſpoils of an enemy. But when his hopes failed, he might become inſolvent, and expoſed to all the ſeverities of which we read ſuch complaints in the early part of the Roman Hiſtory.

There is, throughout this Hiſtory, ſufficient evidence that the popular party were on the ſide of the debtor. The prejudices of this party operated againſt the exaction of debts. Their influence was employed in reducing the intereſt of money; in having it aboliſhed, and in having it deteſted, under the invidious appellation of uſury. They even ſtrove, on occaſion, to aboliſh debts: The reſult was far from being favourable to the neceſſitous borrower; he was obliged to pay for the riſk, the penalties, and the obloquy to which the lender was expoſed in tranſgreſſing the laws.

[2] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 5.

difficulties, the ſenate reſolved to place themſelves and the common-wealth, for a limited time, under the power of a ſingle perſon, who, with the title of Dictator, or Maſter of the People [4], ſhould at his pleaſure diſpoſe of the ſtate, and of all its reſources. U. C. 45[illegible] 455 [a].

This officer was inveſted with power to puniſh the diſorderly without trial and without appeal; to arm the people, and to employ their forces on any ſervice; to name his own ſubſtitute, or ſecond in command; and to act without being, even at the expiration of his office, accountable either to the ſenate or to the people. The circumſtances that were probably accidental in the firſt nomination of this extraordinary officer, were afterwards repeated as unalterable forms in every ſucceſſive appointment of the ſame kind. It became the prerogative of the ſenate to reſolve that a Dictator ſhould be named, and of the Conſul to name him. The ceremony was performed in the dead of night [5]; and as ſoon as the nomination was known, the Lictors, or miniſters of juſtice, armed with their axes and rods, withdrew from the ordinary magiſtrate, to attend this temporary lord of the commonwealth.

This was the firſt political expedient to which the ſtate was directed by the exigency of its new government. The precedent came to be repeatedly followed in times of calamity or public alarm, and the whole powers of the ſtate were occaſionally entruſted to ſingle men, on the ſole ſecurity of their perſonal characters, or on that of the ſhort duration of their truſt, which was limited to ſix months. This inſtitution was deviſed by the ſenate, to repreſs the diſorders which broke out among the people, and to unite the forces of the commonwealth againſt its enemies. The next was of a different nature, and

[4] Magiſter Populi.

[5] Liv. lib. viii. c. 20. & lib. ix. c. 28.

[a] The date of the nomination of the firſt Dictator is uncertain. Liv. lib. ii. Some place it nine years after the expulſion of the Kings; Dionyſ. 12 years.

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was meant to protect the Plebeians againſt the oppreſſion of their lords.

The inferior claſs of the people, almoſt excluded from any ſhare in the new government, ſoon found that under its influence they had more oppreſſion to fear from their Patrons, than they had ever experienced from the prince they had baniſhed. So long as the king and the ſenate ſhared in the powers of the ſtate, the one took part with the people, when the other attempted to oppreſs them; and it was the ordinary intereſt and policy of the prince to weaken the nobles, by ſupporting the Plebeians againſt them. This effect of the monarchy ſtill, in ſome meaſure, remained, ſo long as the exiled king was alive, maintained his pretenſions, and made the united ſervices of the people neceſſary to the ſenate. During this period the Patricians were ſtill on their guard, and were cautious not to offend the people; but upon the death of the king, and the ſecurity which the new government derived from this event, the nobles availed themſelves of their power, and enforced their claims on the people with extreme ſeverity. In the capacity of creditors, they impriſoned, whipped, and enſlaved thoſe who were indebted to them, and held the liberties and the lives of their fellow-citizens at their mercy. The whole body of Plebeians was alarmed; they ſaw more formidable enemies in the perſons of their own nobility, than in the armies of any nation whatever. When the republic was attacked, they accordingly refuſed to arm in its defence. Many who had already ſuffered under the rod of their creditors, when called upon to enliſt, ſhewed their limbs galled with fetters, or torn with the ſtripes which they had received by command of their mercileſs patrons.

Theſe diſtractions, joined to the actual preſence of a foreign enemy, obliged the ſenate to have recourſe to their former expedient, and to entruſt the republic again in the hands of a Dictator. Having ſucceeded in their firſt nomination, and having driven the enemy from

from their territories, they recurred to the ſame expedient again, on the return of a like occaſion; but, in order to mix inſinuation with the terrors of this meaſure, they made choice of Valerius, a perſon whoſe name was already known to the ſufferers by ſome popular laws which they owed to his family. This officer had credit enough with the people to prevail on them to take arms, and had the good fortune to repel the enemy, by whom the ſtate was invaded: But, upon his return, not being able to prevail on the ſenate to fulfil the hopes which he had given to the people, he made a ſpeech to exculpate himſelf, and laid down his power. The citizens who had fought under his banner being ſtill in the field, and, without any orders to diſband, ſuſpecting that the ſenate, under pretence of ſome war on the frontier, meant to remove them from the city, ran to their arms; and, if they had not been reſtrained by their military oath, and the reſpect they paid to the government of their country, muſt have entered the gates by force. But, under the impreſſion of theſe motives, they fled from the walls, inſtead of invading them, retired beyond the Anio, and took poſſeſſion of a height about three miles from Rome[6], afterwards known by the name of the Sacred Hill. Their officers followed, and endeavoured to perſuade them to return to their duty; but were told, that no duty was owing to a government which had withdrawn its protection, and encouraged oppreſſion; that free citizens own no country in which they are not permitted to enjoy their freedom. "To what purpoſe," ſaid Sicinius Bellutus, who was then at the head of this mutiny, "recal us to a "city from which you have already forced us to fly by your ex-"tortion? By what new aſſurance can you perſuade us to rely on a "faith which you have repeatedly broken? By what charm can "you engage us in ſupport of a commonwealth, of which you will

[6] Cicero de Claris Oratoribus, c. 14.

"not

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" not allow us to be members? You mean to engroſs all the fruits
" which are to be reaped in your country, and it is well. We ſhall
" leave you to do ſo, and do not mean to interrupt your enjoy-
" ments."

This receſſion of a great body of the people having continued for ſeveral months, and in this time received a conſtant acceſſion of numbers from the city and from the contiguous fields, threw the republic into the greateſt diſorder; expoſed its lands to be neglected or pillaged by its own inhabitants, and ravaged by numerous enemies, who took this opportunity to invade it without oppoſition.

The Patricians had ſufficient force in their own body, and in that of their faithful retainers, to guard the avenues of the city, and to ſecure it from ſurpriſe: But being reduced to great difficulties for want of their uſual ſupplies of proviſions, and apprehending ſtill greater from the interruption of labour and the ſuſpenſion of government, they came to a reſolution to negotiate with the leaders of the mutiny; and, for this purpoſe, raiſed Sp. Caſſius, a perſon who, though of a patrician family, was in high favour with the people, to the office of Conſul. They agreed to mitigate the ſeverities which they had hitherto practiſed againſt inſolvent debtors, and to releaſe ſuch of them as were actually in bonds, or had been deſtined to ſlavery.

With theſe conceſſions, a deputation was ſent to the camp, and a negotiation was opened, in which the Plebeians obtained, not only a full acknowledgment of their privileges; but, what was of more conſequence, a power of forming aſſemblies apart from the nobles[7], and of electing annual magiſtrates to guard and watch over their own ſeparate rights. " Your Conſuls," they ſaid, " are not ſo much
" the officers of the commonwealth as the heads of a faction; and,
" in all queſtions that relate to the people, are parties rather than
" judges. It is reaſonable that we too have a head or repreſentation

[7] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. vii.

" in

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" in the commonwealth, under which we may act, at leaſt, in " our own defence."

In return to this well-adviſed and ſpecious requiſition, the tribunitian power was eſtabliſhed, and with it the foundations of ſome good, and of much harm, laid in the commonwealth. Great part of the laſt might have been prevented, if the Plebeians, now in poſſeſſion of a right to nominate Tribunes for the care of their intereſts, had from thenceforward been content with the power of election merely, had diſcontinued their own collective aſſemblies for any other purpoſe, and encreaſed the number of their Tribunes to a juſt repreſentative of their whole body. The return, however, was more agreeable to the ſpirit of the times. The people were allowed to aſſemble; and, inſtead of a repreſentation to ſupport and preſerve their rights with ſteadineſs and with moderation, they proceeded to elect a few leaders, who, from thenceforward, were to head every popular tumult, and to raiſe up every wind of contention into a ſtorm.

The Tribunes were authoriſed, at their firſt inſtitution, to forbid, or to reſtrain, any meaſures which they thought hazardous, or injurious to the rights of their conſtituents, but not to propoſe any law, nor to move any poſitive reſolution. They were not entitled to exerciſe their powers beyond the walls of the city, or to abſent themſelves from it for a whole day, except in their attendance on the feſtival of the Latin allies, where the preſence of all the Roman magiſtrates was required. A ſingle Tribune might ſtop the proceedings of his own body, and of the people themſelves, as well as the proceedings of the ſenate and patrician magiſtrates. In the exerciſe of this laſt part of their truſt, though not permitted in this age of ariſtocracy to mix with the ſenators, they had places aſſigned them at the doors of the ſenate-houſe, from which, as from a watch-tower, they

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they were to obſerve, and on occaſion to ſtop, the proceedings of the lords.

As the Tribunes were deſtined to withſtand the exertions of power, and were ſuppoſed, on the moſt dangerous occaſions, to expoſe themſelves to the axe and the ſword of their adverſaries, it was thought neceſſary to guard their perſons with the moſt ſacred fences of religion and law. For this purpoſe an inviolable rule was preſcribed in the following terms: "Let no one offer violence to the perſon "of a Tribune; neither kill him, nor procure him to be killed; "neither ſtrike him, nor procure him to be ſtruck. Let the per-"ſon who offends againſt this law be accurſed; let his effects "be made ſacred to pious uſes, and let every one purſue him to "death."

To render this act irrevocable, a ſolemn oath for the perpetual obſervance of it was impoſed, and dreadful imprecations were denounced againſt any perſon who ſhould propoſe to repeal it[a]; and ſuch was the effect of theſe precautions, taken for the ſafety of the Tribunes, that, under the republic, perſons obnoxious to public juſtice could not be puniſhed, while they continued to bear this ſacred character. And the Emperors themſelves, after they had aboliſhed all the other rights of the republic, found, under this ſacred title of Tribune, a refuge to their crimes and oppreſſions, and a protection againſt the deſigns of aſſaſſins, or the reſentment of thoſe they had offended by their tyranny.

The College of Tribunes, at its inſtitution, was not limited to any preciſe number of members; it conſiſted at firſt of ſuch perſons as had been moſt active in procuring the eſtabliſhment, and continued to be filled with the moſt zealous partiſans of the people, the number being three or more, according as perſons appeared to merit this honour. But in proceſs of time

[a] Dionyſ. Halicar. lib. iv. p. 410.

both

both the Plebeians who aſpired to this diſtinction, and the Patricians who were jealous of it, conſpired to augment the numbers.—The firſt, in order to make way for their own preferment, and the ſecond, to the end that they might be the better enabled, on occaſion, to diſunite their enemies, and to procure the negative of a part, to arreſt the proceedings of the whole. The College of Tribunes was accordingly augmented by degrees to ten; and a law was made to provide that the elections ſhould not ſtop ſhort of this number [9].

Patricians could neither elect nor be elected into this office [10], although in the midſt of irregularities incident to all unformed, eſpecially to all popular governments, ſome exceptions are mentioned, even to the laſt part of this rule. The Tribunes were at firſt elected in the aſſembly of the Curiæ, where the vote of the pooreſt citizen was equal to that of the moſt wealthy. But even here the Patricians, although not abſolute maſters, as they were in the aſſembly of the Centuries, having great influence, and, by holding the auſpices, having even a negative on all proceedings, it was thought neceſſary to alter the form of the aſſembly in which the Tribunes were elected to that of the Tribes; and by this means to enable the people to make their election, without any controul from the nobles, either in virtue of the authority of the ſenate, or the interpoſition of the augurs [11].

Such was the inſtitution of the Plebeian Tribunes, while the ſtate yet knew of no other magiſtrate beſides the Conſuls and the Quæſtors, of whom the laſt, even under the kings, had been employed as a ſpecies of commiſſaries, or providers for the army. The expedient was adopted by the ſenate, to quiet the animoſity of parties; but tended, in fact, only to render the conteſt between them more equal, and to multiply the ſubjects of diſpute. The Tribunes being veſted

[9] Lex Trebonia. *Liv.* lib. iii. c. 65.
[10] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. vii.
[11] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. ix. p. 65.

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with power to aſſemble the people, could not long be confined to the mere negative with which they were at firſt entruſted; nor was it eaſy, on every occaſion, to diſtinguiſh the meaſures of attack from thoſe of defence; and the party of the Plebeians, with theſe officers at their head, were then in a poſture, not only to preſerve their rights, but likewiſe to gain to their order continual acceſſions of privilege and power. Happily for the ſtate, there was yet much ground of this ſort to be gained, without tranſgreſſing the bounds of good order, or encroaching on the authority of equitable government.

The popular leaders in this career had to break through the bar of hereditary diſtinction, which, it was pretended, contrary to the genius of the republic, that no perſonal merit and no meaſure of ability could remove. One of the firſt ſteps they made in purſuit of this object, was to preclude every other power in the ſtate from a negative on their own proceedings. For this purpoſe it was enacted, by the authority of the Tribes, that no one, under pain of death, or of an arbitrary fine, ſhould interrupt a Tribune while he was ſpeaking to the people [13]. Being thus provided againſt interruption, as they were by a former law againſt violence to their perſons, they not only took up the complaints of their conſtituents, they ſuggeſted new claims to be made by them, and, at every ſucceſſion to office, endeavoured to ſignalize their term by ſome additional eſtabliſhment for the benefit of the people: They even interrupted the ſtate in its councils and military operations, and almoſt in every inſtance hung upon the wheels of government, until the grievances they complained of were redreſſed, or the demands they made were complied with.

In order to encreaſe the number of Plebeian officers, whoſe aid the Tribunes alleged were neceſſary to themſelves, they, ſoon after their own inſtitution, procured that of the Ædiles, who were to inſpect U. C. 260.

[13] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. vii.

the markets, and have charge of the public buildings and public ſhows. Being ſubordinate to the Tribunes, as well as to the Conſuls, they acted, upon occaſion, in what related to the policy of the town, as aſſiſtants to both [14].

As Rome was a place of arms, and ſubſiſted in ſome meaſure by public magazines; as ſettlements won from the enemy were often to be diſpoſed of to citizens; as its inſtitutions were yet new and incomplete; and as the Patricians ſtill claimed an excluſive right to all the offices of ſtate, there was much to occupy the cares of the Public—the diſtribution of corn from the granaries, the diviſion of conquered lands, the defects of the laws, and the arbitrary proceedings of the magiſtrates. The qualifications of candidates for the office of Conſul furniſhed, during ſome ages, the ſubject of continual debates, and frequently expoſed the parties concerned in them, if they eſcaped the ſwords of their enemies, to periſh by their own diſſentions. Their civil and military tranſactions were conſtantly blended together. The ſenate frequently involved the ſtate in war, in order to ſuſpend its inteſtine diviſions, and the people as often took occaſion, from the difficulties in which the community was involved by its enemies, to extort a compliance with their own demands.

The firſt ſubject of contention that aroſe after the inſtitution of the Tribunes was a ſequel of the troubles which had preceded that eſtabliſhment. The ſeceſſion of the people took place in Autumn, the uſual ſeed-time in Italy; and the labours of that ſeaſon having been accordingly interrupted, the city was threatened with famine; and the ſenate exerted all its induſtry in guarding againſt this evil [15]. After the public granaries were filled for this purpoſe, it became a queſtion, upon what terms, and at what price, the poorer citizens

[14] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. vi.

[15] Ibid. lib. vii.

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ſhould be ſupplied from thence. Their inſolence in the late mutiny, and the part which they themſelves, by ſuſpending the labours of the field, had taken, in bringing on the diſtreſs with which they were now threatened, were fully ſtated againſt them in this deliberation. The opportunity was thought to be fair, to recal the ſeveral conceſſions which had been extorted from the ſenate, and, in particular, to oblige the people to part with their Tribunes, and to return within the former bounds of their duty.

Such was the ſubſtance of a contumelious ſpeech, delivered in the ſenate by the celebrated Caius Marcius Coriolanus. The younger nobility applauded his ſentiments; but the greater part of the ſenate, having recently eſcaped from a popular ſtorm, were unwilling to engage themſelves anew in the ſame dangerous ſituation. In order, therefore, to appeaſe the people, who were greatly incenſed at the propoſal which had been made to ſubdue them, they agreed to deliver corn from the public granaries, at a price below that of the moſt plentiful ſeaſon. And, by this proceeding, for the preſent pacified the Tribunes, but flattered their preſumption, and encouraged them to meditate ſtill further demands. The diſtreſs with which their conſtituents had been threatened was prevented, but the inſult they had received from Caius Marcius was not avenged; and they cited him to appear before the tribunal of the People, to anſwer for his conduct to the party he had offended. The Senate and Patricians were diſpoſed to protect him; but, truſting that by the majority of their votes they might be able to acquit him in the *comitia* of the Centuries, the only aſſembly before which, from the time of its firſt inſtitution, any capital charge had been hitherto laid againſt a citizen, they ſuffered the trial to proceed. In this, however, they were diſappointed. The Tribunes inſiſted, that the people ſhould aſſemble in their Tribes; and having prevailed in this previous queſtion, the accuſed

cuſed, as being already condemned by this determination relating to the form of his trial, withdrew from his ſentence [16]. CHAP. II.

Coriolanus, in reſentment of this proſecution, which forced him into exile, joined the enemies of his country, and by encreaſing the alarm of war from abroad, helped to ſuſpend for a while the animoſities of which he himſelf had furniſhed the occaſion at home. The conteſt in which he had engaged the parties ended with his own exile, and was not attended with any other political effects; but it merits a place in theſe obſervations, as a proof of the great influence which the Plebeian party, under its new leaders, had acquired, and as an evidence of the ſingular ſtate of the Roman policy, by which, in the uncertain choice of different modes of aſſembly, the very form of the government was left undetermined, until the occaſion occurred on which this government was to act. U. C. 262.

The aſſembly of the Centuries formed an ariſtocracy, that of the tribes a democracy. They did not partake in the ſovereignty by any determinate rule, but each of them occaſionally ſeized upon the whole of it; and, inſtead of balancing each other by regular checks and interruptions, threatened to render the adminiſtration of the Republic a continual ſcene of contradictions and inconſiſtencies. Such at leaſt is the judgment which we are tempted, in ſpeculation, to paſs on this ſingular conſtitution, although, in the ſequel of its hiſtory, it will appear to poſſeſs, at leaſt, one of the higheſt political advantages, in being the moſt excellent nurſery of ſtateſmen and warriors, and in forming the moſt conſpicuous example of national ability and ſucceſs.

The calm which the approach of Coriolanus, at the head of an army of Volſci, produced within the city, was of no longer duration than the alarm which produced it. As ſoon as the external enemy

[16] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. i. p. 469.

withdrew,

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withdrew, the parties within reſumed their diſputes; but on a ſubject which was ſtill more important than that which had recently employed them; and which, continuing to be moved at intervals, ſerved to the laſt hour of the Republic as an object of popular zeal, or furniſhed a ſpecious pretence, which ambitious and deſigning men continually employed, to captivate the ears of the populace. This was the moſt popular of all propoſitions—an equal diviſion of land property, known by the name of the Agrarian Law.

While the Romans were making their firſt acquiſitions of territory, their conqueſts were underſtood to be made for the people, and were accordingly divided among them, or given to thoſe who had not a ſufficient proviſion for the ſubſiſtence of their families [17]. But of late, during a conſiderable period, while the Republic barely withſtood the attacks of the exiled king, or recovered the loſſes ſuſtained in the wars with the numerous enemies that ſupported him, ſhe had either made few acquiſitions of this ſort, or, ſuitably to the growing diſparity of ranks, which, though not neceſſary in very ſmall republics, becomes ſo in proportion as nations extend, ſuffered the conquered lands to paſs by connivance, occupancy, or purchaſe, into the hands of powerful citizens, who made uſe of theſe opportunities to appropriate eſtates to themſelves.

U. C. 257. The Tribunes had not yet begun to make their complaints on this ſubject, when they were anticipated by the Conſul Sp. Caſſius, who, being already in high favour with the popular party, continued to flatter the paſſions of the inferior claſs, and is ſaid to have aimed at an improper and dangerous influence in the ſtate. He affected great zeal for the rights of the people, and proportional indignation againſt their oppreſſors. He complained, in particular, of the improper uſe which had been recently made of the conquered lands, by ſuffering

[17] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. ii.

them

them to become the property of perſons who were already too rich. Having himſelf made ſome conqueſts, he ſhowed how the lands of the Republic ought to have been diſpoſed of, by making an equal diviſion of his own acquiſitions among the more indigent citizens [18]. He obtained an act of the people to appoint three commiſſioners to enquire into the abuſes which had been committed in the diſpoſal of lands acquired from the enemy, and to conſider of the proper corrections.

The ſenate, and the Patricians in general, were greatly alarmed; moſt of them had poſſeſſions that ſeemed to fall within the object of this inquiry. The popular party alleged, that conquered lands being acquired by the joint labours, and at the common hazard, of all the people, ſhould be equally divided among them. The Patricians contended, that theſe levelling principles led to confuſion and anarchy; that, in a ſtate of which all the territory was actually, and within a few centuries, acquired by conqueſt, theſe maxims could not be applied without the ſubverſion of government, as well as of property.

In this conteſt Caſſius appeared to have the advantage of numbers on his ſide; and if he had confined his views to the diviſion of lands, under which he was ſaid to diſguiſe a more dangerous intention, the ſenate and nobles muſt have at leaſt deviſed conſiderable ſettlements for the people, in order to elude his demands. But while Caſſius alarmed the rich with danger to their property, he at the ſame time alarmed every citizen with danger to his perſonal conſequence, by offering the freedom of the city to every alien, who, at his ſummons, crowded from all the cantons of Latium to vote in the aſſemblies of the Roman people. His colleague oppoſed this meaſure, and the city, for the preſent, was ſaved from the intruſion of ſtrangers. The attempt, however, gave offence to the people, as well as to the ſenate; and the unhappy author of it, in order to regain the favour

[18] Liv. lib. ii. c. 41.

of

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of his party, propoſed a reſolution, not only to make a gratuitous diſtribution of corn, but even to refund what had been formerly paid by any citizen at the public granaries. This propoſal too was interpreted to his prejudice, and raiſed a ſuſpicion that he meant, with the aid of aliens and of indigent citizens, to uſurp the government. On this ſuppoſition all parties in the ſtate combined againſt him, and he was condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment of treaſon.

This appears to have been the firſt project after the ſtate began to have its demeſne lands, and after private eſtates began to be accumulated, that was made to divide all territorial acquiſitions in equal ſhares to the people. And though the author of it periſhed in the attempt, the project itſelf was entailed on the commonwealth, as a ſubject of diſſention, and became the ſource of repeated demands on the part of the people.

The Tribunes had no ſooner accompliſhed the ruin of Caſſius, in which they concurred with the ſenate, than they inſiſted for the execution of the law he had framed, and for the nomination of three commiſſioners already reſolved on, for the diviſion of conquered lands. They protected the people in refuſing to ſerve the ſtate in its wars, until this demand ſhould be granted. And having abſolute and irreſiſtible power to ſtop all proceedings in the city, they prevented all military levies within the walls, obliged the Conſuls, during a certain period, to erect their ſtandard in the country, and there to force the herdſman and labourer to enliſt, by driving away the cattle, and diſtraining the effects of thoſe who were unwilling to obey them [19].

In theſe exertions of political ſtrength, the parties at Rome learned by degrees to form their different plans, whether of adminiſtration or of oppoſition.

[19] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. viii. Ibid. N° 273 and N° 278.

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The ſenate endeavoured to furniſh the people with employment abroad, to amuſe them with triumphal proceſſions, to gratify them with partial ſettlements and allotments of land; and, in order to ſtop the violence of their leaders, by the negative of ſome one of their own order, continually endeavoured to divide the College of Tribunes.

The Tribunes, in their turn, endeavoured, by oaths and private engagements, to ſecure the unanimity of their own body, or to bind the minority to follow the deciſion of the greater number. They taught the people to deſpiſe the partial ſettlements, which, to pacify or to ſuſpend their importunities, were offered to them at a diſtance from Rome. They taught them to aim at a higher object, the political conſequence of their order, and an equal ſhare in the government of their country. The Tribunes were honoured in proportion to the part which they took in ſupport of this popular cauſe; and Plebeians were ſucceſſively raiſed to this office, in reward of the animoſity they had occaſionally ſhewn to the ſenate, and from reſpect to the courage with which they had, in any caſe, withſtood the authority of the magiſtrate.

At every ſucceſſion, accordingly, the new Tribunes endeavoured to ſignalize their year by ſuggeſting ſome advantage to the people; and, in the courſe of their ſtruggles, obtained many regulations favourable to their intereſt as an order in the State.

One law which has been already mentioned, and which is of uncertain date, they obtained, to ſubſtitute the aſſembly of the Tribes for that of the Curiæ in the election of Tribunes [20].

Another, to exclude the Patricians entirely from the Aſſembly of the Tribes [21]. U. C. 282.

The Agrarian Law itſelf they frequently moved, in the interval of other claims and pretenſions, or brought it forward along with ſuch

[20] Dionyſ. Hal. lib ix. Liv. lib. ii. c. 56.

[21] Liv. lib. ii. c. 60.

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claims, in order to alarm the Patricians, and to force them, under apprehenſion of this principal object of their fears, to a compromiſe, or to a compliance in ſome other demand.

To the other circumſtances, which tended frequently to revive theſe political flames, may be joined the arbitrary proceedings of the magiſtrate, and the defect of judicial forms in the commonwealth. The Conſuls had ſucceeded to the Kings, as ſole Officers of State, both civil and military; they had not ſufficient forms or limitations preſcribed to them in the exerciſe of their power[22]. This defect, which is common in the adminiſtration of rude governments, is for the moſt part ſupplied by degrees. Evils are corrected in proportion as they are felt, and the rational proceedings of one age are adopted as precedents to regulate the next. But, in the preſent inſtance, at Rome, the popular party, it is ſaid, demanded at once a ſyſtem of juriſprudence and a complete body of laws. Being oppoſed by the Patricians, they came to conſider the meaſure as an object of party; and they preſſed the acceptance of it, as much from animoſity to the magiſtrates, as from a deſire to ſecure public juſtice, or to regulate the forms of judicial procedure. The Patricians conſidered the project as an attack on their power; and, however innocent or reaſonable it may have been, endeavoured to elude the execution of it with all the arts of evaſion and delay, which they had employed to prevent the diviſion of the conquered lands, or to fruſtrate any other the moſt factious purpoſe of their adverſaries.

In this conteſt the powers and artifices of both parties were fully exerted. To the great authority and addreſs of the nobles, the people oppoſed an ardour that was not to be cooled by delays, to be diſcouraged by partial defeats, or reſtrained by ſcruples in the choice

[22] Liv. lib. iii. c. 9. Dionyſ. Halycar. lib. x.

of

of means for the attainment of their end. From this, as from many other inſtances, it may be inferred, that the popular party, in the conteſt with their ſuperiors, are apt to think, that the rules of veracity and candour may be diſpenſed with, and that the means of deceit and violence may, without any ſcruple, be employed in their own favour. With leſs honour and dignity to maintain than their adverſaries, they are leſs afraid of imputations that detract from either; and their leaders, ſupported by the voice of the more numerous party, are leſs apprehenſive of evil fame. In this conteſt, accordingly, fictitious plots and conſpiracies were fabricated by the popular ſide, and fictitious deſigns againſt the liberties of the people were imputed to the Patricians, in order to render them odious, and to deter them from appearing in ſupport of their real pretenſions [23].

In the iſſue of theſe conteſts, the ſenate, deſpairing of being able to divert the people from their purpoſe, agreed to the nomination of three commiſſioners, who ſhould be ſent into Greece to make a collection of ſuch laws as, being found ſalutary in that country, might be transferred to Rome. Soon after the return of the commiſſioners, the Senate approved their report, and concurred in the nomination of the famous Decemvirs to compile a body of laws for the commonwealth.

The Decemvirs were appointed merely to make the draft of a new code, and to propoſe matter for the conſideration of the Senate and People, from whom alone the propoſitions could receive the authority of laws; yet the perſons named for this purpoſe, as the Hiſtory bears, had credit enough with the people to be veſted with a temporary ſovereignty, in which they ſuperſeded the authority of the Senate, as well as that of the Conſuls, and had unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens [24]. U. C. 302.

[23] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. x.

[24] Ibid. N° 303.

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Before their commiſſion expired, they preſented a number of laws, engraven on ten tables or plates, and containing a ſummary of the privileges to be enjoyed by the People, of the crimes to be puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, and of the forms to be obſerved in all judicial proceedings. They, at the ſame time, informed the people, that their plan was ſtill incomplete, that many uſeful additions were yet to be made; and, upon the faith of theſe declarations, obtained for another year the renewal of their powers, with a change of ſome of the perſons who were named in the commiſſion.

In this ſecond year of the Decemvirs appointment, two more tables or plates were added to the former ten; a circumſtance from which this part of the Roman law has derived its name. This ſupplement, as well as the former body of laws, was received with great avidity, and the twelve tables continued to be reſpected at Rome, as the antient titles by which men are ſuppoſed to hold any valuable rights are revered in all nations [25]. No complete copy of them being tranſmitted to modern times, we cannot fully judge of their value; but, from the fragments remaining in Authors that occaſionally cite them [26], this Code appears, in ſome clauſes, to have been a firſt draft of the regulations which are neceſſary in the eſtabliſhment of property, and in making private parties anſwerable to public judicatures in all their diſputes.—The property of land was eſtabliſhed by a fair preſcription of two years, and that of other effects by a preſcription of one year.—Any controverſy concerning the boundaries of land-property was to be determined by arbiters or jurymen appointed by the Magiſtrate.—Parties cited to a court of juſtice were not at liberty to decline attendance.—Judgment in capital caſes was com-

[25] Livy calls the Twelve Tables *Fons omnis publici privatique juris.* Tacitus calls them *Finis æqui juris.* And Craſſus, in the Dialogue of Cic. de Orat. is made to ſay, Bibliotheca omnium philoſophorum, unus mihi videtur tabularum libellus ſuperare. De Orat. lib. i. c. 44.

[26] Vid. Gravini de Origine Juris Civilis. Pighii Anal.

petent only to the Aſſembly of the People in their Centuries; but this ſupreme Tribunal might delegate its powers by a ſpecial commiſſion.

In conſidering this Code as a record of antient manners, the following particulars are worthy of notice:

The diſtinction of Patrician and Plebeian was ſo great, that perſons of theſe different orders were not permitted to intermarry.

The father being conſidered as the abſolute maſter of his child, had a right even to kill, or expoſe him to ſale [27].

The intereſt of money was limited to one *per cent.* [28]; but bankruptcy was treated as a crime, and, without any diſtinction of fraud or

[27] The clauſe in the Twelve Tables relating to the father's power of ſale, contains a ſingular limitation. Vendendi filium patri poteſtas eſto. Si pater filium ter venundavit, filius a patre liber eſto. The father may ſell his child, but if he has ſold him three times, the child ſhall be free. (Dionyſ. lib. ii. c. 27. p. 97.) This law, in its firſt appearance, carries an implication that, until this reſtriction was applied, fathers practiſed ſelling their children times without limit. No law, it may be ſaid, is made againſt crimes altogether unknown; and, in general, what people do, may be inferred from what they are forbid to do; and yet the clauſe, conſidered in this light, is full of abſurdity. The child, to be repeatedly ſold, muſt have repeatedly diſengaged himſelf from ſlavery. After being twice ſold, he muſt have put himſelf a third time in the father's power; and to render ſuch caſes the object of law in any age or country whatever, the great law of parental affection muſt have been ſtrangely ſuſpended. The queſtion therefore may be ſubmitted to Civilians and Antiquaries, whether it be not eaſier to ſuppoſe a miſtake in the tradition or in the record, or an unneceſſary precaution in the compilers of this Code, than ſuch a frequency of the circumſtances preſumed in this clauſe, as would make the offence a proper object of legiſlation in any age or nation whatever; and whether this law may not have been, in its original intention, what it became in the ſubſequent applications of it, a mere precaution in favour of the parent, that he ſhould not be deprived of his child by ſurprize, and that unleſs he had ſold him three times, he was not ſuppoſed to have ſold him at all. The form by which a Roman father emancipated his ſon, conſiſted of a ſale three times repeated. The father ſold him and received his price. The buyer once and again redelivered the child, and had his price returned. After the third purchaſe, the buyer manumitted him by a ſingular ceremony preſcribed in the laws.

[28] Nam primo duodecim tabulis ſancitum, ne quis unciario ($\frac{1}{12}$ per mon. or 1 per cent. per ann.), fœnore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locupletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunitia ad ſemuncias redacta; poſtremo vetitæ uſuræ; multiſque plebiſcitis obviam itum fraudibus, quæ toties repreſſæ miras per artes rurſus oriebantur. Tacit. An. lib. vi.

Monteſquieu ventures to reject the authority of Tacitus in this inſtance, and ſuppoſes that the law which he aſcribes to the Decemvirs had no exiſtence until the year U. C. 398; when,

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or misfortune, expoſed the inſolvent debtor to the mercy of his creditors, who might put him to death, diſſect or quarter him, and diſtribute his members among them [29].

Mixed with laws that aroſe from ſuperſtition, there were others containing proofs of great national wiſdom. In private, every family were free to worſhip the gods in their own way. And in public, though certain forms were required, yet there was not any penalty annexed to the omiſſion of them, as the puniſhment of offences in this matter was left to the offended god.

The people were required to build their houſes two feet aſunder, to leave eight feet for the ordinary breadth of ſtreets and highways, and double this breadth at the turnings.

They were forbid to dreſs or to poliſh the wood employed in funeral piles, or to expreſs their ſorrow for the dead by wounding their fleſh, tearing their hair, or by uttering indecent or lamentable cries.

Such are a few of the more ſingular and characteriſtical clauſes which are mentioned among the fragments of the Twelve Tables.

when, according to Livy, lib. vi. it was obtained by the Tribunes M. Duellius and L. Menenius, in favour of the people. Haud æque patribus læta, inſequente anno C. Martio & Cn. Manlio Coſſ. de unciario fœnore a M. Duellio, L. Menenio, tribunis plebis, rogatio perlata. It is indeed probable that many antiquated laws were referred to this Legendary Code of the Twelve Tables on no better authority than that of their antiquity. And ſo great a reduction of intereſt was more likely to come from Tribunes acting in favour of the people, who were generally the debtors, and who ſoon after procured the entire abolition of the intereſt of money, than from the Decemvirs, who, being of the ariſtocratical faction, took part with the creditors.

[29] The clauſe in this Code reſpecting inſolvent debtors, is equally ſtrange with that which reſpects the power of the father, and ſhews no leſs upon what atrocious ideas of what they were to permit, as well as of what they were to prohibit, the compilers of this Code proceeded. Their ideas in either, it is probable, were never realized. Livy ſays, that debtors were *nexi & traditi creditoribus* (Liv. lib. ii. c. 23 & 27.). But it is affirmed with great probability of truth, that no creditor ever took the full benefit of this law againſt his inſolvent debtor (Aul. Gell. lib. 20. c. 1.). Laws that reſult from cuſtom, and are ſuggeſted by real occaſions, are genuine proofs of the reigning manners; but laws enacted by ſpecial lawgivers, or commiſſioners, only indicate what occurs to the fancy of the compiler, and what are the prohibitions he is pleaſed to ſuppoſe may be neceſſary.

The ardour of the people to obtain this Code, and the unlimited powers which they entrusted to the commissioners appointed to frame it, had nearly cost them their liberty; and thus ended the progress of their commonwealth. The Two additional Tables, as well as the first Ten, having been posted up for public inspection, and having been formally enacted by the Senate and People, the object of the Decemvirs commission was obtained, and it was expected that they were to abdicate their power; but the principal persons vested with this trust, having procured it with a view to usurp the government, or being debauched by two years uncontrouled dominion in the possession of it, refused to withdraw from their station, and boldly ventured to persist in the exercise of their power after the time for which it was given had elapsed. At Rome, the power of the magistrate was supposed to determine by his own resignation, and the republic might suffer a peculiar inconveniency from the obstinacy of particular persons, who continued to exercise the functions of office after the period assigned them by law was expired.

The Decemvirs took advantage of this defect in the constitution, continued the exercise of their power beyond the period for which it was given, took measures to prevent the restoration of the Senate and the Assemblies of the People, or the election of ordinary magistrates, and, even without employing much artifice, got the People to acquiesce in their usurpation, as an evil which could not be remedied; and the usurpers, in this as in other instances, seemed to meet with a submission that was proportioned to the confidence with which they assumed their power. The wrongs of the State appeared to make little impression on parties who had an equal concern to prevent them; but a barbarous insult offered to a private family rekindled or gave occasion to the breaking out of a flame, which injuries of a more public nature only seemed to have smothered.

Appius

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Appius Claudius, one of the uſurpers, being captivated with the beauty of Virginia, the child of an honourable family, and already betrothed to a perſon of her own condition, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of her perſon, by depriving her at once of her parentage and of her liberty. For this purpoſe, under pretence that ſhe had been born in ſervitude, and that ſhe had been ſtolen away in her infancy, he ſuborned a perſon to claim her as his ſlave. The Decemvir himſelf being judge in this iniquitous ſuit, gave judgment againſt the helpleſs party, and ordered her to be removed to the houſe of the perſon by whom ſhe was claimed. In this affecting ſcene, the father, under pretence of bidding a laſt farewel to his child, came forward to embrace her; and, in the preſence of the multitude, having then no other means to preſerve her honour, he availed himſelf of the prerogative of a Roman father, and ſtabbed her to the heart with a knife. A general indignation inſtantly aroſe from this piteous ſight, and all parties concurred, as at the expulſion
U. C. 304. of the Tarquins, to deliver the republic from ſo hateful a tyranny[31].

The Senate and Patrician adminiſtration being re-eſtabliſhed by the cheerful concurrence of the Plebeians, and the former government reſtored with the conſent of all parties, a tide of mutual confidence enſued, which led to the choice of the moſt popular perſons into the office of Conſul, and procured a ready aſſent from the nobles to every meaſure which tended to gratify the people.

The danger which had been recently experienced from the exerciſe of uncommon diſcretionary powers, produced a reſolution to forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties of confiſcation and death, any perſon ever to propoſe the granting of any ſuch powers. The conſecration of the perſons of the Tribunes, which, under the late uſurpation, had almoſt loſt its effect, was now renewed, and extended, though in a

[31] Liv. lib. iii. c. 57. Dionyſ. Hal. fine.

meaner

meaner degree, to the Ediles and inferior officers, who were ſuppoſed to act under the Tribunes in preſerving the rights of the people.

The Patricians likewiſe conſented to have the acts of the Senate formally recorded, placed in the temple of Ceres, and committed to the care of the Ediles [32]. This was in fact a conſiderable diminution of the power of the Conſuls, who had been hitherto conſidered as the keepers and interpreters of the Senate's decrees, and who had often ſuppreſſed or carried into execution the acts of this body at pleaſure.

But the moſt ſtriking effect, aſcribed to the preſent unanimity of the citizens, was the eaſe with which the Plebeian aſſemblies were permitted to extend the authority of their acts to all the different orders of the commonwealth. U. C. 304.

The *Comitia*, or aſſemblies of the Roman people, as may be collected from the paſt obſervations, were now of three denominations; that of the Curiæ, the Centuries, and the Tribes. In aſſemblies of the firſt and ſecond denomination, all citizens were ſuppoſed to be preſent; and laws were enacted relating to the policy of the ſtate in general, as well as to particular departments, and ſeparate bodies of men. The Centuries diſpoſed of civil offices, and the Curiæ of military commands [33]. In the aſſembly of the Tribes, compoſed of Plebeians alone, the Tribunes were elected; and acts were paſſed to regulate the proceedings of their own order, beyond which, in the antient times of the republic, their authority did not extend. But as the Senate denied the right of the Tribes to enact laws that ſhould bind the community, the Plebeians, in their turn, diſputed the legiſlative authority of the Senate. The Centuries alone were ſuppoſed to enjoy the right of enacting laws for the commonwealth [34].

[32] Liv. lib. iii.

[33] Lib. v. c. 52. Lib. ix. c. 38. Cic. ad Famil. lib. i. ep. 9. Liv. lib. vi. c. 21.

[34] Theſe were termed *Leges*; the reſolutions of the Senate were termed *Senatûs Conſulta*, and thoſe of the Tribes, *Plebiſcita*.

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This diſtribution, however, was partial, and tended to lodge the ſovereignty of the State in the hands of the Patricians, who, though no more than a part of the people, were enabled, by their undoubted majority in the aſſemblies of the Centuries as well as in the Senate, to give law to the whole.

Equity and ſound policy required that the Plebeians ſhould have a voice in the legiſlature of a commonwealth of which they made ſo conſiderable a part. This privilege appeared to be neceſſary, in order to ſecure them againſt the partial influence of a ſeparate order of men. They accordingly obtained it; but in a manner that tended to disjoin, rather than to unite into one body, the collateral members of the State. Inſtead of a deliberative voice, by which they might concur with the Senate and *Comitia* of the Centuries, or by which they might controul and amend their decrees, they obtained for themſelves a ſeparate and independent power of legiſlation, by which, as a counterpoiſe to the Patrician acts, which might paſs in the Centuries without their concurrence, they could, on their part, and without the preſence or conſent of the nobles, make Plebeian
U. C. 304. acts that could equally bind the whole community [35].

This rude and artleſs manner of communicating a ſhare of the legiſlature to the inferior order of the people, tended greatly to increaſe the intricacy of this ſingular conſtitution, which now opened, in fact, three diſtinct ſources of legiſlation, and produced laws of three different denominations; decrees of the Senate [36], which had a temporary authority; acts of the Centuries [37]; and reſolutions of the Tribes [38]; and by theſe means undoubtedly made way for much inteſtine diviſion, diſtraction, and tumult.

So far animoſity to the late uſurpation had united all orders of men in the meaſures that followed the expulſion of the Decemvirs;

[35] Dionyſ. Hal. p. 306. Liv. lib. iii. c. 55.
[36] Senatûs Conſulta.
[37] Leges.
[38] Plebiſcita.

but

but the ſpirit of cordiality did not long ſurvive the ſenſe of thoſe injuries, and that reſentment to a common enemy from which this tranſient unanimity aroſe. The Plebeians had removed ſome part of the eſtabliſhment, in which the Patricians were unequally favoured; but they bore with the greater impatience the inequalities which remained, and by which they were ſtill condemned to act a ſubordinate part in the commonwealth. They were ſtill excluded from the office of Conſul, and from that of the prieſthood. They were debarred from intermarriage with the nobles by an expreſs law, which had been enacted, leſt the ſexes, from paſſion, forgetting diſtinctions, ſhould in this manner unite their different ranks; but being now, in ſome meaſure, by the late act in favour of the *Comitia* of the Tribes, become joint or rival ſovereigns of the State, they could not long acquieſce in theſe unequal conditions.

A few years after the reſtoration of the commonwealth, Canuleius, U. C. 308. a Plebeian, being one of the Tribunes, moved the celebrated act which bears his name [39], to repeal the clauſe of the Twelve Tables which prohibited the intermarriage of Patricians and Plebeians. The other nine Tribunes joined at the ſame time in a claim of more importance—that the office of Conſul ſhould be laid open to all the different orders of the commonwealth, and might be held by Plebeians, as well as Patricians [40]. The Senate, and the whole order of nobles, having for ſome time, by delays, and by involving the State, as uſual, in foreign wars, endeavoured to ſuſpend the determination of theſe queſtions, were at length obliged to gratify the people in the leſs material part of their pretenſions, reſpecting the intermarriage of different ranks, in order, if poſſible, to pacify them on the refuſal of the more important claim, which related to their capacity of being elected into the office of Conſul.

To elude their demands on this material point, it was obſerved, that of the ſacrifices and other duties belonging to the prieſthood,

[39] Lex Canuleia. Liv. lib. iv. c. 1. [40] Dionyſ. Hal.

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which, by the ſacred laws of religion, could be performed only by perſons of noble birth, many were to be performed by the Conſul, and could not, without profanation, be committed to any perſon of Plebeian extraction; and that, by this conſideration alone, the Plebeians muſt be for ever excluded from the dignity of Conſul. Superſtition, for the moſt part, being founded on cuſtom alone, no change can be made in the cuſtom, without appearing to deſtroy the religion that is founded upon it. This difficulty accordingly put a ſtop, for a while, to the haſty pace with which the Plebeians advanced to the Conſulate: but this obſtruction was at length removed, as many difficulties are removed in human affairs, by a ſlight evaſion, and by the mere change of a name. The title of Conſul being changed for that of Military Tribune, and no ſacerdotal function being included in the duties of this office, Plebeians, though not qualified to be Conſuls, were allowed to offer themſelves as candidates, and to be elected Military Tribunes with conſular power. In this manner the ſuppoſed profanation was avoided, and Plebeians were allowed to be qualified for the higheſt office of the State. The mere privilege, however, did not, for a conſiderable time, enable any individual of that order to attain to the honour of firſt magiſtrate of the commonwealth. The Plebeians in a body had prevailed againſt the law which excluded them; but as ſeparate candidates for office, ſtill yielded the preference to the Patrician competitor; or, if a Plebeian were likely to prevail at any particular election of Military Tribunes, the Patricians had credit enough to have the nomination of Conſuls revived in that inſtance, in order to diſappoint their antagoniſts.

U. C. 399.

Together with the ſeparation of the military and ſacerdotal functions, which took place on this occaſion, another change, more permanent and of greater moment, was effected. Ever ſince the inſtitution of the Cenſus, or muſter, the inrolment of the people was become

become a principal object of the executive power. In the first ages it belonged to the King, together with all the other functions of state. In the sequel, it devolved on the Consuls; and they accordingly, at every period of five years, by the rules of this office, could dispose of every citizen's rank, assign him his class, place him in the rolls of the Senate, or on that of the Knights, or strike him off from either; and, by charging him with all the burdens of a subject, while they stript him of the privileges of a citizen, deprive him at once of his political consequence [41], and of his state as a Roman [42].

These regulations were accordingly enforced, not held up into public view merely to awe the people. The magistrate actually took an account of every citizen's estate, inquired into his character, and assigned him his place; promoted him to the Senate or to the Knighthood; degraded or disfranchised, according as he judged the party worthy or unworthy of his freedom, of the rank which he held, or of that to which he aspired in the commonwealth [43].

So important a trust committed to the discretion of an officer elected for a different purpose, took its rise in the simplicity of a rude age; but continued for a considerable period without any flagrant examples of abuse. It was, nevertheless, that branch of the consular magistracy which the Patricians were least willing to communicate or to share with the Plebeians. While they admitted them, therefore, to be elected Tribunes with consular power, they stipulated, that the charge of presiding in the Census, or musters, should be disjoined from it; and that, under the title of Censors, this charge should remain with persons of Patrician birth [44]. They contended for this separation, not with a professed intention to reserve the office of Censor to their own order, but under pretence that persons invested with the consular U. C. 310.

[41] Liv. lib. iv. c. 24.

[42] The citizens who came under this predicament were termed Ærarii.

[43] Liv. lib. iv. c. 24.

[44] Liv. lib. iv. c. 8.

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power, being ſo frequently employed in the field againſt the enemies of the commonwealth, could not attend to the affairs of the city, or perform all the duties of Cenſor at their regular periods.

But whatever may have been the real motive for ſeparating the department of Cenſor from that of Conſul, the change appears to have been ſeaſonably made; and may be conſidered as a ſtriking example of that ſingular felicity with which the Romans, for ſome time, advanced in their policy, as well as in their fortunes. Hitherto the Roman Conſul, being a warrior, was chiefly intent on the glory he was to reap in the field, and to gain at the expence of the enemies of the State. He diſdained to ſeize the advantages which he had in his power, in the capacity of a clerk or accountant entruſted with the Cenſus, or inrolment of his fellow-citizens; nor does it appear that any peculiar attention was given to the choice of Conſuls on the year of the Cenſus, as being then veſted with any dangerous meaſures of power. But conſidering the height at which party diſputes were then arrived, and the great conſequence of a citizen's rank and place on the rolls, it was no longer ſafe to entruſt in the ſame hands the civil rights of the People, and the executive powers of the State. The Conſul, being frequently raiſed to his ſtation by party intrigues, and coming into power with the ardour of private ambition and of party zeal, might have eaſily, in the manner of making up the rolls of the people, gratified his own reſentments, or that of his faction. The office of Conſul, in his capacity of military leader, was naturally the province of youth, or of vigorous manhood; but that of Cenſor, when diſjoined from it, fell as naturally into the hands of perſons of great authority and experienced age; to whom, in the ſatiety of brighter honours, the People might ſafely entruſt the eſtimate of their fortunes, and the aſſignment of their rank. In ſuch hands it continued, for a conſiderable period, to be very faithfully diſcharged; and by connecting the dignities of Citizen, and the ho-

nours of the State, with private as well as public virtue, had the happieſt effects on the manners of the People.

The number of Cenſors, like that of the Conſuls, was limited to two; but that of the Conſular Tribunes was left undetermined, and at ſucceſſive elections was augmented from three to eight. This has given occaſion to ſome hiſtorians, who are quoted by Livy, to aſcribe the inſtitution of this office, not to the importunity of the Plebeian party, but to the exigencies of the State; which being aſſailed by numerous enemies, and not having as yet deviſed the method of multiplying commanders, under the titles of Proconſul, were led to ſubſtitute officers of a different denomination, whoſe numbers might be increaſed at diſcretion. It is indeed probable, that, in the progreſs of this government, new inſtitutions, and the ſeparation of departments, were ſuggeſted no leſs by the multiplicity of growing affairs, than by the pretenſions of party, or by the ambition of ſeparate pretenders to power. In the firſt of thoſe ways, we are led to account for the inſtitution of the Plebeian Ediles, already mentioned; for that of the Præfectus Annonæ, or Inſpector of the Markets, together with the additions that were, in the courſe of theſe changes, continually made to the number of Quæſtors.

The Quæſtors had been long eſtabliſhed at Rome; they had charge of the public funds, and followed the Kings and the Conſuls as commiſſaries or proviſors in the field. During the buſy period which we have been now conſidering, their number was augmented from two to four; and the places were filled, for the moſt part, with Patricians, though not limited to perſons of this rank. U. C. 333.

The Præfectus Annonæ, or Inſpector of the Markets, was an officer occaſionally named, on a proſpect of ſcarcity, to guard againſt famine, and to provide for the wants of the people. Rome was in fact a place of arms, or a military ſtation, often depending as much for ſubſiſtence on the foreſight and care of its officers, as on the courſe

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of its ordinary markets. Without a proper attention to this particular on the part of the State, the People were expoſed to ſuffer from ſcarcity. On the approaches of famine, they became mutinous and diſorderly, and were ready to barter their freedom, and the conſtitu-
U. C. 315. tion of their country, for bread. During the famine which firſt ſug-geſted the ſeparation of this truſt from that of the ordinary officers of State, Sp. Mælius, a Roman Knight, being poſſeſſed of great wealth, engroſſed great quantities of corn; and having it in his power to ſupply the wants of the poor, endeavoured to form a dangerous party among them, and, by their means, to raiſe himſelf to the head of the commonwealth. The Senate took the alarm, and, as in the moſt dangerous criſis of the ſtate, had recourſe to the nomination of a Dictator. Mælius being cited to appear before him, and having refuſed to anſwer, was put to death.

The care of ſupplying the people with corn, which had been at this time committed to L. Minucius, was from thenceforward entruſted to citizens of the firſt rank, and the office itſelf became neceſſary in the political eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth.

Hitherto we have conſidered the Roman Republic as a ſcene of mere political deliberations and councils, prepared for contention, and ſeemingly unable to exert any united ſtrength. The State, however, preſented itſelf to the nations around it under a very different aſpect, as a horde of warriors, who had made and preſerved their acquiſitions by force, and who never betrayed any ſigns of weakneſs in the foreign wars they had to maintain.

In their tranſition from monarchy to republic, indeed, there ſeems to have been a temporary intermiſſion of national exertions. Private citizens, annually raiſed to the head of the republic, did not with their elevation acquire the dignity of princes; they did not command the ſame reſpect from thei fellow-citizens at home, nor had the ſame conſideration from rival nations abroad.

The

The frequent diſſentions of the people ſeemed to render them an eaſy prey to their enemies. During the life of Tarquin many powers united againſt them in behalf of the exiled king. They were ſtripped of their territory, confined to the walls of their city, and deſerted by their allies [44]. The fortune of the State ſeemed to fall with its monarchy. The event, however, belied theſe appearances, and the power of the annual Magiſtracy ſoon became more formidable abroad, though leſs awful at home, than that of the Monarch. The republican government ſought for reſpite from domeſtic trouble in the midſt of foreign war, and the forces of the State, inſtead of being reſtrained, were impelled into action by inteſtine diviſions. The ambition with which the lower ranks of the people endeavoured to watch their ſuperiors, the ſolicitude with which the higher order endeavoured to preſerve its diſtinction, the exerciſe of ability which, in this conteſt, was common to both, enabled them to act againſt foreign enemies with a ſpirit that was whetted, but not worn out, in their domeſtic quarrels.

The Conſuls annually elected, brought to the helm of affairs a freſh vigour of mind and continual ſupplies of renewed ambition. Every officer, on his acceſſion to the magiſtracy, was in haſte to diſtinguiſh his adminiſtration, and to merit his triumph; and numerous as the enemies of the Republic appeared, they were not ſufficient to furniſh every Roman Conſul, in his turn, with an opportunity to earn this envied diſtinction. It was given only to thoſe who obtained actual victories, and who killed a certain number of their enemies [45].

In this nurſery of warriors, honours, tending to excite ambition or to reward military merit, were not confined to the leaders of armies alone: The victorious ſoldier partook in the triumph of his leader, and had ſubordinate rewards proportioned to the proofs he

[44] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. v.

[45] Five thouſand in one field.

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had given of his valour. "I bear the ſcars," ſaid Dentatus (while he pleaded for a ſhare in the conquered lands to himſelf and his fellow-ſoldiers), "of five and forty wounds, of which twelve were "received in one day. I have carried many prizes of valour. "Fourteen civic crowns beſtowed upon me by thoſe I had ſaved in "battle. Three times the mural crown; having been ſo often the "firſt to ſcale the enemies walls. Eight times the prize of diſtinc-"tion in battle. Many tokens of eſteem and gratitude from the "hands of generals. Eighty-three chains of gold, ſixty bracelets, "eighteen lances, and twenty-five ſets of horſe-furniture, from pri-"vate perſons, who were pleaſed to approve of my ſervices[46]."

Under the influence of councils ſo fertile in the invention of military diſtinctions, and in armies of which the ſoldier was roufed by ſo many incentives to military ambition, the frequent change of commanders, which is commonly impolitic, proved a perpetual renovation of the ardour and ſpirit with which armies were led. In public deliberations on the ſubject of war, the vehement ambition of individuals proved a continual incentive to vigorous reſolutions, by which the State not only ſoon recovered the conſequence which it ſeemed to have loſt in its tranſition from Monarchy, but was ſpeedily enabled to improve upon all its former advantages, as head of the Latin confederacy; frequently to vanquiſh the Sabines, the Hernici, the Volſci, and Etruſcans, and, in about a hundred years after the expulſion of Tarquin, to extend its dominion greatly beyond the territories which had been in the poſſeſſion of that prince. In one direction, from Falerium to Anxur, about ſixty miles; and in the other, from the ſummits of the Appenines to the ſea: And Rome, the metropolis of this little empire, was become, with a few competitors, one of the principal ſtates of Italy.

U. C. 344.

[46] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. x. c. 36. vel p. 362.

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The firſt and neareſt object of its emulation at this period was Veiæ, an Etruſcan principality, of which the capital, ſituated about nine miles from Rome, was built on an eminence, and ſecured by precipices.

The Romans, even before the change of their government from the form of a principality to that of a republic, had been in poſſeſſion of the Tiber and both its banks; but on the right of this river were ſtill circumſcribed by the Veiæntes, with whom they had waged long and deſperate wars; and, as may be ſuppoſed among rivals in ſo cloſe a neighbourhood, with imminent danger to both. Veiæ, according to Dionyſius, was equal in extent to Athens, and, like the other Etruſcan cantons, was further advanced than Rome in the arts of peace, probably better provided with the reſources of war, but inferior in the magnanimity of its councils and in the courage of its people. The Veiæntes being, after a variety of ſtruggles, beat from the field, they retired within their walls, ſuffered themſelves to be inveſted, and underwent a ſiege or blockade of ten years. The Romans, in order to reduce them, continued during thoſe ten years in the field, without any interruption or diſtinction of ſeaſons; made ſecure approaches, fortifying themſelves in the poſts which they ſucceſſively occupied, and in the end entered the place by ſtorm. U. C. 357.

In theſe operations, we are told, that they learned to make war with more regularity than they had formerly practiſed; and having, ſome little time before, appointed a military pay for ſuch of their people as ſerved on foot, they at this time extended the ſame eſtabliſhment to their horſemen or knights; impoſed taxes on the people in order to defray this expence, and made other arrangements, which ſoon after enabled them to carry their enterprizes to a greater diſtance, and to conduct them with more order and ſyſtem: circumſtances which, together with the acceſſions of territory and power, gained by the reduction of Veiæ, rendered this event a remarkable epocha in the hiſtory of Rome.

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The uſe which they propoſed to make of their conqueſt was partly founded in the original policy of the State. The practice of incorporating vanquiſhed enemies, indeed, with the Roman people, had been long diſcontinued: for even Tarquin, it is ſaid, had introduced the cuſtom of enſlaving captives, and this fate the citizens of Veiæ underwent[47]; but their lands, and the city itſelf, offered a tempting prize to the conquerors. And accordingly it was propoſed to tranſplant into thoſe vacant poſſeſſions and ſeats one half of the Roman Senate and people[48].

This propoſal was extremely acceptable to perſons of inferior condition, who hoped to double their poſſeſſions, and flattered themſelves that they might double the power of the State: but it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Senate and Nobles, as tending to divide and weaken the commonwealth, and as more likely to reſtore a rival than to ſtrengthen themſelves. It was eluded by a partial diviſion of the Veiæan territory, in which ſeven *jugera*, or about four Engliſh acres, were aſſigned as the lot of a family; and by theſe means the more indigent citizens were provided for, without any hazard of diſmembering the ſtate.

But while the Romans were thus availing themſelves of the ſpoils of a fallen enemy, and probably enjoying, on the extinction of their rival, a more than common degree of imagined ſecurity, they became themſelves an example of the inſtability of human affairs; being aſſailed by a new and unlooked-for enemy, who came like a ſtroke of lightning on their ſettlement, diſperſed their people, and reduced their habitations to aſhes.

The Gauls, who are ſaid to have paſſed the Alps in three ſeveral migrations about two hundred years before this date, being now maſters of all the plains on the Po, and of all the coaſts of the Adriatic

[47] Liv. lib. v. c. 22. [48] Ibid. lib. v. c. 24.

to the banks of the river Sena, where they had a ſettlement, which, from their name, was called Sena Gallia; and being ſtill bent on extending their poſſeſſions, or ſhifting their habitations, had paſſed he Appenines, and laid ſiege to Cluſium, the capital of a ſmall nation in Tuſcany [48]. The inhabitants of this place made application to the Romans for ſuccour; but could obtain no more than a deputation to intercede with the Gauls in their behalf. The deputies who were ſent on this buſineſs, and commiſſioned to act only as mediators, having appeared in arms on the ſide of the beſieged, the Gauls complained of their conduct as a breach of faith, and as a departure from the neutrality which the Romans profeſſed: And being denied ſatisfaction on this complaint, they dropped their deſign on Cluſium, and turned their arms againſt theſe mediators, who had violated the laws of war. They advanced on the left of the Tiber, found the Romans poſted to receive them on the Allia, a ſmall river which was the limit of the Roman territory, in the country of the Sabines, about ten miles from Rome; and, with the ſame impetuoſity which hitherto attended them, they paſſed the Allia on the right of the Roman army, drove them into the angle that is formed by the confluence of the two rivers, put all who withſtood them to the ſword, and forced the remainder into the Tiber, where numbers periſhed, or, being cut off from their retreat to Rome, were diſperſed in the neighbouring country.

This calamity is ſaid to have ſo much ſtunned or overwhelmed the Roman people, that they made no farther attempt to defend their city. All the youth that were fit to carry arms retired into the Capitol. The weak or infirm, whether from ſex or age, fled as from a place condemned to deſtruction, or ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed and cut off in the ſtreets. U. C. 363.

[48] Liv. lib. v. c. 35. &c.

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The Gauls, having employed three days in the purſuit and ſlaughter of thoſe who fled from the field of battle, on the fourth day advanced towards the walls of Rome. But being alarmed at firſt by the general deſertion of the battlements, which they miſtook for an ambuſcade or an artifice to draw them into a ſnare, they examined all the avenues with care before they ventured to enter the gates. The more effectually to diſlodge every enemy, they ſet fire to the city, reduced it to aſhes, and took poſt on the ruins, in order to beſiege the Capitol, which alone held out [48]. In this ſtate of affairs, the republic, already ſo formidable to all its neighbours, was ſuppoſed to be extinguiſhed for ever. The fame of its ruin reached even to Greece, where Rome began to be conſidered at this time as a riſing and proſperous commonwealth [49].

The Gauls remained in poſſeſſion of the ruins for ſix months; during which time they made a fruitleſs attempt to ſcale the rock on which the Capitol was built; and being repulſed by Manlius, who, for his vigilance and valour on this occaſion, acquired the name of Capitolinus, they continued to inveſt and block up the fortreſs, in hopes of being able to reduce it by famine. The Romans, who were ſhut up in the Capitol, ſtill preſerved the forms of their commonwealth, and made acts in the name of the Senate and People. Senſible that Camillus, under whoſe auſpices they had reduced the city of Veii, and triumphed over many other enemies, now in exile on the ſcore of an invidious charge of embezzling the ſpoils he had won at that place, was the fitteſt perſon to retrieve their affairs; they abſolved him of this accuſation, reinſtated him in the qualification to command their armies [51]; and, in order that he might aſſemble their allies and collect the remains of their late army, which was diſperſed in the neighbouring country, veſted him with the power of

[48] Plutarch, in vit. Camilli. [49] Ibid. [51] Liv. lib. v. c. 32.

dictator.

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dictator. In this extremity of their fortunes, he overlooked his wrongs, procured numbers to resort to his standard, and hastened to arm for the preservation of his country. He came to the relief of the Capitol at a critical moment, when the besieged, being greatly reduced by famine, had already capitulated, and were paying a ransom for themselves and their remaining effects. Before this transaction was completed, he surprised the besiegers, obliged them to relinquish their prize, and afterwards, in a decisive battle that was fought in the neighbourhood of Rome, revenged the disaster which his countrymen had suffered on the banks of the Allia [52].

Whatever may have been the true account of this famous adventure, the Romans have given it a place in their history, retained a deep impression of their danger from the Gauls, and from thence dated the origin of some particulars in their policy, which seem to have arisen from such an impression. They set apart particular funds in the treasury, to be spared in all other possible exigencies of the State, and reserved for a resource in case of a Gaulish invasion. They subjected the magistrate to certain general restrictions, but allowed an exception in case of an invasion from the Gauls; and it is likely that, in the age in which they took these alarming impressions, they had not yet acquired those advantages of discipline and military skill, in which they were afterwards so much superior to the Gauls and other barbarous neighbours [53].

Although historians have amply supplied the detail of history before this event, they nevertheless acknowledge, that all prior evidence of facts perished in the destruction of Rome; that all records

[52] Liv. lib. v. c. 43, &c.

[53] The establishment of the Legion, and the improvement made in the choice of its weapons and manner of array, are mentioned as subsequent to this date: And the Romans, it is confessed, made less progress in every other art than in that of war. Their general, Camillus, at his triumph for the victory obtained over the Gauls, made his entry into Rome, having his visage painted with red; a practice, says Pliny, which is yet to be found among nations of Africa, who remain in a state of barbarity, and which this natural historian was inclined to consider as a characteristic of barbarous manners.

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and monuments of what the Romans had formerly been, were then to be gathered from the ruins of cottages, which had been for feveral months trodden under foot by a barbarous enemy; that the laws of the Twelve Tables, the People's Charters of Right, and the Forms of the Conſtitution, were to be collected in fragments of plates which were dug from the rubbiſh of their former habitations; and that nothing remaining to mark the former poſition of Rome, beſides the Capitol, raiſed on its rock, and ſurrounded with ruins, the people deliberated whether they ſhould attempt to renew their ſettlement on this ground, or transfer it to Veiæ. It had been formerly propoſed to remove to that place one half of the Senate and people. It was then propoſed, that they ſhould chuſe that as the proper ground on which to reſtore the name and the ſeat of their commonwealth. "Why," ſaid the promoters of this deſign, "attempt, at a great expence, and with ſo "much labour, to clear out the wretched ruins of a fallen city, while "we have another, provided with private and public buildings of "every ſort, yet entire for our reception?" To this ſpecious argument might have been oppoſed the conſideration of many advantages in their former ſituation; its place on a navigable river, its command of the paſſage from Latium to Etruria, and of the navigation of the Tiber from the deſcents of the Appenines to the ſea. But motives of ſuperſtition and national pride were ſuppoſed to be of greater weight. "Would you," ſaid Camillus, "abandon the ſeats of your "anceſtors? Would you have Veiæ reſtored, and Rome to periſh for "ever? Would you relinquiſh the altars of the Gods, who have fixed "their ſhrines in theſe ſacred places; to whoſe aid you are indebted "for ſo many triumphs, and to whom you owe the conqueſt of thoſe "habitations for which you now propoſe to forſake their temples?"

Convinced by this argument, the Romans determined to remain in their antient ſituation, proceeded to reſtore their habitations, and, in the courſe of a year, accompliſhed the work of rebuilding their city. An Æra from which, as from a ſecond foundation, may be

be dated the rife of the commonwealth, and the beginning of a period, in which its hiſtory, though ſtill controverted in ſome particulars, is leſs doubtful than before, or leſs disfigured with fable [54].

[54] Some parts, even of the hiſtory that follows, are doubtful. The names of Dictators and of Conſuls, the reality of entire campaigns, as well as of ſingle actions, are controverted (Liv. lib. i. c. 5. & 26. lib. v. c. 55. lib. viii. c. 38. lib. ix. c. 15.): But that which preceded this date reſts almoſt on tradition alone (Liv. lib. vi. c. i.). It ſerves, however, to inform us what the Romans themſelves believed; and is therefore the beſt comment we can have on the genius and tendency, as well as the origin, of their political inſtitutions.

CHAP. III.

Scene of foreign War and domeſtic Diſpute opened with reviving Romi-
——Faction or Conſpiracy of Manlius.——Condemnation.——Ple-
beians elected into the Office of Conſular Tribunes.——Aſpire to the
Conſulate.——The firſt Plebeian Conſul.——Eſtabliſhment of the
Prætor.——Patrician Ediles.——The Plebeians qualified to hold
all the Offices of State.——The Meaſure of Roman Magiſtracy com-
plete.——Review of the Conſtitution.——Its ſeeming Defects.——
But great Succeſſes.——Policy of the State reſpecting foreign or van-
quiſhed Nations.——Formation of the Legion.——Series of Wars.—
With the Samnites, Campanians.——The Tarentines.——Pyrrhus.
——Sovereignty of Italy.——Different Footing on which the In-
habitants ſtood.

BOOK I. U. C. 565.

THE Romans were not allowed to reſtore their community, nor to rebuild their habitations, in peace. They were invaded by the Equi, the Volſci, the Hernici, the Etruſcans, and ſome of their own Latin confederates[1]; who dreading the re-eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth, from which they had already ſuffered ſo much, and whoſe power was ſo great an object of their jealouſy, made every effort to prevent it. During a period of one hundred and ſeventeen years which followed, they accordingly had to encounter a ſucceſſion of enemies, in ſubduing of whom they became the ſovereigns of Italy; while they continued to undergo internal convulſions, which, as formerly, proved the birth of political inſtitutions, and filled up the meaſure of their national eſtabliſhment.

[1] Liv. lib. vi. c. 2. & 16.

During

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During this period, the Plebeians, far from being ſatisfied with their paſt acquiſitions, made continual efforts to extend their privileges. The Tribunes, by traducing the Senate, and by diſplaying, in their harangues, the severities of the Patrician creditor, and the ſufferings of the Plebeian debtor, ſtill enflamed the animoſity of their party. The republic itſelf was ſo feebly eſtabliſhed, that ambitious citizens were encouraged, by means of faction raiſed among perſons of the lower claſs, to have thoughts of ſubverting the government. In this manner Manlius, the famous champion of the Capitol, who, as has been obſerved, by his vigilance and valour preſerved that fortreſs from the Gauls, formed a deſign to uſurp the ſovereignty. Preſuming on his merit in this and other ſervices, he thought himſelf above the laws; and endeavouring, by his intrigues with the populace, to form a party againſt the State, he incurred, what was at Rome of all imputations the moſt deteſted, that of aſpiring to be King. In oppoſition to this conſpiracy, whether real or fictitious, the republic was committed to the care of a Dictator; and Manlius being brought before him, endeavoured to turn the ſuſpicion of malice and envy againſt his accuſers. He produced four hundred citizens, whom he had redeemed from their creditors and releaſed from chains. He produced the ſpoils of thirty enemies ſlain by himſelf in battle; forty badges of honour conferred on him by generals under whom he had ſerved; many citizens whom he had reſcued from the enemy, and in the number of thoſe he had ſaved, he pointed at Caius Servilius, ſecond in command to the Dictator, who now carried the ſword of the State againſt the life of a perſon who had ſaved his own. And in the concluſion of his defence, "Such were "the treaſons," he ſaid, "for which the friends of the People were "to be ſacrificed to the Senate."

His merits in the public ſervice were great, and intitled him to any reward from the people, except a ſurrender of their liberties.

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His liberality to the more indigent citizens, if it proceeded from humanity, was noble; but if it proceeded from a deſign to alienate their affections from the public, or transfer them to himſelf, was a crime; and the moſt ſplendid ſervices, conſidered as the artifices of a dangerous ambition, were the objects of puniſhment, not of reward.

The People, it is ſaid, while they had in their view the Capitol, which had been ſaved by the vigilance and bravery of this unfortunate criminal, heſitated in their judgment; but their meeting being adjourned to the following day, and to a different place, they condemned him to be thrown from the rock on which he had ſo lately ſignalized his valour [2].

Such alarms to the general ſtate of the commonwealth, had their temporary effect in ſuſpending the animoſity of parties; but could not reconcile their intereſts, nor prevent the periodical heats which continually aroſe on the return of diſputes. The Plebeians
U. C. 366. had been now above forty years in poſſeſſion of a title to hold the office of Conſular Tribune, but had not been able to prevail at any election [3]. The majority of the Centuries were ſtill compoſed of Patricians; and when candidates of Plebeian rank were likely, by their perſonal conſideration, to carry a majority, the other party, in ſuch particular inſtances, had influence enough, as has been obſerved, to revive the election of conſuls, a title from which the Plebeians, by law, were ſtill excluded.

The Plebeians, however, by the zeal of their party, by the aſſiduity and influence of individuals who aſpired to office, by the increaſe of their numbers in the firſt and ſecond claſſes, by their alliance with the Patrician families in conſequence of marriage, at laſt ſurmounted theſe difficulties, obtained the dignity of Conſular Tri-

[2] Liv. lib. vi. c. 27. [3] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 37.

bune

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U. C. 353.

ſune for one of their own order, and from thenceforward began to divide the votes of the Centuries with the Patrician candidates. They were accordingly raiſed in their turn to what was then the firſt office of the State, and in which nothing was wanting but the title of Conſul. To this too they were ſoon led to aſpire; and were urged to make the concluding ſtep in the riſe of their order, by the ambition of a female Patrician; who, being married into a Plebeian family, bore with impatience the mortifications to which ſhe was expoſed in the condition of her new relations. She excited her huſband, ſhe engaged her own kindred among the Patricians, ſhe rouſed the whole Plebeian party to remove the indignities which yet remained affixed to their race, in being ſuppoſed unworthy to hold the conſular dignity.

Licinius Stolo, the huſband of this lady, and Publius Sextius, another active and ambitious Plebeian, were placed in the College of Tribunes, in order to urge this point. They began the exerciſe of their office by propoſing three very important laws: The firſt intended for the relief of inſolvent debtors; by which all payments made on the ſcore of intereſt, ſhould be deducted from the capital, and three years be allowed to pay off the remainder. U. C. 377.

A ſecond law to limit the extent of eſtates in land, by which no citizen ſhould be allowed to engroſs above five hundred Jugera [4], or to have in ſtock above one hundred bullocks, and five hundred goats and ſheep.

A third law to reſtore the election of Conſuls, in place of Conſular Tribunes, with an expreſs proviſion that, at leaſt, one of the Conſuls ſhould be of Plebeian deſcent.

The Patricians, having gained ſome of the Tribunes to their party, prevailed upon them to diſſent from their colleagues, and to ſuſpend,

[4] About 300 Engliſh acres.

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by their negatives, all proceedings on the ſubject of theſe laws. The Tribunes, Licinius and Sextius, in their turn, ſuſpended the uſual election of magiſtrates, and put a ſtop to all the ordinary affairs of State.

An anarchy of five years enſued[4]; during which time the republic, bereft of all its officers, had no magiſtracy beſides the Tribunes of the People, who were not legally veſted with any degree of executive power[5]. Any alarm from abroad muſt have ſuſpended the conteſt at home, and forced the parties to a treaty: but they are ſaid to have enjoyed, in this ſtate of domeſtic trouble, uninterrupted peace with their neighbours; a circumſtance from which we may infer, that, in moſt of their wars, they were themſelves the aggreſſors, and owed this interval of peace to the vacancy of the Conſulate, and to their want of the prompters, by whom they were uſually excited to quarrel with their neighbours.

In the ſeveral queſtions, on which the parties were now at variance, the Patricians contended chiefly for the excluſion of Plebeians from the office or title of Conſul; and, as an inſuperable bar to their admiſſion, ſtill inſiſted on the ſacrilegious profanation that would be incurred, by ſuffering the rites uſually performed by the Conſuls to paſs into Plebeian hands. This argument, inſtead of perſuading the popular leaders to deſiſt from their claim, only made them ſenſible that it was neceſſary to remove this impediment by a previous operation, before they attempted to paſs through the way which it was meant to obſtruct. They appeared then for a little to drop their purſuit of the Conſulate; they affected to reſpect the claim of the Patricians, to retain the poſſeſſions of places which had always been aſſigned to their order. But they moved, that the number of ordinary attendants on the ſacred rites ſhould be augmented from two to ten; and that of theſe one half ſhould be named of Plebeian extraction.

[4] From U. C. 377 to 382.

[5] Liv. lib. vi. c. 35.

While

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While the Patricians continued to reject this propoſal, on account of the effect it was likely to have on their pretenſions in general, they gave way ſucceſſively; and, at the interval of ſome years, firſt to the acts that were deviſed in favour of inſolvent debtors; next, to the Agrarian law, or limitation of property in land; and laſt of all, to the new eſtabliſhment relating to the prieſthood, and to the communication of the Conſulate itſelf to perſons of Plebeian rank.

The authors of the new regulations, knowing that the majority of the Centuries was compoſed of Patricians, or was ſtill under the influence of that order, were not ſatisfied with the mere privilege of being qualified to ſtand for the Conſulate. They inſiſted, that at leaſt one of the Conſuls ſhould be a Plebeian; and having prevailed in this, as in the other conteſted points, the Plebeian party entered immediately on the poſſeſſion of their new privilege, and raiſed Publius Sextius, the Tribune, who had been ſo active in the cauſe of his conſtituents, to the office of Conſul. U. C. 387.

But while the Patricians thus incurred a repeated diminution of their excluſive prerogatives, they endeavoured, by ſeparating the judicative from the executive power of the Conſul, and by committing the firſt to a Patrician officer, under the title of Prætor, to ſave a part from the general wreck.

It was intended that the Prætor ſhould be ſubordinate, but next in rank, to the Conſul. He was attended by two Lictors, and had his commiſſion in very general terms, to judge of all differences that ſhould be brought before him, and to hear the ſuits of the people until the ſetting of the ſun. This unlimited juriſdiction, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, came to be gradually circumſcribed by its own precedents, and by the accumulating edicts of ſucceſſive Prætors. One perſon at firſt was ſuppoſed able to diſcharge all the duties of this office; but the number, in order to keep pace with the growing multiplicity of civil affairs, was afterwards gradually increaſed.

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Another political change, by which the Patricians procured ſome compenſation for what they had now ſurrendered, was made about the ſame time. The care of the public ſhows and entertainments had hitherto belonged to the Ediles of the People. The office of Edile being at its firſt inſtitution expenſive, was likely to become gradually more ſo by the frequent additions which were made to the feſtivals, and by the growing demands of the people for ſhows and amuſements. The Plebeians complained of this charge as a burden on their order, and the oppoſite party offered to relieve them of it, provided that two officers for this purpoſe, under the title of Curile Ediles, ſhould be annually elected from among the Patricians [6].

By theſe inſtitutions the Nobles, while they admitted the Plebeians to partake in the dignity of Conſul, reſerved to their own order the excluſive right to the offices of Prætor and Edile: By the laſt of which they had the direction of ſports and public entertainments; a ſtation which, in a ſtate that was coming gradually under the government of popular aſſemblies, became, in proceſs of time, a great object of ambition, and a principal acceſs to power.

The deſign or the effect of this inſtitution did not eſcape the notice of the Plebeian party. They complained, that while the Patricians affected to reſign the excluſive title to one office, they had engroſſed two others, inferior only in name, equal in conſideration and influence. But no excluſive advantage could be long retained by one order, while the other was occaſionally poſſeſſed of the legiſlative and ſupreme executive power. All the offices, whether of Prætor or Edile, of Dictator or Cenſor, were, in proceſs of time, filled with perſons of either rank; and the diſtinction of Patrician or Plebeian became merely nominal, or ſerved as a monument of the ariſtocracy which had ſubſiſted in former ages. The

[6] Liv. lib. vi. c. 42.

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only effect which it now had was favourable to the Plebeians; as it limited the choice of Tribunes to their own order, while, in common with the Patricians, they had acceſs to every other dignity in the State. CHAP. III. U. C. 417.

Such is the account which hiſtorians have given us of the origin and progreſs of the Roman conſtitution. This horde, in the earlieſt account of it, preſented a diſtinction of ranks, under the titles of Patrician, Equeſtrian, and Plebeian; and the State, though governed by a prince, had occaſional or ordinary aſſemblies, by which it approached to the form of a republic. Aſſemblies to which every citizen was admitted were termed the *Comitia*; thoſe which were formed of the ſuperior ranks, or of a ſelect number, were termed the Senate. Among thoſe who had attained the age of manhood, to be Noble and to be of the Senate were probably ſynonymous terms. But after the introduction of the Cenſus, ſeparate rolls were kept for the Senate, the Equeſtrian Order, and the People. Theſe rolls were compoſed by different officers in ſucceſſive periods of the State. A Senate was compoſed of a hundred members by Romulus[7]. This number was augmented or diminiſhed at pleaſure by his ſucceſſors. The Conſuls ſucceeded in this matter to the prerogative of the Kings; and the Cenſors were appointed to exerciſe it, with the other duties of the Cenſus, as a principal part of their functions. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the great importance of the Senate in the government of their country, ſo little precaution was taken to aſcertain who were to be its conſtituent members, or to fix their legal number. The body was accordingly fluctuating. Individuals were placed or diſplaced at the diſcretion of the

Review of the conſtitution.

[7] Liv. lib. i. c. 8. According to Livy the Senate conſiſted of no more than a hundred members at the death of Romulus; but, according to Dionyſius, their numbers had been augmented by a popular election at the admiſſion of the Sabines; ſome writers ſay to two hundred; others, only to one hundred and fifty. Dionyſ. lib. ii. c. 47.

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officer entruſted with the muſter, and the numbers of the whole increaſed or diminiſhed indefinitely. The officers of State, though not enrolled, had acceſs to the Senate; but their continuing members, after their year in office expired, depended on the diſcretion of the Cenſors. It ſeemed to be ſufficient for the purpoſes of this conſtitution, that the Senate ſhould be a meeting of the ſuperior claſs of the citizens.

Recapitulation.

As the noble and popular Aſſemblies had their exiſtence under the Kings, the tranſition from monarchy to republic in ſo ſmall a State, by ſubſtituting elective and temporary Magiſtrates in place of the King, was eaſy. A ſufficient occaſion was given to it in the abuſes which were felt in the laſt reign of the monarchy. The diſorders incident to the ſhock of parties, who were ſet free from a former controul, required, on occaſion, the remedy of a diſcretionary authority veſted in ſome perſon who might be entruſted with the public ſafety, and ſoon led to the occaſional inſtitution of a dictatorial power. The high prerogatives claimed and maintained by one party, obliged the other to aſſume a poſture of defence, and to place themſelves under the conduct of leaders properly authoriſed to vindicate their rights. Theſe rights were underſtood by degrees to imply equality, and, in the ſucceſſive inſtitutions that followed, put every citizen in poſſeſſion of equal pretenſions to preferment and honours; pretenſions which were to be limited only by the great diſtinction which Nature has made between the capacities, merits, and characters of men, and which are ſubject, in every community, to be warped by the effects of education and fortune.

New departments of State, or additions to the number of officers employed in them, were continually ſuggeſted by the increaſe of civil affairs; and while the territory of the republic was but a ſmall part of Italy, the meaſure of her political government was full, and the liſt of her officers complete. Functions which, in the

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firſt or ſimpleſt ages, were either unknown or had been committed to the King alone, were now thrown into ſeparate lots or departments, and furniſhed their ſeveral occupations to two Conſuls, one Prætor, two Cenſors, four Ediles, and eight Quæſtors, beſides officers of theſe different ranks, who, with the titles of Proconſul, Proprætor, and Proquæſtor, and without any limitation of number, were employed wherever the exigencies of the State required their ſervice.

In this account of the Roman conſtitution we are come nearly to that ſtate of its maturity [s] at which Polybius began to obſerve and to admire the felicity of its inſtitutions, and the order of its adminiſtration. The Plebcians were now reconciled to a government to which they themſelves had acceſs, and citizens of every rank made great efforts of induſtry in a State in which men were allowed to arrive at eminence, not only by advantages of fortune, but likewiſe by perſonal qualities. The Senate and Aſſemblies of the People, the Magiſtrates and Select Commiſſioners, had each their departments, which they adminiſtered with an appearance of ſovereign and abſolute ſway, and without any interfering of intereſts or jealouſy of power.

The Conſuls were deſtined to the command of armies; but, while at Rome, ſeemed to have the higheſt prerogatives in the adminiſtration of all civil and political affairs. They had under their command all the other officers of State, except the Tribunes of the People; they introduced all foreign ambaſſadors; and they alone could move the Senate on any ſubject of deliberation, and put their acts or determinations in writing. The Conſuls, too, preſided with a ſimilar prerogative in the Aſſembly of the Centuries and in that of the Curiæ, propoſed the queſtion, collected the votes, declared the majority, and framed the act. In all military preparations, in making their levies as well as in the command of the army, they were veſted with high

[s] As it ſtood in the fifth and ſixth centuries of Rome.

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degrees of diſcretionary power[9] over all the troops of the commonwealth, compoſed of Roman citizens or allies. They commanded the treaſury, as far as neceſſary to the ſervice on which they were employed, and had one of its Commiſſioners, or Quæſtors, appointed to attend their court, and to receive their orders.

The Senate, however, had the ordinary adminiſtration of the revenue, took account of its receipts and diſburſements, and ſuffered no money to be iſſued without their own decree, or the warrant of the Conſul in actual ſervice. Even the money decreed by the Cenſors for the repair of public buildings, and the execution of public works, could not be iſſued by the Quæſtors without an act of the Senate to authoriſe it. All crimes and diſorders that were committed among the free inhabitants of Italy, or municipal allies of the State, all diſputes of a private or public nature that aroſe among them, came under the juriſdiction and determination of the Senate. All foreign embaſſies were received or diſpatched, and all negociations were conducted, by this body. In ſuch matters the People did no more than affirm or reverſe what the Senate, after mature deliberation, had decreed, and for the moſt part gave their conſent as a matter of form; inſomuch, that while perſons, who obſerved the high executive powers of the Conſul, conſidered the State as monarchical; foreigners, on the contrary, who reſorted on public buſineſs to Rome, were apt to believe it an ariſtocracy veſted in the Senate.

The People, notwithſtanding, had reſerved the ſovereignty to themſelves, and, in their ſeveral aſſemblies, exerciſed the powers of legiſlation, and conferred all the offices of State[10]. They likewiſe, in all criminal matters, held the ſupreme juriſdiction. In their capacity of ſovereign, they were the ſole arbiters of life and death; and, even in their capacity of ſubjects, did not ſubmit to

[9] Vid. Zonar. N° 501. Frontini Stratagemata, lib. iv. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 7.

[10] In the Centuries they enacted laws, and elected the officers of State. In the Curiæ they appointed officers to military command.

reſtraints which, in every other State, are found neceſſary to government.

A citizen, while accuſed of any crime, continued at liberty until ſentence was given againſt him, and might withdraw from his proſecutors at any ſtage of the trial, even while the laſt Century was delivering its votes. A voluntary baniſhment from the Forum, from the meetings of the Senate, and the aſſemblies of the People, was the higheſt puniſhment, which any citizen, unleſs he remained to expoſe himſelf to the effects of a formal ſentence, was obliged to undergo; and it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that, even at Tibur or Prænefte, a few miles from Rome, a convict who had withdrawn from judgment ſhould be ſafe "[1].

Parts ſo detached were not likely to act as one body, nor to proceed with any regular concert; and the State ſeems to have carried, in all its eſtabliſhments, the ſeeds of diſſention and tumult. It was long ſupported, nevertheleſs, by the uncommon zeal of its members in favour of a commonwealth in which they enjoyed ſo much freedom, and in which they were veſted with ſo much perſonal conſequence.

The ſeveral members of the conſtitution, while in appearance ſupreme, were in many reſpects dependent on each other.

The Conſuls, while in office, had the meetings and determinations of the Senate and People, in a great meaſure, in their power; but they received this power from the People, and were accountable for the diſcharge of it at the expiration of their office.

The Senate could reſolve, but they could not execute, until they had obtained from the People a confirmation of their acts, and were obliged to ſolicit the Tribunes for leave to proceed in any matter which theſe officers were inclined to oppoſe.

[1] The laws of Publilius, which gave the power of legiſlation to the Plebeian Aſſemblies, and that of Valerius, which ſecured every citizen in the right of appeal to the People at large, after being repeatedly re-enacted, were now in full force (Liv. lib. x. c. 8.).

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The Senate was conſtituted, or formed, at regular periods, at the diſcretion of the Conſuls or Cenſors, officers named by the People.

The city, nevertheleſs, was over-awed by the Senate and officers of State. On great and alarming occaſions, the People themſelves were no longer ſovereigns than they were allowed by the Senate and Conſuls to hold this character. The Senate and Conſuls having it in their power to name a Dictator, could at once transfer the ſovereignty of the State to a ſingle perſon, and ſubject every citizen to his authority. Every individual held his place on the rolls at the will of the Cenſors, and his property at the diſpoſal of courts that were compoſed of Senators; the ſervants of the Public in general, who aimed at lucrative commiſſions, depended on the Senate, as adminiſtrators of the treaſury, and truſtees in the collection or diſburſements of the public money[12]; and every Roman youth, when embodied in the legions, entruſted his honours and his life in the hands of the Conſul, or Commander in Chief[13].

The maſs, however, was far from being ſo well compacted, or the unity of power ſo well eſtabliſhed, as ſpeculative reaſoners ſometimes think neceſſary for the order of government. The Senate and the popular Aſſemblies, in their legiſlative capacities, counteracted one another. The numbers required to conſtitute a legal Aſſembly of the People, the qualification of

[12] The influence which the Senate poſſeſſed as adminiſtrators of the public treaſury, according to Polybius, was very great. They had a number of commiſſions to give, in the collection of various duties levied on the navigators of rivers, the entry to ſea-ports, the produce of mines, and demeſne or public lands, chiefly let out for paſturage. They had likewiſe conſiderable diſburſements on the repair of highways and public buildings, and in the execution of a variety of other works. In ſuch tranſactions great numbers of people were concerned, as contractors, as partners with thoſe who contracted with the Senate, or as creditors who advanced money to enable the contractors to perform their articles. In all theſe ſeveral capacities the parties depended on the will of the Senate, and continually attended at the doors of that aſſembly, ſoliciting commiſſions, pleading for an abatement of ſome condition, for delay in the execution of ſome article or relief in the caſe of unforeſeen hardſhip or loſs.

[13] Polyb. lib. vi. c. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

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a citizen which intitled him to be conſidered as a member of the commonwealth, were ſtill undetermined. Aliens ſettling at Rome were admitted on the rolls of the People, and citizens removing to the colonies were omitted. Laws, therefore, might be obtained in a clandeſtine manner, when the People, not ſufficiently aware of the conſequence of ſuch laws, did not attend; or the queſtion might be determined by the voice of a ſingle alien, as often as the diviſion was nearly equal, and a deſigning magiſtrate choſe to place any number of aliens on the rolls for this purpoſe [14]. The State

[14] In the ſettlement of Romulus, recruits of every quality, whether outlaws, fugitives, or captives, were received without diſtinction.—In the firſt ages of the republic, aliens ſettling at Rome were admitted as citizens, and even placed on the rolls of the Senate.—The Tarquins, and the firſt of the Claudian family, were emigrants from the neighbouring cantons.—After the eſtabliſhment of the Cenſus, or periodical muſter, the King, the Conſuls, and, laſt of all, the Cenſors, made up the rolls of the Senate and People at pleaſure. They admitted upon it very readily every inhabitant of the city who claimed to be inrolled; but when a right of voting in any of the popular aſſemblies at Rome came to be conſidered as a privilege of moment, the inhabitants of Latium crowded to Rome in order to obtain it. They were ſometimes put upon the rolls by one Conſul, and forbid the city by his colleague; and in every ſuch caſe the negative, by a maxim of the Roman polic', prevailed.—Such as actually ſettled at Rome, ſooner or later found means to be inſerted in the Tribes; and the towns of Latium complained, that they were deſerted by numbers of their people, who reſorted to Rome for this purpoſe, and that they were likely to be depopulated. They obtained a law, by which Latin emigrants were excluded from the rolls of the Roman People, except they had left offspring to replace them in the country towns they had left. And this ſeems to have been the firſt law enacted at Rome to regulate or reſtrain the naturalization of aliens. Some authors have affirmed, that, even while aliens were ſo eaſily admitted on the rolls of the People, Roman citizens, accepting of ſettlements in the colonies, forfeited their political rights. In this, however, it is probable, that the effects of mere abſence have been miſtaken for an expreſs and formal excluſion. Whoever ceaſed to give in his name at the Cenſus, or whoever left his ward or tribe in the city to reſide at a diſtance, was not inrolled in the ward, nor placed in any claſs. It did not follow, however, that he had forfeited his right, or might not claim it as often as he attended the Cenſus. In this caſe he was upon a foot of equality with every other citizen, and in the ſame manner received or rejected at the will of the Cenſor, or other officer who took the muſter.

In this account of the Roman colonies, writers have followed the account of Sigonius, whoſe opinion, in every circumſtance relating to the Roman hiſtory, is of great authority. In this particular, however, it happens, that the principal paſſage he has quoted in ſupport of his opinion, is by ſome accident ſtrangely perverted. Livy relates, lib. xxxiv. c. 42. that the people of Ferentinum, in the year of Rome five hundred and fifty-ſeven, ſtarted a new pretenſion, by which all Latins who gave their names to be inſcribed

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State took its laws, not only from the Aſſemblies, which were held, however irregularly, within the capital, but from military detachments and armies, when abroad in the field [6]. Yet, under all theſe defects, as we have repeated occaſions to obſerve, they enjoyed the

[6] The Conſul C. Marcius, U. C. 398, being encamped at Sutrium in Etruria, aſſembled his army in their Tribes, and paſſed a law to raiſe the twentieth penny on the price of every ſlave that ſhould be manumitted. The Senate, being pleaſed with the tax, confirmed the act; but the Tribunes, alarmed at the precedent, obtained a reſolution, by which it was declared for the future to be capital for any perſon to propoſe any law in ſuch detached or partial Aſſemblies of the People (Liv. lib. vii. c. 16.).

moſt

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inſcribed in any Roman colony ſhould be conſidered as Roman citizens; but that the Senate rejected this claim when offered by perſons who were annexed to the colonies of Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum. *Novum jus ei anno a Ferentinatibus tentatum, ut Latini, qui in coloniam Romanam nomina dediſſent, cives Romani eſſent. Puteolos, Salernumque et Buxentum adſcripti coloni, qui nomina dederunt quum ob id ſe pro civibus Romanis ferrent; Senatus judicavit non eſſe eos cives Romanos.* There was a diſtinction between Roman colonies and colonies of Roman citizens. The firſt might be Latins, or other allies, planted under the authority of the Roman State. The ſecond were probably citizens. And the whole amount of this paſſage was to prove, that Latins were not to be conſidered as Roman citizens, merely becauſe they reſided in ſome colony of Roman citizens. But the quotation of Sigonius is as follows, and gives a wonderful perverſion to the paſſage in queſtion: *De antiquo Jure Italiæ*, lib. ii. c. 3. "Quare aſcripti coloni nomine quidem "erant cives Romani, re vero coloni. Teſ-"tem poſtulatis? non longe abiero. Preſto "eſt Livius qui ſcribit, lib. xxxiv. Puteo-"los, Salernum et Buxentum *civium Ro-"man.* Adſcripti coloni, qui nomina de-"derant cum ob id ſe pro civibus ferrent; "Senatus judicaſſe non eſſe eos cives Roma-"nos; et *alio loco* narrat Ferentinates novum "jus tentâſſe, ut Latini, qui in coloniam "Romanam nomina dediſſent, cives Ro-"mani eſſent."

The perverſion of this quotation is remarkable. Different clauſes of the ſame ſentence are quoted as ſeparate paſſages in different parts of the author. The order of the clauſes is ſo placed, that the uſe of the firſt in explaining the ſecond is loſt, and the words *civium Roman.* are inſerted. The paſſage in Livy, aſſerting that even Latins pleaded to be admitted as citizens, becauſe they reſided in ſome colony of citizens, proves the reverſe of what Sigonius maintains, *viz.* that citizens removing to colonies were diſfranchiſed.

The fact is, that, in the time of Livy and other hiſtorians, the diſtinction between Roman citizens, whether of the city or of the colonies, and the other inhabitants of Italy, was become a matter of antiquity and of mere curioſity; and therefore is not by them ſo fully and diſtinctly ſtated, as not to admit of diſpute. The coloniſts ceaſing to attend at elections, or in the Aſſemblies of the People, and not giving in their names at the muſters, ſubjected themſelves to all the effects of poſitive excluſion, although it is probable no ſuch excluſion had taken place; for even aliens were not excluded by any poſitive law, and might be admitted on the rolls at the diſcretion of the officer who precided over the muſter. Antiquarians, in ſearch of ancient conſtitutions, ſometimes ſuppoſe that rules muſt have exiſted, in order to have the pleaſure of conjecturing what they were.

moſt envied diſtinction of nations, continual proſperity, and an al- CHAP. III.
moſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſtateſmen and warriors unequalled in the hiſtory of mankind.

In about one hundred years after they began to reſtore their city U. C. 465.
from the ruins in which it was laid by the Gauls, they extended their ſovereignty from the fartheſt limits of Tuſcany on the one ſide, to the ſea of Tarentum and the ſtraits of Meſſina on the other; and as the conteſt of parties at home led to a ſucceſſion of political eſtabliſhments, their frequent wars ſuggeſted the policy which they adopted reſpecting foreign nations, and the arrangement of their national force.

They had for ſome time diſcontinued the practice of admitting captives into the number of their People; but continued that of extending and ſecuring their acquiſitions, by colonies of their own citizens, or of ſuch allies as they could moſt ſecurely truſt. They exacted from the cantons of Italy which they vanquiſhed, contributions of ſubſiſtence and clothing for the benefit of their armies; and they generally impoſed ſome condition of this ſort as a preliminary to every negociation or treaty of peace [17].

Their forces conſiſted of native Romans, and of their allies in Italy, nearly in equal parts. The legion, ſays Livy, had been for- U. C. [illegible]
merly arrayed in a continued line, or compacted column [18]; but, in the courſe of the wars which led to the conqueſt of Italy, came to be formed in diviſions, and had different orders of light and heavy-armed infantry, as well as cavalry. The light-armed infantry were called the Velites, and were ſuppoſed to ply in the front, on the flank, or in the rear of the army; and their ſervice was, to keep the heavy-armed foot undiſturbed by miſſiles till they came into cloſe action with the enemy.

[17] Liv. lib. viii. c. 1. & 2. Lib. ix. c. 43. Lib. x. c. 5. & 37.
[18] Liv. lib. viii. c. 8.

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The heavy-armed foot conſiſted of three orders, called the Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii; of whom each had its ſeparate diviſions or manipules; and thoſe of the different orders were placed in three different rows, and at diſtances from each other, equal to the front of the diviſion. By this diſpoſition the manipules of the firſt and ſecond row could either act ſeparately, or, by mutually filling up their intervals, could complete the line, leaving the Triarii, in time of action, as a body of reſerve, to ſupport the line, or fill up the place of any manipule that might be forced by the enemy. And, in order to facilitate occaſionally this change of diſpoſition, the diviſions of one row faced the intervals of the other[19]. They were armed with the pilum,

[19] This account of the Roman legion is not without its difficulties. It appears irrational to break and diſperſe the ſtrength of a body in this manner; and Cæſar makes no mention of any ſuch diſtinction of orders, of the manipules, of the rows in which they were formed, or of the intervals at which they fought. His legion conſiſted of ten cohorts, formed from right to left on a continued front. Polybius, however, one of the beſt military hiſtorians, and himſelf an eye-witneſs of the diſpoſition of the Roman legion in action, as well as on the parade, is very explicit in this account of it; refers to it in the deſcription of the Roman march (Polyb. lib. vi. c. 38.), in the deſcription of every battle (Polyb. lib. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.), and (Polyb. lib. xv. c. 10) in ſtating the comparative advantages of the Roman legion and Macedonian phalanx (Polyb. lib. xviii. c. 28.). The phalanx being a column of indefinite depth, cloſe ranks, and a continued front, with lances or ſpears, it was impregnable to the ſhort ſword and looſe order of the Romans, ſo long as it preſerved its front entire, and the ſpear-man made no opening for the Roman ſoldier to enter within the point of his weapon.

It is obſerved that the Romans made their attack in ſeparate diviſions and at intervals, in order to bring on ſome irregularity in the front of the phalanx, and in order make ſome openings by which the Roman ſoldier could enter with his ſword, and, once within the point of his enemy's ſpear, could perform great ſlaughter with little reſiſtance (Plutarch in vit. P. Emilii. Liv. lib. xliv. c. 41. Neque ulla evidentior cauſa victoriæ fuit quam quod multa paſſim prælia erant quæ fluctuantes; turbarant primo, deinde disjecerunt phalanges). From this account then it is probable, that the Romans did not divide their legion into orders and manipules, nor fight at intervals, until after they adopted the ſhort ſtabbing ſword, which is ſaid to have been originally from Spain; and that they continued to make this diſpoſition ſo long only as they had to do with enemies who uſed the ſpear and continued front; that after the ſocial war in Italy and their own civil wars began, they diſcontinued the ſeparate manipules, and ſought to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt an army like their own, by preſenting a continued front. Livy accordingly marks the time at which the formation of manipules, at intervals, was adopted. Polybius marks the continuance of it, and Cæſar evidently marks the diſcontinuance of it. It is

pilum, which was a heavy javelin or ſpear to be caſt at the enemy, and with a ſhort and maſſy ſword fitted to ſtrike or to thruſt. They bore an oblong ſhield, four feet high by two and a half feet broad, with a helmet, breaſtplate, and greaves.

In the ſtructure of theſe weapons and this defenſive armour, the Romans conſulted at once both the principal cauſes of courage in a ſoldier, his conſciouſneſs of the means to annoy his enemy, and of a power to defend himſelf. And with theſe advantages they continued for ages to prevail in moſt of their conflicts, and were the model which other nations endeavoured to imitate [20] in the form of their armies and in the choice of their weapons.

It is underſtood in the antiquities of this People, that when they were aſſembled for any purpoſe, whether of ſtate or of war, they were termed the Army. In their muſters a Plebeian was a foot ſoldier, the Knight a horſeman, and the Legion a mere detachment of the whole, draughted for the year, or embodied for a particular ſervice. The men, as well as the officers, in the firſt period of the Hiſtory of the Republic, were annually relieved or exchanged; and even after it ceaſed to be the practice thus annually to relieve the private men, and after the ſame legions were employed during a ſucceſſion of ſome years, yet the People, to the lateſt period of the commonwealth, continued to form the armies of their country; and the officer of ſtate was ſtill underſtood to command in virtue of his civil magſtracy, or in virtue of a military qualification which never failed to accompany it. No citizen could aſpire to any of the higher offices in the com-

is extremely probable, that the laſt change was one of thoſe made by Marius, and was introduced into the Roman armies in the ſocial war.

The three orders of Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii, were extremely proper to mark the diſtinction of claſſes ſubſiſting among Roman citizens, who were, nevertheleſs, all of them equally bound, on occaſion, to ſerve in the condition of private ſoldiers: And this may be one reaſon to incline us to aſcribe the diſcontinuance of this diſtribution to Marius, who was a great leveller of ranks.

[20] Polyb. lib. vi. c. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

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monwealth, until he had been inrolled in the Legions, either ten years if on horſeback, or ſixteen years if on foot; and, notwithſtanding the ſpecial commiſſions that were occaſionally given for ſeparate objects of ſtate or of war, civil and military rank were never diſjoined. Equal care was taken to furniſh the riſing ſtateſman and warrior with the technical habits of either profeſſion; or rather to inſtruct him, by his occaſional application to both, not to miſtake the forms of office in either for the buſineſs of ſtate or of war, nor to reſt his pretenſions to command on any accompliſhment ſhort of that ſuperior knowledge of mankind, and thoſe excellent perſonal qualities of penetration, ſagacity, and courage, which give the perſon poſſeſſed of them an aſcendant, as a friend or as an enemy, in any ſcene or department of human affairs. It may be difficult to determine, whether we are to conſider the Roman eſtabliſhment as civil or military; it certainly united, in a very high degree, the advantages of both, and continued longer to blend the profeſſions of ſtate and of war together, than we are apt to think conſiſtent with that propriety of character which we require in each: but to this very circumſtance, probably, among others, we may ſafely aſcribe, in this diſtinguiſhed republic, the great ability of her councils, and the irreſiſtible force with which they were executed [21].

During a period of about one hundred and twenty years after the rebuilding of Rome, the Romans were engaged in a continual ſeries of wars; firſt with the Latins and with their own colonies, who wiſhed to diſengage themſelves from ſo unequal an alliance; afterwards with the Etruſcans on the one hand, and with the Samnites, Campanians, and Tarentines on the other. They quarrelled with the Samnites firſt in behalf of the Campanians, who, in order to obtain their protection, made a ſurrender of themſelves and of all their

[21] Polyb. lib. vi. c. 19.

poſſeſſions.

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poſſeſſions. This act of ſurrender they afterwards had occaſion to enforce againſt the Campanians themſelves, who endeavoured, when too late, to recover their liberties.

The Samnites were a fierce nation, inhabiting that tract of the Appenines which extends from the confines of Latium to thoſe of Apulia; and who, to the advantages of their mountainous ſituation, joined ſome ſingular and even romantic inſtitutions [22], which enabled them, during above forty years, from the time at which their wars with the Romans began, to maintain the conteſt [23], and to keep the balance of power in ſuſpence.

During the dependence of this quarrel, the Roman armies frequently penetrated into Lucania and Apulia, and before they had reduced the Samnites, were known as protectors and allies, or had forced their paſſage as conquerors to the ſouthern extremities of Italy. And the State itſelf, under a variety of titles, was in reality the head, or held a ſpecies of ſovereignty over all the nations who occupied that part of the peninſula.

The city of Tarentum, the moſt powerful of the Greek ſettlements in this quarter, having neglected her military eſtabliſhments in proportion as ſhe advanced in the arts of peace, was alarmed at the near approach of the Romans, and applied for protection to Pyrrhus the king of Epirus, at that time greatly diſtinguiſhed among the military adventurers of Macedonia and Greece. They wiſhed to employ the military ſkill of this prince, without being expoſed to fall a prey to his ambition; and invited him to come, without any army of his own, to take the command of their people, whoſe numbers they U. C. 473.

[22] Of this ſort it is mentioned, that ten of the faireſt of one ſex were annually ſelected as prizes to be won by the braveſt and moſt deſerving of the other. Strabo, lib. v. fin. The Samnites furniſhed Roman generals with the ſubject of twenty-four triumphs, but mixed with checks and diſgraces more remarkable than any they had received in the courſe of their wars with any other nation. Florus, lib. i. c. 16.

[23] Liv. lib. x. c. 31.

magnified,

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magnified, in order to induce him to accept of their offer. But, like moſt foreign military protectors, he appears to have had, together with many ſchemes of ambition againſt thoſe on whom he made war, ſome deſigns likewiſe on the State he was brought to defend. With this double intention he did not rely on the forces of Tarentum, but paſſed into Italy at the head of a numerous army, formed on the model of the Macedonians, and accuſtomed to ſervice in the wars of that country and of Greece.

This is the firſt enemy whoſe forces can be conſidered as a known meaſure, with which to compare, or by which we can eſtimate, the power and military attainments of the Romans. They had been victorious in Italy, but the character and proweſs of the enemies they had vanquiſhed are unknown. This prince knew the arts of war as they were practiſed in Macedonia and in Greece, and was reputed one of the firſt captains of that or any other age [24]. He accordingly prevailed over the Romans in ſome of their firſt encounters; but found that partial victories did not ſubdue this people, nor decide the conteſt. Having vaſt ſchemes of ambition in Sicily and Africa, as well as in Italy, he ſuddenly ſuſpended his operations againſt the Romans, to comply with an invitation he received from Syracuſe, to poſſeſs himſelf of that kingdom in behalf of his ſon, who had ſome pretenſions to it in the right of Agathocles, from whom he was deſcended.

In order to purſue this object, he endeavoured to obtain a peace or ceſſation of arms in Italy; but was told, that, in order to treat with the Romans, he muſt evacuate their country and return to his own [25].

[24] Pyrrhus, it is ſaid, was ſtruck with the military aſpect of the Romans, and admired in particular the form of their encampments. The Greeks always endeavoured to avail themſelves of natural ſtrengths, and accommodated the diſpoſition of their camp to the ground; but the Romans, truſting only to their artificial works, pitched on the plain, and always encamped in the ſame form. Plutarch in vit. Pyrrhi.

[25] Liv. Epitome, lib. xiii. Plutarch in vit. Pyrrh.

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With this anſwer he paſſed into Sicily; and after ſome operations which were ſucceſsful, though not ſufficiently ſupported by his partizans in that country to obtain the end of his expedition, he returned again into Italy for the defence of Tarentum; but found that during his abſence the Romans had made a conſiderable progreſs, and were in condition to repay the defeats they had ſuffered in the beginning of the war. Having brought this matter to the proof in ſeveral encounters, he committed the defence of Tarentum to one of his officers; and after this fruitleſs attempt to make conqueſts beyond the Ionian Sea, in which he had employed ſix years, he returned to his own country.

U. C. 482. The Romans continuing the war againſt Tarentum, in about two years after the departure of Pyrrhus from Italy, made themſelves maſters of the place. Here, it is mentioned, they found, for the firſt time, the plunder of an opulent city, containing the models of elegant workmanſhip in the fine arts, and the apparatus of an exquiſite luxury. "In former times," ſays Florus, "the "victorious generals of Rome exhibited in their triumphs herds of "cattle driven from the Sabines and the Volſci, the empty cars of "the Gauls, and broken arms of the Samnites: but in that which "was ſhewn for the conqueſt of Tarentum, the proceſſion was led "by Theſſalian and Macedonian captives, followed with carriages "loaded with precious furniture, with pictures, ſtatues, plate, and "other ornaments of ſilver and gold[25]." Spoils which, we may gueſs, in the firſt exhibition of them, were valued at Rome more as the public trophies of victory, than felt as the baits of private avarice, or the objects of a mean admiration. The Roman citizen as yet lived content in his cottage, furniſhed in the rudeſt manner; and he ſubſiſted on the ſimpleſt fare, the produce of his

[25] Florus, lib. i. c. 18.

own

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own labour. Curius Dentatus, the Conſul who obtained this triumph, having the offer of fifty *jugera* as a reward from the public for his ſervices, would accept of no more than ſeven. This, he ſaid, is the ordinary portion of a citizen, and that perſon muſt be an unworthy member of the commonwealth who can wiſh for more [26].

U. C. 481. From the reduction of Tarentum the Romans may be conſidered as the ſovereigns of Italy, although their dominion was extremely ill defined, either in reſpect to its nature or to its extent. They but in a few inſtances laid claim to abſolute ſovereignty, and leaſt of all over thoſe who were moſt ſubmiſſive to their power. It was their maxim to ſpare the obſequious, but to cruſh the proud [27]; an artful profeſſion, by which, under the pretences of generoſity and magnanimity, they ſtated themſelves as the ſovereign nation. Under this preſumptuous maxim their friendſhip was to be obtained by ſubmiſſion alone; and was, no leſs than their enmity, fatal to thoſe who embraced it. The title of ally was, for the moſt part, no more than a ſpecious name, under which they diſguiſed their dominion, and under which they availed themſelves of the ſtrength and reſources of other nations, with the leaſt poſſible alarm to their jealouſy or pride.

With the Latins they had early formed an alliance offenſive and defenſive, in which the parties mutually ſtipulated the number of troops to be furniſhed by each; the reſpective ſhares which each was

[26] A Roman citizen in this period might, by the law of Licinius, have an eſtate of five hundred *jugera*, or about three hundred acres; but the ordinary patrimony of a noble family was probably far below this meaſure; and the lot of a citizen in the new colonies ſeldom exceeded ſeven *jugera*. The people were lodged in cottages and ſlept on ſtraw (Plin. lib. xviii. c. 3. Cicer. pro Roſcio, Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 3.). The Romans, till a little before the ſiege of Tarentum, had no coin but copper, and eſtimated conſiderable ſums more commonly by the head of cattle than by money. They coined ſilver for the firſt time U. C 325. Gold was known as a precious material, and was ſometimes joined with oxen in the reward of diſtinguiſhed ſervices. Liv. lib. iv. c. 30. Ibid. Epitome, lib. xv.

[27] Parcere ſubjectos & debellare ſuperbos.

to

to have in the ſpoils of their common enemies, and the manner of adjuſting any diſputes that might ariſe between them. This was the league which the Latins were ſuppoſed to have ſo frequently broken, and of which the Romans ſo often exacted the obſervance by force [28].

In the firſt ſtruggles which they made to reſtore their ſettlement deſtroyed by the Gauls, and in the ſubſequent wars they had to maintain, during a hundred years, in ſupport of their new eſtabliſhment, different cantons of theſe original confederates, as well as many of their own colonies, had taken very different parts, and in the treaties which enſued, obtained, or were ſentenced to, different conditions; ſome were admitted to the freedom of Rome, and partook in the prerogative of Roman citizens. A few were, by their own choice, in preference to the character of Roman citizens, permitted to retain the independency of their towns, and were treated as allies. Others, under pretence of being admitted to the freedom of Rome, though without the right of ſuffrage, were deprived of their corporation eſtabliſhments, and with the title of Citizens, treated as ſubjects. A few were governed in form by a military power, and by a Præfect or Magiſtrate annually ſent from Rome [29].

[28] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. vi. p. 415. Liv. lib. vi. c. 10. lib. ix. c. 43.

[29] The city of Capua, together with its diſtrict of Campania, was the firſt example of a provincial government eſtabliſhed by the Romans in any of their conqueſts. The Campanians, in order to be protected againſt the Samnites, had delivered themſelves up to the Romans. But they ſoon after became ſenſible of their folly, in truſting their defence to any force but their own, or in reſigning their power as a State, with a view to preſerve any thing elſe. When they perceived this error, they endeavoured, in conjunction with ſome of their neighbours, to form a party againſt their new maſters; and being defeated in their attempts to recover their independence, were treated with the ſeverity that is commonly employed againſt rebel ſubjects. Their Senate and popular aſſembly, under pretence of ſuppreſſing ſeminaries of faction, were abo iſhed, and a Præfect or Governor annually appointed (Liv. lib. ix. c. 20). A ſimilar courſe, under the ſame pretence, was ſ. ſ.fter taken with Antium (Liv. lib. ix. c.). This had been the principal ſupport of the Volſci, and long the head of a powerful combination againſt the Romans.

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From this unequal treatment aroſe the variety of conditions by which the natives of Italy were diſtinguiſhed, as Colonies, Municipal Towns, Allies, Præfectures, or Provincial Governments, until about 181 years after this date, when, as will be mentioned in the ſequel, the whole was put upon the ſame footing by the general admiſſion of all the Italians upon the rolls of the Roman People.

CHAP. IV.

Limits of Italy.——Contiguous Nations.——Ligurians.——Gauls.——Greek and Phœnician Colonies of Gaul and Spain.——Nations of Illyricum.——Of Greece.——Achæan League.——Thebans.——Athenians.——Aſiatic Nations.——Pergamus.——Syria.——Egypt.——Carthage.——The Mamertines of Meſſina.——Occaſion of the firſt War with Carthage.——Loſſes of the Parties.——Peace.——State of the Romans.——Political or Civil Inſtitutions.——Colonies.——Muſters.——Operation on the Coin.——Increaſe of the Slaves.——Gladiators.——Different Reſults of the War at Rome and Carthage.——Mutiny and Invaſion of the Mercenaries at Carthage.——End of this War.——Ceſſion of Sardinia.——War with the Illyrians.——Firſt Correſpondence of Rome with Greece.

CHAP. IV.

U. C. 481.

AS the Romans, at the time to which our laſt obſervations refer, were become the ſovereigns of Italy, or, by their aſcendant in ſo powerful a country, were enabled to act a diſtinguiſhed part among the nations around it; it is proper in this place to carry our obſervations beyond the boundaries of that Peninſula, and enumerate the powers that were then eſtabliſhed on different ſides of it, or beyond the narrow ſeas by which it was ſurrounded.

Italy was not then ſuppoſed to comprehend the whole of that tract which has in later times been known under this name. Being bounded, as at preſent, on the South and Eaſt by the ſeas of Sicily and the bay of Tarentum, it extended no further to the North-weſt than to the Arnus on the one hand, and to the Rubicon on the other. Beyond theſe limits the weſtern coaſts were inhabited by a number of tribes, which, under the name of Ligurians, occupied the deſcents

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of the Appenines and the South of the Alps quite to the ſea-ſhore. On the other ſide of the Appenines, from Senegallia to the Alps, the rich and extenſive plains on both ſides of the Po were in the poſſeſſion of Gauliſh nations, who were ſaid, ſome centuries before, to have paſſed the mountains, and who were then actually ſpread over a fertile tract of more than twelve hundred miles in circumference. They conſiſted of nine different hordes, that were ſuppoſed to have paſſed the Alps at different times. Of theſe the Laulebecii, Inſubres, Cenomani, and Veneti occupied the northern banks of the Po, including what are now the ſtates of Milan, Venice, and other parts of Lombardy on that ſide of the river. The Anianes, Boii, Ægones, and Senones, were ſettled to the ſouthward, from the Po to the deſcents of the Appenines, and on the coaſts of the Hadriatic to Senegallia, over what are now the ſtates of Parma, Modena, Bologna, and Urbino. In this favourable ſituation they appear to have abated much of their native ferocity, though without acquiring, in any conſiderable degree, the arts that improve the conveniencies of life. They fed chiefly on the milk or the fleſh of their cattle, and were occupied entirely in the care of their arms and of their herds. By theſe, and the ornaments of gold, of which they were extremely fond, they eſtimated their riches. They were divided into Tribes or Cantons, and lived in cottages huddled together, without any form of towns or of villages. The leader of every horde was diſtinguiſhed by his retinue, and valued himſelf chiefly on the number of his followers. They had made frequent encroachments on the ſtates of Etruria and Umbria, but were met at laſt, and ſtopped in their progreſs, by the Romans. Such of them as were ſettled within the Rubicon, and from thence to Senegallia, had, about three years before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy, been obliged to acknowledge the authority of the Roman State [1].

[1] Polyb. lib. ii. c. 17. 19. 29.

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The coaſts of the Mediterranean, to the weſtward of Italy, had been known to the nations of Greece and of Aſia, and had received many colonies from thence, which formed trading ſettlements, and remained altogether diſtinct from the natives. Such were the Greek colonies at Marſeilles, Emporiæ, Saguntum, and the Tyrian colony at Gades on the coaſt of the ocean. On the other ſide of Italy, and round the Hadriatic, were ſettled a number of ſmall nations, the Iſtrians, Dalmatians, and Illyrians; of which, at the time when the Romans became acquainted with the navigation of this gulf, the Illyrians, being the chief or principal power, extended eaſtward to the confines of Macedonia.

Alexander the Great had finiſhed the career of his victories about U. C. 421. ſixty years before this date. His hereditary dominions, as well as his perſonal conqueſts, were diſmembered, and become the patrimony of officers, who had learned under him to affect the majeſty and the power of kings. Macedonia was governed by Antigonus Dozon, who, together with the principality of Pella, held under his dependence Epirus, Theſſaly, and Greece, to the iſthmus of Corinth. He had contended with Pyrrhus, the late invader of Italy, for part of this territory; and, by the death of this adventurer, was now in poſſeſſion of the whole.

On one part of the coaſt of the Ionian Sea, and on the Gulf of Corinth, were ſettled the Etolians, who, during the proſperity of Greece, had been an obſcure and barbarous horde; but had now, by the confederacy of a number of cantons, laid many diſtricts around them under contribution, and acted a diſtinguiſhed part in the wars and tranſactions that followed.

On the other ſide of the Gulf of Corinth a ſimilar confederacy was formed by the Achæan league. The name of Achæa, in the fabulous ages, was the moſt general denomination of Greeks. When other names, of Dorians and Ionians, of Athenians and Spartans,

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became more diſtinguiſhed, the name of Achæans was appropriated to the tribes who occupied the ſea-coaſt, or the Gulf of Corinth, from Elis to Sicyon. On this tract twelve little cantons, Dymæ, Phara, Tritæa, Rhipes, Thaſium, Patræ, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Carynia, Olenos, and Hellice [1], having changed their government from principalities to republics, formed themſelves into a league for their common defence. Hellice had been, from time immemorial, the ſeat of their aſſembly; but this place having been overwhelmed by an inundation of the ſea, their meetings were tranſferred to Ægium.

In the more famous times of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, theſe little cantons being ſituated on a poor and rocky ſhore, without ſhipping and without harbours [2], were of no conſideration in the hiſtory of Greece; they took no part in the defence of that country from the invaſions of Darius, or of Xerxes, or in the diviſions that followed under the hoſtile banners of Sparta and of Athens. They began, however, to appear in ſupport of the liberties of Greece againſt Philip the father of Alexander, and partook with the other Greeks in the defeat which they received from that prince at Chæronea, and in all its conſequences. Their league was accordingly diſſolved by the conqueror, and ſome of their cantons ſeparately annexed to the Macedonian monarchy. But about the time that Pyrrhus invaded Italy, Dymæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa found an opportunity to renew their ancient confederacy. They were joined in about five years afterwards by the canton of Ægium, and ſucceſſively by thoſe of Bura and Carynia. Theſe, during a period of about twenty years, continued to be the only parties in this famous league. They had a general congreſs, at which they originally elected two annual officers of ſtate, and a common ſecretary. They

[1] Pauſanias, lib. vii. c. 6.

[2] Plutarch, in Vit. Arat. p. 321.

afterwards committed the executive power to one officer; and, under the famous Aratus of Sicyon, united that republic, together with Corinth and Megara, to their league [3].

About the time when the Romans became maſters of Tarentum, this combination was become the moſt conſiderable power of the Peloponneſus, and affected to unite the whole of it under their banners; but Sparta, though greatly fallen from the ſplendor of her ancient diſcipline and power, was ſtill too proud, or too much under the direction of her ambitious leaders, to ſuffer herſelf to be abſorbed in this upſtart confederacy; ſhe continued for ſome time its rival, and was at laſt the cauſe, or furniſhed the occaſion, of its fall.

The Thebans and Athenians, though ſtill pretending to the dignity of independent nations, were greatly reduced, and ready to become the prey of any party that was ſufficiently powerful to reach them, by breaking through the other barriers that were ſtill oppoſed to the conqueſt of Greece.

In Aſia, a conſiderable principality was formed round the city of Pergamus, and bore its name. Syria was become a mighty kingdom, extending from the coaſts of Ionia to Armenia and Perſia. This kingdom had been formed by Seleucus Nicanor, a principal officer in the army of Alexander, and it was now in the poſſeſſion of his ſon, Antiochus Soter.

Egypt, in the ſame manner, had paſſed from the firſt Ptolemy to his ſon Philadelphus, who, upon the expulſion of Pyrrhus from Italy, had entered into a correſpondence with the Romans. This kingdom included the iſland of Cyprus; and, having ſome provinces on the continent of Aſia, extended from Cælo-Syria, of which the dominion was ſtill in conteſt with Antiochus, to the deſarts of Lybia

[3] Polyb. lib. ii. c. 3. and Pauſanias, lib. vii.

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biat on the weſt and on the ſouth. Beyond theſe deſarts, and almoſt oppoſite to the iſland of Sicily, lay the famous republic of Carthage, which was now poſſeſſed of a conſiderable territory, ſurrounded by the petty African monarchies, out of which the great kingdom of Numidia was afterwards formed.

The city of Carthage is ſaid to have been founded about a hundred years earlier than Rome, and was now unqueſtionably farther advanced in the commercial and lucrative arts, and ſuperior in every reſource to Rome, beſides that which is derived from the national character, and which is the conſequence of public virtue.

In reſpect to mere form, the conſtitution of both nations was nearly alike. They had a ſenate and popular aſſemblies, and annually elected two officers of ſtate for the ſupreme direction of their civil and military affairs [4]; and even at Carthage the departments of ſtate were ſo fortunately balanced, as to have ſtood for ages the ſhock of corrupt factions, without having ſuffered any fatal revolution, or without falling into either extreme of anarchy or tyrannical uſurpation. The frequent proſpect indeed, which the Carthaginians had, of incurring theſe evils, joined to the influence of a barbarous ſuperſtition, which repreſented the gods as delighted with human ſacrifices, probably rendered their government in ſo high a degree inhuman and cruel. Under the ſanguinary policy of this ſtate, officers were adjudged, for miſtakes or want of capacity, as well as for crimes, to expire on the croſs, or were condemned to ſome other horrible puniſhment equally odious and unjuſt [5].

The Carthaginians being like Tyre, of which they were ſuppoſed to be a colony, ſettled on a peninſula, and at firſt without ſufficient land or territory to maintain any conſiderable numbers of people, they applied themſelves to ſuch arts as might procure a ſubſiſtence

[4] Ariſtob. Polit. lib. ii. c. 11. [5] Oroſius, lib. iv. c. 6.

from abroad; and became, upon the deſtruction of Tyre, the principal merchants and carriers to all the nations inhabiting the coaſts of the Mediterranean Sea. Their ſituation, ſo convenient for ſhipping, was extremely favourable to this purſuit; and their ſucceſs in it ſoon put them in poſſeſſion of a territory by which they became a landed as well as a naval power. They viſited Spain, under pretence of giving ſupport and aſſiſtance to the city of Gades, which, like themſelves, was a colony from Tyre. They became maſters of Sardinia, and had conſiderable poſſeſſions in Sicily, of which they were extremely deſirous to ſeize the whole. From every part of their acquiſitions they endeavoured to derive the profit of merchants, as well as the revenue of ſovereigns.

In this republic, individuals had amaſſed great fortunes, and eſtimated rank by their wealth. A certain eſtate was requiſite to qualify any citizen for the higher offices of ſtate; and, in the canvas for elections, every preferment, whether civil or military, was venal [6]. Ambition itſelf, therefore, became a principle of avarice, and every Carthaginian, in order to be great, was intent to be rich. Though the intereſts of commerce ſhould have inculcated the deſire of peace, yet the influence of a few leading men in the ſtate, and even the ſpirit of rapacity which pervaded the people, the neceſſity to which they were often reduced of providing ſettlements abroad for a populace who could not be eaſily governed at home, led them frequently into foreign wars, and even engaged them in projects of conqueſt. But notwithſtanding this circumſtance, the community ſtifled or neglected the military character of their own citizens, and had perpetual recourſe to foreigners, whom they truſted with their arms, and made the guardians of their wealth. Their armies, for the moſt part, were compoſed of Numidians, Mauritanians, Spaniards, Gauls,

[6] Polyb. lib. vi. c. 54.

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and fugitive ſlaves from every country around them. They were among the few nations of the world who had the ingenuity, or rather the misfortune, to make war without becoming military, and who could be victorious abroad, while they were expoſed to be a prey to the meaneſt invader at home.

Under this wretched policy, however, the firſt offices of truſt and command being reſerved for the natives, though the character of the people in general was mean and illiberal, yet a few, being deſcended of thoſe who had enjoyed the higher honours of the ſtate, inherited the characters of ſtateſmen and warriors; and, inſtead of ſuffering by the contagion of mercenary characters, they derived ſome additional elevation of mind from the contraſt of manners they were taught to deſpiſe. And thus, though the State, in general, was degenerate, a few of its members were qualified for great affairs. War, and the other objects of ſtate, naturally devolved on ſuch men, and occaſionally rendered them neceſſary to a ſedentary or corrupted people, who, in ordinary times, were diſpoſed to ſlight their abilities, or to diſtruſt their power. They became unfortunately a party for war in the councils of their country, as thoſe who were jealous of them became, with ſtill leſs advantage to the public, a party for peace; or, when at war, a party who endeavoured to embarraſs the conduct of it; and, under the effects of misfortune, were ever ready to purchaſe tranquillity by the moſt ſhameful and dangerous conceſſions.

Carthage being miſtreſs of the ſea, was already long known on the coaſts of Italy: ſhe had treaties ſubſiſting with the Romans above two hundred years, in which they mutually ſettled the limits of their navigation, and the regulations of their trade. And the Romans, as parties in theſe treaties, appear to have had intercourſe with foreign nations by ſea, earlier than is ſtated in the other parts of their hiſtory.

CHAP. IV.

U. C. 244.

In the firſt of thoſe treaties, which is dated in the conſulate of L. Junius Brutus and M. Horatius, the firſt year of the Commonwealth, the Romans engaged not to advance on the coaſt of Africa, unleſs they were forced by an enemy, or by ſtreſs of weather, beyond the Fair Promontory, which lay about twenty leagues to the weſtward of the Bay of Carthage.

It was agreed, that, even in theſe circumſtances, they ſhould remain no longer than five days, and ſupply themſelves only with what might be neceſſary to refit their veſſels, or to furniſh them with victims for the uſual ſacrifices performed at ſea. But that in Sardinia, and even in Africa, to the weſt of this boundary, they ſhould be at liberty to trade and to diſpoſe of their merchandize without paying any duties beſides the fees of the crier and clerk of ſale; and that the public faith ſhould be pledged for the payment of the price of all goods ſold under the inſpection of theſe officers.

That the ports of Sicily ſhould be equally open to both nations.

That the Carthaginians, on their part, ſhould not commit any hoſtilities on the coaſt of Latium, nor moleſt the inhabitants of Ardæa, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Terracina, or of any other place in alliance with the Romans; that they ſhould not attempt to erect any fortreſs on that coaſt; and that, if they ſhould land at any time with an armed force, they ſhould not, upon any account whatever, remain a night on ſhore.

By a ſubſequent treaty, in which the ſtates of Utica and Tyre are comprehended as allies to both parties, the former articles are renewed with additional limitations to the navigation and trade of the Romans, and with ſome extenſion to that of the Carthaginians. The latter, for inſtance, are permitted to trade on the coaſt of Latium, and even to plunder the natives, provided they put the Romans in poſſeſſion of any ſtrong-holds they ſhould ſeize on ſhore;

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and provided they ſhould releaſe, without ranſom, ſuch of the allies of the Romans as became their priſoners.

U. C. 474. Upon the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy, with an armament which equally alarmed both nations, the Romans and Carthaginians again renewed their treaties with an additional article, in which they agreed mutually to ſupport each other againſt the deſigns of that prince, and not to enter into any ſeparate treaty with him inconſiſtent with this defenſive alliance: and further ſtipulated, that, in the wars which were expected with this enemy, the Carthaginians, whether as principals or auxiliaries, ſhould furniſh the whole ſhipping, both tranſports and armed gallies; but that the expence of every armament ſhould be defrayed at the charge of that party in whoſe behalf it was employed [7].

In obſervance probably of the laſt of theſe treaties, and by mutual concert, though with conſiderable jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, the forces of theſe nations combined in reducing the garriſon which Pyrrhus had left at Tarentum. Each had their ſeparate deſigns on the place; and when its fate was determined, from thenceforward conſidered the other as their moſt dangerous rival for dominion and power. Pyrrhus, even when they were joined in alliance againſt himſelf, is ſaid to have foreſeen their quarrels, and to have pointed at the iſland of Sicily as the firſt ſcene of their conteſt.

The Carthaginians were already in poſſeſſion of Lylibæum, and of other poſts on this iſland, and had a deſign on the whole. The Romans were in ſight of it; and, by their poſſeſſion of Rhegium, commanded one ſide of the Straits. The other ſide was occupied by the Mamertines, a race of Italian extraction, who, being placed at Meſſina by the king of Syracuſe to defend that ſtation, barbarouſly murdered the citizens, and took poſſeſſion of their habitations and effects.

[7] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 3.

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This horrid action was afterwards imitated by a Roman legion poſted at Rhegium during the late wars in Italy: theſe likewiſe murdered their hoſts, and ſeized their poſſeſſions; but were puniſhed by the Romans, for this act of cruelty and treachery, with the moſt exemplary rigour. They were conducted in chains to Rome, ſcourged, and beheaded by fifties at a time. The crime of the Mamertines was reſented by the Sicilians in general with a like indignation; and the authors of it were purſued, by Hiero king of Syracuſe in particular, with a generous and heroic revenge. They were, at length, reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were reſolved to ſurrender themſelves to the firſt power that could afford them protection. But, being divided in their choice, one party made an offer of their ſubmiſſion to the Carthaginians, the other to the Romans. The latter ſcrupled to protect a crime of which they had ſo lately puniſhed an example in their own people [8]. And, while they heſitated on the propoſal, the Carthaginians, favoured by the delay of their rivals, and by the neighbourhood of their military ſtations, got the ſtart of their competitors, and were received into the town of Meſſina.

This unexpected advantage gained by a power of which they were jealous, and the danger of ſuffering a rival to command the paſſage of the Straits, removed the ſcruples of the Romans; and the officer who commanded their forces in the contiguous parts of Italy, had orders to aſſemble all the ſhipping that could be found on the coaſt from Tarentum to Naples, to paſs with his army into Sicily, and endeavour to diſpoſſeſs the Carthaginians from the city of Meſſina.

As ſoon as this officer appeared in the road with a force ſo much ſuperior to that of his rivals, the party in the city, that favoured the admiſſion of the Romans, took arms, and forced the Carthaginians to evacuate the place [9].

[8] Polyb. lib. i. c. 10.

[9] Ibid. lib. i. c. 11.

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U. C. 490.

Here commenced the firſt Punic war, about ten years after the departure of Pyrrhus from Italy, eight years after the ſurrender of Tarentum, and in the four hundred and ninetieth year of Rome. In this war, the firſt object of either party was no more than to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Meſſina, and to command the paſſage of the Straits which ſeparate Italy from Sicily; but their views were gradually extended to objects of more importance, to the ſovereignty of that iſland, and the dominion of the ſeas.

The conteſt between them was likely to be extremely unequal. On the one ſide appeared the reſources of a great nation, collected from extenſive dominions, a great naval force, ſtanding armies, and the experience of diſtant operations. On the other, the ferocity or valour of a ſmall State, hitherto exerted only againſt their neighbours of Italy, who, though ſubdued, were averſe to ſubjection, and in no condition to furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies for a diſtant war; without commerce or revenue, without any army but what was annually formed by detachments from the people, and without any officers beſides the ordinary magiſtrates of the city; in ſhort, without any naval force, or experience of naval or diſtant operations.

Notwithſtanding theſe unpromiſing appearances on the ſide of the Romans, the commanding aſpect of their firſt deſcent upon Sicily procured them not only the poſſeſſion of Meſſina, but ſoon after determined Hiero, the king of Syracuſe, hitherto in alliance with the Carthaginians, to eſpouſe their cauſe, to ſupply their army with proviſions, and afterwards to join them with his own. Being thus reinforced by the natives of Sicily, they were enabled to recal part of the force with which they began the war; continued, though at a leſs expence, to act on the offenſive; and drove the Carthaginians from many of their important ſtations in the iſland [15].

[15] Polyb. lib. i.

While

While the arms of the Romans and of Hiero were victorious on ſhore, the Carthaginians continued to be maſters of the ſea, kept poſſeſſion of all the harbours in Sicily, overawed the coaſts, obſtructed the military convoys from Italy, and alarmed that country itſelf with frequent deſcents. It was evident, that, under theſe diſadvantages, the Romans could neither make nor preſerve any maritime acquiſitions; and it was neceſſary, either to drop the conteſt in yielding the ſea, or to endeavour, on that element likewiſe, to cope with their rival. Though not altogether, as hiſtorians repreſent them, unacquainted with ſhipping, they were certainly inferior to the Carthaginians in the art of navigation, and altogether unprovided with ſhips of force. Fortunately for them, neither the art of ſailing, nor that of conſtructing ſhips, was yet arrived at ſuch a degree of perfection as not to be eaſily imitated by nations who had any experience or practice of the ſea. Veſſels of the beſt conſtruction that was then known were fit to be navigated only with oars, or in a fair wind and on a ſmooth ſea. They might be built of green timber; and, in caſe of a ſtorm, could run aſhore under any cover, or upon any beach that was clear of rocks. Such ſhips as theſe the Romans, without heſitation, undertook to provide. Having a Carthaginian galley accidentally ſtranded at Meſſina for a model, it is ſaid, that, in ſixty days from the time that the timber was cut down, they fitted out and manned for the ſea one hundred gallies of five tier of oars, and twenty of three tier. Veſſels of the firſt of theſe rates carried three hundred rowers, and two hundred fighting men.

The manner of applying their oars from ſo many tiers, and a much greater number which they ſometimes employed, has juſtly appeared a great difficulty to the mechanics and antiquarians of modern times, and is confeſſedly not well underſtood.

The Romans, while their gallies were building, trained their rowers to the oar on benches that were erected on the beach, and placed

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placed in the form of thoſe of the real galley [11]. Being ſenſible that the enemy muſt be ſtill greatly ſuperior in the management of their ſhips and in the quickneſs of their motions, they endeavoured to deprive them of this advantage, by preparing to grapple, and to bind their veſſels together. In this condition the men might engage on equal terms, fight from their ſtages or decks as on ſolid ground, and the Roman buckler and ſword have the ſame effect as on ſhore.

With an armament ſo conſtructed, ſtill inferior to the enemy, and even unfortunate in its firſt attempts, they learned, by perſeverance, to vanquiſh the maſters of the ſea on their own element; and not only protected the coaſts of Italy, and ſupported their operations in Sicily, but, with a powerful fleet of three hundred and thirty ſail, overcame at ſea a ſuperior number of the enemy, and carried the war to the gates of Carthage [12].

On this occaſion took place the famous adventure of Regulus; who being ſucceſsful in his firſt operations, gave the Romans ſome hopes of conqueſt in Africa: but they were checked at once by the
A. C. 498. defeat of their army, and the captivity of their general. This event removed the ſeat of the war again into Sicily; and the Romans, ſtill endeavouring to maintain a naval force, ſuffered ſo many loſſes, and incurred ſo many diſaſters by ſtorms, that they were, during a certain period of the war, diſguſted with the ſervice at ſea, and ſeemed to drop all pretenſions to power on this element. The experience of a few years, however, while they endeavoured to continue their operations by land without any ſupport from the ſea, made them ſenſible of the neceſſity they were under of reſtoring their ſhipping; and they did ſo with a reſolution and vigour which enabled them once more to prevail over the ſuperior ſkill and experience of their enemy.

[11] Polyb. lib. i. c. 20, 21.

[12] Polyb. lib i. c. 27.

In

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In this ruinous conteſt both parties made the utmoſt efforts, and the moſt uninterrupted exertion of their forces. Taking the forces of both ſides, in one naval engagement, five hundred gallies of five tier of oars, with two hundred and fifty thouſand men, and in another, ſeven hundred gallies, with three hundred and fifty thouſand men, were brought into action [13]; and in the courſe of theſe ſtruggles the Romans loſt, either by tempeſts or by the hands of the enemy, ſeven hundred gallies; their antagoniſts, about five hundred [14]. In the reſult of theſe deſtructive encounters, the Carthaginians, beginning to balance the inconveniencies which attended the continuance of war againſt the conceſſions that were neceſſary to obtain peace, came to a reſolution to accept of the following terms: U. C. 512.

That they ſhould evacuate Sicily, and all the iſlands from thence to Africa:

That they ſhould not for the future make war on Hiero king of Syracuſe, nor on any of his allies:

That they ſhould releaſe all Roman captives without any ranſom:

And within twenty years pay to the Romans a ſum of three thouſand Euboic talents [15].

Thus the Romans, in the reſult of a war, which was the firſt they undertook beyond the limits of Italy, entered on the poſſeſſion of all that the Carthaginians held in the iſlands for which they contended; and, by a continuation of the ſame policy which they had ſo ſucceſsfully purſued in Italy, by applying to their new acquiſitions, inſtead of the alarming denomination of *Subject*, the ſofter name of *Ally*, they brought Hiero, who was ſovereign of the greater part of Sicily, into a ſtate of dependence on themſelves.

Their manners, as well as their fortunes, were a perfect contraſt to thoſe of the enemy they had vanquiſhed. Among the Romans,

[13] Polyb. lib. i. c. 26. [14] Ibid. c. 63. [15] Ibid. c. 62, &c.

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riches were of no account in conſtituting rank. Men became eminent by rendering ſignal ſervices to their country, not by accumulating wealth. Perſons of the firſt diſtinction ſubſiſted in the capacity of huſbandmen by their own labour; and, with the fortunes of peaſants, roſe to the command of armies, and the firſt offices of State. One Conſul, of the name of Regulus, was found, by the officer who came to announce his election, equipped with the ſheet or the baſket, and ſowing the ſeed of his corn in the field. Another, better known, of the ſame name, while he commanded in Africa, deſired to be recalled, in order to replace the inſtruments of huſbandry, which, to the great diſtreſs of his family, and the hazard of their wanting food, a fugitive ſlave had carried off from his land. The Senate refuſed his requeſt, but ordered the farm of their general to be tilled at the public expence [16].

The aſſociation of pomp and equipage with rank and authority, it may be thought, is accidental, and only ſerves to diſtract the attention which mankind owe to perſonal qualities. It nevertheleſs appears to be in ſome meaſure unavoidable. Superiority is diſtinguiſhed, even in the rudeſt nations, by ſome external mark. Duillius had his piper and his torch, in honour of the firſt naval victory obtained by his country [17]; and the Romans acknowledged the external enſigns of ſtate, although they were ſtill rude in the choice of them.

At this time, when the nation emerged with ſo much luſtre beyond the boundaries of Italy, the parties which divided the State, and whoſe animoſity ſharpened ſo much the pangs which preceded the birth of many of its public eſtabliſhments, had no longer any object of conteſt. The officers of State were taken promiſcuouſly from either claſs of the people, and the diſtinction of Plebeian and Patrician had in a great

[16] Valer. Maxim. lib. iv. c. 4. Liv. Epitom. lib. xviii. Seneca ad Albinam. c. 12. Auctor de viris illuſtribus.

[17] Liv. Epitom. lib. xvii, xviii.

meaſure

measure loſt its effect. A happier ſpecies of ariſtocracy began to ariſe from the luſtre of perſonal qualities, and the honours of family, which devolved upon thoſe who were deſcended from citizens who had borne the higher offices of State, and were diſtinguiſhed in their country's ſervice.

The different orders of men in the commonwealth having obtained the inſtitutions for which they ſeverally contended, the number of officers was increaſed, for the better adminiſtration of affairs, which were faſt accumulating. Thus a ſecond Prætor was added to the original eſtabliſhment of this office; and, as the perſons who held it were deſtined to act either in a civil or military capacity, to hear cauſes in the city, or to command armies in the field. They were aſſiſted in the firſt of theſe functions by a new inſtitution, that of the Centumvirs, or the Hundred, who were draughted from the Tribes, and appointed, during the year of their nomination, under the direction of the Prætors, to take cognizance of civil diſputes. The number of Tribes being now completed to thirty-five, and three of the Centumvirs being draughted from each, made the whole amount to a hundred and five [18].

The city, during the late deſtructive war, ſent abroad two colonies, one to Caſtrum Innui, a village of the Latins, the other to Firmium in the Picenum, on the oppoſite ſide of the peninſula, intended rather to guard and protect the coaſt, than to provide for any ſuperabundance of the people, whoſe numbers at this time underwent a conſiderable diminution [19]; the rolls having decreaſed in the courſe

[18] Liv. Epitom. lib. xx.

[19] Livy, in different places, mentions between thirty and forty Roman colonies ſubſiſting in Italy in the time of the ſecond Punic war (Liv. lib. xxvii. c. 9 & 38.). Velleius Paterculus reckons about forty planted in Italy after the recovery of Rome from its deſtruction by the Gauls (Lib. i. c. xv.). And Sigonius, collecting the names of all the colonies mentioned by any Roman writer as planted in Italy, has made a liſt of about ninety. But this matter, which ſo much intereſts this very learned antiquarian and many others, was become, as we have mentioned, a ſubject of mere curioſity, even in the times of the writers from whom our accounts are collected; as all the Italians were by that time admitted on the roll of Roman citizens by the law of L. Julius Cæſar, and in conſequence of the Marſic war. U. C. 663.

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of five years, from two hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſeven, to two hundred and fifty-one thouſand two hundred and twenty-two [20]. The revenue, to which citizens who were accuſtomed to pay with their perſonal ſervice, had little to ſpare from their effects, and which was at all times probably ſcanty, being often exhauſted by the expences of the late war, brought the community under the neceſſity of acquitting itſelf of its debts, by diminiſhing the weight, or raiſing the current value of its coin. The as, which was the ordinary meaſure of valuation, being the libra, or pound of copper ſtamped, and hitherto containing twelve ounces, was reduced in its weight to two ounces [21].

The contribution now exacted from Carthage amounting to about two hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand pounds, together with the rents to be collected in Sicily, were likely to be great acceſſions of wealth to ſuch a State.

The ſpoils of their enemies, for the moſt part, conſiſted of priſoners who were detained by the captor as his ſlaves, or ſent to market to be ſold. They had made a prize of twenty thouſand captives in their firſt deſcent upon Africa; and the number of ſlaves in Italy was already become ſo great as to endanger the State [22].

The favourite entertainments of the People were combats of armed ſlaves, known by the name of gladiators, derived from the weapons with which they moſt frequently fought. Such exhibitions, it is ſaid, were firſt introduced in the interval between the firſt and ſecond Punic war, by a ſon of the family of Brutus, to ſolemnize the funeral of his father. Though calculated rather to move pity and cauſe horror, than to give pleaſure; yet, like all other ſcenes which excite hopes and fears, and keep the mind in ſuſpence, they were admired by the multitude, and became frequent on all ſolemn occaſions or feſtivals.

[20] Liv. Epitom. lib. xix: lib. ii. Oroſius, lib. ii. c. 7.

[21] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. 8.

[22] Zonar.

The

CHAP. IV.

In the circumſtances or events which immediately followed the peace between Rome and Carthage, thoſe nations ſhewed the different tendency of their inſtitutions and manners. The Romans, in the very ſtruggles of a ſeemingly deſtructive conteſt, had acquired ſtrength and ſecurity, not only by the reputation of great victories, but ſtill more by the military ſpirit and improved diſcipline and ſkill of their people by ſea and by land. Although their ſubjects in Italy revolted, and their allies withdrew their ſupport, yet both were ſoon reduced, at the firſt appearance of thoſe veteran ſoldiers who had been formed in the ſervice of the preceding war.

The Carthaginians, on the contrary, had made war above twenty years without becoming more warlike; had exhauſted their reſources, and conſumed the bread of their own people in maintaining foreign mercenaries, who, inſtead of being an acceſſion of ſtrength, were ready to prey on their weakneſs, and to become the moſt formidable enemies to the ſtate they had ſerved. Their army, compoſed, as uſual, of hirelings from Gaul, Spain, and the interior parts of Africa, eſtimated their ſervices in the war which was then concluded at a higher value than the State was diſpoſed to allow, and attempted to take by force what was refuſed to their repreſentations and claims. Being aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Carthage to receive the arrears of their pay, the Senate wildly propoſed, in conſideration of the diſtreſſed condition of the public revenue, that they ſhould make ſome abatement of the ſums that were due to them. But the State, inſtead of obtaining the abatements which were thus propoſed, only provoked men with arms in their hands to enter into altercations, and to multiply their claims and pretenſions. The mercenaries took offence at the delays of payment, roſe in their demands upon every conceſſion, and marched at laſt to the capital, with all the appearances and threats of an open and victorious enemy. They iſſued a proclamation on their

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their march, inviting all the provincial ſubjects of the commonwealth to aſſert their freedom, and, by the numbers that flocked to them from every quarter, became a mighty hoſt, to which the city had nothing to oppoſe but its walls. To effectuate the reduction of Carthage, they inveſted Tunis and Utica, and ſubmitted to all the diſcipline of war from the officers whom they themſelves had appointed to command.

In this criſis, the republic of Carthage, cut off from all its reſources and ordinary ſupplies, attacked with that very ſword on which it relied for defence, and in a ſituation extremely deplorable and dangerous, having ſtill ſome confidence in the ability of their Senators, and in the magnanimity of officers tried and experienced in arduous and perilous ſituations, was not altogether reduced to deſpair. Although the people had committed their arms into the hands of ſtrangers, the command of armies had been ſtill reſerved to their own citizens; and now, by the preſence and abilities of a few great men, they were taught to aſſume a neceſſary courage, to put themſelves in a military poſture, and to maintain, during three years, and through a ſcene of mutual cruelties and retaliations, unheard of in the conteſts of nations at war, a ſtruggle of the greateſt difficulty. In this ſtruggle they prevailed at laſt by the total extirpation of this vile and outrageous enemy [*].

During the dependence of this odious revolt, in which a mercenary army endeavoured to ſubdue the State which employed them, the Romans preſerved that character for generoſity and magnanimity of which they knew ſo well how to avail themſelves, without loſing any opportunity that offered for the ſecure advancement of their power. They refrained from giving any countenance even againſt their

S

[*] Polyb. lib. i. c. 67—fine.

rival

rival to ſuch unworthy antagoniſts. They affected to diſdain taking any advantage of the preſent diſtreſſes of Carthage, and refuſed to enter into any correſpondence with a part of the rebel mercenaries, who, being ſtationed in Sardinia, offered to ſurrender that iſland into their hands. They prohibited the traders of Italy to furniſh the rebels with any ſupply of proviſions or ſtores, and abandoned every veſſel that preſumed to tranſgreſs theſe orders, to the mercy of the Carthaginian cruiſers which plied before the harbours of Tunis and Utica. Above five hundred Roman priſoners, ſeized by theſe cruizers, were detained in the jails of Carthage. At the termination, however, of this war, when the Carthaginians were far from being diſpoſed to renew any quarrel whatever, the Romans fixed on this as a ground of diſpute, complained of piracies committed againſt the traders of Italy, under pretence of intercepting ſupplies to the rebels; and, by threatening immediate war upon this account, obtained from the State itſelf a ſurrender of the iſland of Sardinia, which they had refuſed to accept from the rebels, and got an addition of two hundred talents to the ſum ſtipulated in the late treaty of peace, to make up for their pretended loſſes by the ſuppoſed unwarrantable capture of their ſhips [25].

Upon this ſurrender the Sardinians bore with ſome diſcontent the change of their ſovereigns; and, on the firſt prohibition of their uſual commerce with Carthage, to which they had been long accuſtomed, took arms, and endeavoured for ſome time to withſtand the orders which they were required to obey.

Soon after the Romans had reconciled theſe new acquired ſubjects to their government, had quelled a revolt in Tuſcany, and vanquiſhed ſome cantons of Liguria, whom it is ſaid they brought to ſubmit as faſt as the acceſs to that country could be opened, they found them-

[25] Polyb. lib. i. c. 88. lib. iii. c. 10. Appian de Bell. Punic. p. 4.

ſelves

EOS. U. C. 519. felves at peace with all the world[56]; and, in token of this memorable circumſtance, ſhut the gates of the temple of Janus; a ceremony which the continual ſucceſſion of wars, from the reign of Numa to the preſent time, had prevented, during a period of four hundred and thirty years; a ceremony, which, when performed, marked a ſituation as tranſient as it was ſtrange and uncommon.

Freſh diſturbances in ſome of the poſſeſſions recently ſeized by the republic, and a quarrel of ſome importance that carried her arms for the firſt time beyond the Hadriatic, embroiled her anew in a ſucceſſion of wars and military adventures.

The Illyrians had become of late a conſiderable nation, and were a party in the negotiations and quarrels of the Macedonians and the Greeks. Having convenient harbours and retreats for ſhipping, they carried on a piratical war with moſt of their neighbours, and, in particular, committed depredations on the traders of Italy, which it concerned the Romans, as the ſovereigns of this country, to prevent. They accordingly ſent deputies to complain of theſe practices, to demand a reparation of paſt injuries, and a ſecurity from any ſuch attempts for the future. The Illyrians at this time were under the government of Teuta, the widow of a king lately deceaſed, who held the reins of government as guardian to her ſon. This princeſs, in anſwer to the complaints and repreſentations of the Romans, declared, that in her kingdom no public commiſſion had ever been granted to make war on the Italians; but ſhe obſerved, that the ſeas being open, no one could anſwer for what was tranſacted there; and that it was not the cuſtom of kings to debar their ſubjects from what they could ſeize by their valour. To this barbarous declaration one of the Roman deputies replied, that his country was ever governed by different maxims; that they endeavoured to reſtrain the

[56] Flores, lib. ii. c. 3. Eutrop. lib. ii.

crimes

crimes of private perſons by the authority of the State, and ſhould, in the preſent caſe, find a way to reform the practice of kings in this particular. The queen was incenſed; and reſenting theſe words, as an inſult to herſelf, gave orders to waylay and aſſaſſinate the Roman deputy on his return to Rome [27].

In revenge of this barbarous outrage, and of the former injuries received from that quarter, the Romans made war on the queen of Illyricum, obliged her to make reparation for the injuries ſhe had done to the traders of Italy, to evacuate all the towns ſhe had occupied on the coaſt, to reſtrain her ſubjects in the uſe of armed ſhips, and to forbid them to navigate the Ionian Sea with more than two veſſels in company.

The Romans, being deſirous of having their conduct in this matter approved of by the nations of that continent, ſent a copy of this treaty, together with an expoſition of the motives which had induced them to croſs the Adriatic, to be read in the aſſembly of the Achæan league. They ſoon after made a like communication at Athens and at Corinth, where, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervice they had performed againſt the Illyrians, then reputed the common enemy of civilized nations, they had an honorary place aſſigned them at the Iſthmian games; and in this manner made their firſt appearance in the councils of Greece [28]. U. C. 525.

[27] Polyb. lib. ii. c. 8. [28] Ibid. c. 12. Appian in Illyr.

CHAP. V.

Progreſs of the Romans within the Alps.——Origin of the ſecond Punic War.——March of Hannibal into Italy.——Progreſs.——Action on the Ticinus.——On the Trebia.——On the Lake Thraſimenus.——Battle of Cannæ.——Hannibal not ſupported from Carthage.——Sequel of the War.——In Italy.——And Africa.——Scipio's Operations.——Battle of Zama.——End of the War.

BOOK I.

THE city of Rome, and moſt of the diſtricts of Italy, during the dependence of the laſt enumerated wars which were waged at a diſtance and beyond the ſeas, began to experience that uninterrupted tranquillity in which the capital and interior diviſions of every conſiderable nation remain, even during the wars in which the ſtate is engaged. They had indeed one ſource of alarm on the ſide of Ciſalpine Gaul, which they thought it neceſſary to remove, in order to obtain that entire ſecurity to which they aſpired. The country of the Senones, from Sena Gallia to the Rubicon, they had already ſubdued, even before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy; but the richeſt and moſt fertile tracts on the Po were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Gauliſh nations; and it had been propoſed, about four years after the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, to erect a barrier againſt the invaſions of this people, by occupying with Roman colonies the country of the Senones, from Sena Gallia to the Rubicon. Although the inhabitants to be removed to make room for theſe ſettlements had been ſubject to the Romans above forty years, yet their brethren on the Po conſidered this act of violence as an inſult to the Gauliſh name, reſolved to avenge it, and invited their countrymen from beyond the Alps to take part in the quarrel.

CHAP. V.

In conſequence of their negotiations and concerts, in about eight years after the Romans were ſettled on the Rubicon, a great army of Gauls appeared on the Roman frontier. Theſe nations uſed to make war by impetuous aſſaults and invaſions, and either at once ſubdued and occupied the countries which they over-ran, or, being repulſed, abandoned them without any farther intention to perſiſt in the war. Their tumultuary operations, however, were ſubjects of the greateſt alarm at Rome, and generally produced a ſuſpenſion of all the ordinary forms of the commonwealth. On a proſpect of the preſent alarm from that quarter, the Senate, apprehending the neceſſity of great and ſudden exertions of all their ſtrength, ordered a general account to be taken of all the men fit to carry arms, whether on foot or on horſeback, that could be aſſembled for the defence of Italy; and they muſtered, on this famous occaſion, above ſeven hundred thouſand foot and ſeventy thouſand horſe[a]. From this numerous return of men in arms, the State was enabled to make great detachments, which they ſtationed under the Conſuls and one of the Prætors ſeparately, for the defence of the commonwealth. The Gauls, having penetrated into Etruria, where the Prætor was ſtationed, attacked and obliged him to retire. The Conſuls, however, being arrived with their ſeveral armies in different directions to ſupport the Prætor, renewed the conflict with united force, and put the greater part of the Gauliſh invaders to the ſword.

In the year following, the Romans carried the war into the enemy's country; and, in about three years more, paſſed the Po, and made themſelves maſters of all the plains on that river quite to the foot of the Alps. To ſecure this valuable acquiſition they projected two colonies of ſix thouſand men each, one at Cremona and the other at Placentia, on the oppoſite ſides of the Po; but were diſturbed in the U. C. 529.

[a] Polyb. lib. ii. c. 22—24, &c. Liv. Epitom. lib. xxi.

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execution of this project, firſt, by a revolt of the natives, who juſtly conſidered theſe ſettlements as military ſtations, intended to repreſs and keep themſelves in ſubjection; and afterwards, by the arrival of a ſucceſsful invader, who, by his conduct and implacable animoſity, appeared to be the moſt formidable enemy that had ever attempted to ſhake the power, or to limit the progreſs, of the Roman State.

The republic had now enjoyed, during a period of twenty-one years from the end of the firſt Punic war, the fruits not only of that aſcendant ſhe had acquired among the nations of Italy, but thoſe likewiſe of the high reputation ſhe had gained, and of the great military power ſhe had formed in the conteſt with Carthage. The wars that filled up the interval of peace with this principal antagoniſt, were either trivial or of ſhort duration; and the city itſelf, though ſtill rude in the form of its buildings and in the manners of its people, probably now began to pay a growing attention to the arts of peace. Laws are dated in this period which have a reference to manufacture and to trade. Clothiers are directed in the fabric of cloth [2], and carriers by water are directed in the ſize of their veſſels. Livius Andro-
U. C. 513. nicus and Nævius introduced ſome ſpecies of dramatic entertainment, and found a favourable reception from the people to their farcical productions [3].

But whatever progreſs the people were now inclined to make in the uſeful or pleaſurable arts of peace, they were effectually interrupted, and obliged to bend the force of their genius, as in former times, to the arts of war, and to the defence of their ſettlements in Italy.

The Carthaginians had been for ſome time employed in Spain, making trial of their ſtrength, and forming their armies. In that Country Hamilcar, an officer of diſtinguiſhed fame in the late war

[2] Lex Metilia de Fullonibus. Lex Claudia. [3] Cicer. in Bruto, p. 35. A. Gell. lib. xvii. c. 21.

with.

with the Romans, and in that which enſued with the rebel mercenaries, had ſought refuge from that diſguſt and thoſe mortifications which, in the late treaty of peace, he felt from the abject councils of his country. And having found a pretence to levy new armies, he made ſome acquiſitions of territory, to compenſate the loſſes which Carthage had ſuſtained by the ſurrender of Sardinia and of Sicily.

Spain appears to have been to the trading nations of Greece, Aſia, and Africa, what America has been, though upon a larger ſcale, to the modern nations of Europe, an open field for new ſettlements, plantations, and conqueſts. The natives were brave, but impolitic, and ignorant of the arts of peace, occupied entirely with the care of their horſes and their arms. Theſe, ſays an hiſtorian, they valued more than their blood [4]. They painted or ſtained their bodies, affected long hair with gaudy ornaments of ſilver and of gold. The men were averſe to labour, and ſubſiſted chiefly by the induſtry of their women. Their mountains abounded in mines of copper and of the precious metals; inſomuch that, on ſome parts of the coaſt, it was reported that the natives had veſſels and utenſils of ſilver employed in the moſt common uſes [5]. A fatal report! ſuch as that which afterwards carried the poſterity of this very people, with ſo much deſtructive avidity, to viſit the new world; and is ever likely to tempt the dangerous viſits of ſtrangers, who are ready to gratify their avarice and their ambition, at the expence of nations to whoſe poſſeſſions they have no reaſonable or juſt pretenſion. The Spaniards were at this time divided into many barbarous hordes or ſmall principalities, which could neither form any effectual concert to prevent the intruſion and ſettlement of foreigners, nor poſſeſſed the neceſſary docility by which to profit by foreign examples, whether in the form of their policy or the invention of arts.

[4] Juſtin, lib. xliv. c. 2.

[5] Strabo, lib. iii.

The

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The Carthaginians had made their firſt viſits to Spain under pretence of ſupporting the colony of Gades, which, like themſelves, was ſprung from Tyre. They made a ſettlement under the name of new Carthage, in a ſituation extremely favourable to the communication of Spain with Africa, and in the neighbourhood of the richeſt mines. Hamilcar, after a few ſucceſsful campaigns, in extending the bounds of this ſettlement, being killed in battle, was ſucceeded by his ſon-law, Haſdrubal, who continued for ſome years to purſue the ſame deſigns.

The Romans, in the mean while, were occupied on the coaſt of Illyricum, or amuſed with alarms from Gaul. They were ſenſible of the progreſs made by their rivals in Spain; but imagining that any danger from that quarter was extremely remote, or while they had wars at once on both ſides of the Hadriatic, being unwilling to engage at the ſame time with ſo many enemies, were content with a negotiation and a treaty, in which they ſtipulated with the Carthaginians that they ſhould not paſs the Iberus to the eaſtward, nor moleſt the city of Saguntum. This they conſidered as a proper barrier on that ſide, and profeſſed for the inhabitants of that place the concern of allies. Truſting to the effect of this treaty, as ſufficient to limit the progreſs of the Carthaginians in Spain, they proceeded, in the manner that has been mentioned, to contend with the Gauls for the dominion of Italy, which hitherto, under the frequent alarms they received from this people, was ſtill inſecure [e].

Haſdrubal, after nine years ſervice, being aſſaſſinated by a Spaniſh ſlave, who committed this deſperate action in revenge of an injury which had been done to his maſter, was ſucceeded in the command of the Carthaginian troops in Spain by Hannibal, the ſon of Hamilcar. This young man, then of five and twenty years of age, had,

[e] Polyb. lib. ii. c. 13.

when

when a child [7], come into Spain with his father, ſeemed to inherit his genius, and preſerved, probably with increaſing animoſity, his averſion to the Romans. Being reared and educated in camps, and from his earlieſt youth qualified to gain the confidence of ſoldiers, he, on the death of Haſdrubal, by the choice of the troops, was raiſed to the command of that army, and afterwards confirmed in it by the Senate of Carthage.

The Carthaginians had now for ſome time ceaſed to feel the defeats and the ſufferings which had induced them to accept of the late diſadvantageous conditions of peace, and were ſenſible only of the laſting inconveniencies to which that treaty expoſed them. They had long felt, from the neighbourhood of the Romans, an inſurmountable bar to their progreſs. They had felt, during above ſeventeen years from the date of their laſt treaty of peace, the loſs of their maritime ſettlements, and the decline of their navigation. They had felt the load of a heavy contribution, which, though reſtricted to a particular ſum, had the form of a tribute, in being exacted by annual payments; and they entertained ſentiments of animoſity and averſion to the Romans, which nothing but the memory of recent ſufferings and the apprehenſion of danger could have ſo long ſuppreſſed.

Hamilcar, together with a conſiderable party of the Senate, were ſuppoſed to have borne with the late humiliating peace, only that they might have leiſure to provide for a ſubſequent war. "I have "four ſons," this famous warrior had been heard to ſay, "whom I "ſhall rear like ſo many lions whelps againſt the Romans." In this ſpirit he ſet armies on foot to be trained and accuſtomed to ſervice in Spain, and had already projected the invaſion of Italy from thence.

Whatever may have been the military ſervices which the Carthaginians deviſed, the execution of them was ſecured by the coming

[7] At nine years of age.

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of Hannibal to the head of their army. He was well formed for great enterprife, and profeffed an hereditary averfion to the Romans. In the firft and fecond year of his command he continued the operations which had been begun by his predeceffors in Spain; but during this time, although he made conqueſts beyond the Iberus, he did not moleſt the city of Saguntum, nor give any umbrage to the Romans. But, in the third year after his appointment, his progreſs alarmed the Saguntines, and induced them to fend a deputation to Rome to impart their fears.

At the arrival of this deputation from Saguntum, the Romans had fitted out an armament under the command of the Conſul L. Emilius Paulus, deſtined to make war on Demetrius, the prince of Pharos, a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of Illyricum. This armament, if directed to Spain, might have ſecured the city of Saguntum againſt the deſigns of Hannibal; but the Romans ſtill conſidered any danger from that quarter as remote, and continued to employ this force in its firſt deſtination. They paid ſo much regard, nevertheleſs, to the repreſentations of the Saguntines, as to ſend deputies into Spain, with orders to obſerve the poſture of affairs, and to inform the Carthaginian officer on that ſtation, of the engagements which had been entered into by his predeceſſor, and of the concern which the Romans muſt undoubtedly take in the ſafety of Saguntum. The return which they had to this meſſage gave ſufficient intimation of an approaching war; and it appears that, before the Roman commiſſioners could have made their report, the ſiege of Saguntum was actually commenced by Hannibal. He had already formed his deſign for the invaſion of Italy, and, that he might not leave to the Romans a place of arms and a powerful ally in the country from which he was about to depart, determined to occupy or deſtroy that place. He was impatient to reduce Saguntum before any ſuccours could arrive from Italy, or before any force could be collected againſt him, ſo as to fix the theatre of the war in Spain. He preſſed the ſiege, therefore,

therefore, with great impetuoſity, expoſing his perſon in every aſſault; and exciting, by his own example, with the pickaxe and ſpade, the parties at work in making his approaches[7]. Though abundantly cautious not to expoſe himſelf on ſlight occaſions, or from a mere oſtentation of courage, yet in this ſiege, which was the foundation of his hopes, and the neceſſary prelude to the farther progreſs of his enterprize, he declined no fatigue, and ſhunned no danger, that led to the attainment of his end. He was, nevertheleſs, by the valour of the beſieged, which they exerted in hopes of relief from Rome, detained about eight months before this place, and deprived at laſt of great part of its ſpoils by the deſperate reſolution of the citizens, who choſe to periſh, with all their effects, rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The booty, however, which he ſaved from this wreck enabled him, by his liberalities, to gain the affection of his army, and to provide for the execution of his deſign againſt Italy. U. C. 534.

The ſiege of Saguntum, being an infraction of the late treaty with the Romans, was undoubtedly an act of hoſtility; and this people incurred a cenſure of remiſſneſs, uncommon in their councils, by ſuffering an ally, and a place of ſuch importance, to remain ſo long in danger, and by ſuffering it at laſt to fall a prey to their enemy, without making any attempt to relieve it. It is probable, that the ſecurity they began to derive from a frontier, far removed from the ſeat of their councils, and covered on every ſide by the ſea, or by impervious mountains, rendered them more negligent than they had formerly been of much ſlighter alarms. They expected to govern by the dread of their power, and propoſed to puniſh, by exemplary vengeance, the inſults which they had not taken care to prevent.

The attention of the Romans, during the dependence of this event, had been fixed on the ſettlements they were making at Cremona and

[7] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 17.

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Placentia, to keep in ſubjection the Gauls, and on the naval expedition which they had ſent under the Conſul Æmilius to the coaſt of Illyricum. This officer, about the time that Hannibal had accomplished his deſign on Saguntum, and was retired for the winter to his uſual quarters at New Carthage, had ſucceeded in his attack on Demetrius prince of Pharos, had driven him from his territories, and obliged him to ſeek for refuge at the court of Macedonia, where his intrigues proved to be of ſome conſequence in the ſequel of theſe tranſactions.

The people at Rome being amuſed with theſe events, and with a triumphal proceſſion, which, as uſual, announced their victory, proceeded in the affairs of Spain according to the uſual forms, and agreeably to the laws which they had, from time immemorial, preſcribed to themſelves in the caſe of injuries received, ſent to demand ſatisfaction; complained at Carthage of the infraction of treaties; and required that Hannibal with his army ſhould be delivered up to their meſſengers; or, if this were refuſed, gave orders to denounce immediate war. The Roman commiſſioner, who ſpoke to this effect in the ſenate of Carthage, having made his demands, held up the lappet of his gown, and ſaid, "Here are both peace and war; "chuſe ye."—He was anſwered, "We chuſe that which you like U. C. 535. "beſt."—"Then it is war," he ſaid; and from this time both parties prepared for the conteſt.

Hannibal had been long deviſing the invaſion of Italy, probably without communicating his deſign even to the councils of his own country. The war being now declared, he made his diſpoſitions for the ſafety of Africa and Spain; gave intimation to the army under his command, that the Romans had required them to be delivered up, as a beaſt which commits a treſpaſs is demanded in reparation for the damage he has done[g]. If they felt a proper reſentment of this

[g] Veiet ob noxam ſibi dedi poſtularet populus Romanus. Liv. lib. xxi. c. 30.

indignity,

indignity, he warned them to prepare for an arduous march. He was in the eight and twentieth year of his age when he entered upon the execution of this deſign; an undertaking which, together with the conduct of it, has raiſed his reputation for enterprize and ability to an equal, if not to a higher pitch, than that of any leader of armies whatever.

The Romans, a few years before, had muſtered near eight hundred thouſand men, to whom the uſe of arms was familiar, to whom valour was the moſt admired of the virtues, and who were ready to aſſemble in any numbers proportioned to the ſervice for which they might be required: the march from Spain into Italy lay acroſs tremendous mountains, and through the territory of fierce and barbarous nations, who might not be inclined tamely to ſuffer a ſtranger to paſs through their country, or loſe any opportunity to enrich themſelves with his ſpoils.

From ſuch topics as theſe, hiſtorians have magnified the courage of this celebrated warrior at the expence of his judgment. It is probable, however, that both were equally exerted in this memorable ſervice. In the conteſt of nations, that country, which is made the ſeat of the war, for the moſt part labours under great comparative diſadvantage, is obliged to ſubſiſt the army of its enemy as well as its own, is expoſed to devaſtation, to hurry, confuſion, and irreſolution of councils; ſo much that, in nations powerful abroad, invaſions often betray great incapacity and weakneſs, or at leaſt fix the whole ſufferings of the war upon thoſe who are invaded. Hannibal, beſides this general conſideration, had with great care informed himſelf of the real ſtate of Italy, and knew, that though the Roman muſters were formidable, yet much of their ſuppoſed ſtrength conſiſted of diſcordant parts; a number of ſeparate cantons recently united, and many of them diſaffected to the power by which they were cemented together. Moſt of the inhabitants of that

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country, being the deſcendants of different nations, and diſtinguiſhed by various languages, ſtill retained much animoſity to each other, and moſt of all to their new maſters. Thoſe who had longeſt borne the appellation of Roman allies, even the colonies themſelves, as well as the conquered nations, had occaſionally revolted, and were likely to prefer ſeparate eſtabliſhments to their preſent dependance on the Roman State. The Gauls and Ligurians, even the Etruſcans, had been recently at war with thoſe ſuppoſed maſters of Italy, and were ready to reſume the ſword in concert with any ſucceſsful invader. The Gauls on the Po were already in arms, had razed the fortifications which the Romans had begun to erect at Cremona and Placentia, and forced the ſettlers to take refuge at Mutina. Every ſtep, therefore, that an invader ſhould make within this country, was likely to remove a ſupport from the Romans, and to add a new one to himſelf. The Roman power, compoſed of parts ſo ill cemented, was likely to diſſolve on the ſlighteſt touch. Though great when employed at a diſtance, and wielded by a ſingle hand, yet broken and disjointed by the preſence of an enemy, it was likely to loſe its ſtrength; or, by the revolt of one or more of its diſtricts, might furniſh a force that could be ſucceſsfully employed againſt itſelf. A few ſtriking examples of ſucceſs, therefore, for which he truſted to his own conduct, and to the ſuperiority of veterans hardened in the ſervice of many years, were likely to let looſe the diſcontents which ſubſiſted in Italy, and to ſhake the fidelity of thoſe allies who compoſed ſo great a part of the Roman ſtrength. Even with a leſs favourable proſpect of ſucceſs, the riſk was but ſmall, compared to the chance of gain. A ſingle army was to be ſtaked againſt a mighty State; and a few men, that could be eaſily replaced, were to be ſacrificed in an enterprize, which, if ſucceſsful, was to make Carthage the miſtreſs of the world; or even if it ſhould miſcarry, might inflict her enemy with a deeper wound than ſhe herſelf was likely to ſuffer from the loſs.

CHAP. V.

Hannibal collected together for this expedition ninety thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. In his march to the Iberus, he met with no interruption. From thence to the Pyrenees, being oppoſed by the natives, he forced his way through their country; but apprehending ſome inconvenience from ſuch an enemy left in his rear, he ſtationed his brother Hanno, with ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, to obſerve their motions, and to keep them in awe. After he had begun to aſcend the Pyrenees, a conſiderable body of his Spaniſh allies deſerted him in the night, and fell back to their own country. This example, he had reaſon to believe, would prove contagious; and as the likelieſt way to prevent its effects, he gave out, that the party which had left him, being no longer wanted for the purpoſes they ſerved on the march, were returned by his orders to their own country. That he meant to ſpare a few more of the troops of the ſame nation, as being unneceſſary in the remaining parts of the ſervice; and actually diſmiſſed a conſiderable body to confirm this opinion. By theſe ſeparations, or by the ſwords of the enemy, his numbers, in deſcending the mountains, were reduced from ninety to fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, with ſeven and thirty elephants [9].

This celebrated march took place in the year of Rome five hundred and thirty-four, and in the conſulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Romans, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, raiſed two conſular armies, and propoſed, by immediate armaments directed to Spain and to Africa, to fix the ſcene of the war in the enemy's country. U. C. 534.

Sempronius aſſembled an army and a fleet in the ports of Sicily, and had orders to paſs into Africa. Scipio embarked with ſome legions for Spain, and, touching on the coaſt of Gaul, firſt learned,

[9] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 35—42.

that

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that a Carthaginian army was marching by land into Italy. This intelligence determined him to land his troops at Marſeilles, and to ſend out a detachment of horſe to obſerve the country, and to procure farther and more particular information of the enemy.

Hannibal had arrived on the Rhône at ſome diſtance above its ſeparation into two channels, and about four days march from the ſea. In order to effect the paſſage of the river, he inſtantly collected all the boats that could be found on its extenſive navigation. At the ſame time, the natives, being unacquainted with ſtrangers in any other capacity than that of enemies, aſſembled in great numbers to diſpute his farther progreſs in their country.

Finding ſo powerful a reſiſtance in front, he delayed the embarkation of his army on the Rhône, and ſent a detachment up the banks of the river to paſs it at a different place, and to make a diverſion on the flank or the rear of the enemy who oppoſed him.

The diviſion employed on this ſervice, after a march of twenty-five miles, found the Rhône ſeparated into branches by ſmall iſlands, and at a convenient place got over on rafts to the oppoſite ſhore; and being thus in the rear, or on the right of the Gauliſh army, haſtened towards them, in order to give an alarm on that quarter, while Hannibal ſhould paſs the river in their front.

On the fifth day after the departure of this party, Hannibal, having intelligence that they had ſucceeded in paſſing the Rhône, made his diſpoſition to profit by the diverſion they were ordered to make in his favour. The larger veſſels, which were deſtined to tranſport the cavalry, were ranged towards the ſtream, to break the force of the current; and many of the horſes were faſtened to the ſtern of the boats. The ſmaller canoes were ranged below, and were to carry over a body of foot.

The

CHAP. V.

The Gauls, ſeeing theſe preparations, left their camp, and advanced to meet the enemy. They were drawn up on the banks of the river, when the Carthaginian detachment arrived on their rear, and lighted fires as a ſignal of their approach. Hannibal obſerving the ſmoke, notwithſtanding the poſture which the enemy had taken to reſiſt his landing, inſtantly put off from the ſhore: both armies ſhouted; but the Gauls being thrown into great conſternation by the report and effects of an attack which they little expected on their rear, without reſiſtance gave way to the Carthaginians in front, and were ſpeedily routed. Hannibal, having thus lodged himſelf on the eaſtern banks of the Rhône, in a few days, without any farther interruption or loſs, paſſed that river with his elephants, baggage, and the remainder of his army.

Soon after the Carthaginian general had ſurmounted this difficulty, intelligence came that a Roman army had arrived on the coaſt, and was diſembarked at Marſeilles. To gain further and more certain information of this enemy, he, nearly about the ſame time that Scipio had ſent a detachment on the ſame deſign, directed a party of horſe to examine the country. Theſe parties met; and, after a ſmart engagement, returned to their ſeveral armies with certain accounts of an enemy being near.

Scipio advanced with the utmoſt diſpatch to fix the ſcene of the war in Gaul; and Hannibal haſtened his departure, being equally intent on removing it, if poſſible, into Italy. The laſt, in order to keep clear of the enemy, directed his march at a diſtance from the ſea coaſt, and took his route by the banks of the Rhône. After four days march from the place where he had paſſed this river, he came to its confluence with another river, which was probably the Iſere, though by Polybius himſelf, who viſited the tract of this march, the place ſeems to be miſtaken for the confluence of the Rhône

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Rhône and Sacne[13]. Here he found two brothers contending for the throne of their father, and gained an uſeful ally by eſpouſing the cauſe of the elder. Being, in return for this ſervice, ſupplied with arms, ſhoes, and other neceſſaries, and attended by the prince himſelf, who with a numerous body covered his rear, he continued his march during ten days, probably on the Iſere, and about a hundred miles above the place where he had paſſed the Rhône, began to make his way over the ſummit of the Alps; a labour in which he was employed with his army during fifteen days".

The

[13] In the manuſcripts of Polybius, the river which falls into the Rhône at this place was called by a name unknown in that country. The firſt editors, to correct the miſtake, changed this unknown name for that of the Arar. But it is extremely probable, that they ought to have made it the Iſara, as the confluence of the Iſere and the Rhône correſponds much better with the diſtances and marches mentioned by Polybius. Four marches, for inſtance, from the place at which Hannibal had paſſed the Rhône, and four more from thence to the ſea.

" This famous route has been a ſubject of different opinions, and of ſome controverſy. In a country that is raiſed into vaſt mountains, round which the way muſt be found by narrow valleys, and the channels of rivers, it is impoſſible to decide any queſtion of this ſort from the map. Polybius viſited the ground, in order to ſatisfy himſelf on the tract of this famous route; and, from this circumſtance, as well as from his general knowledge of war, is undoubtedly the beſt authority to whom we can have recourſe in this queſtion. By his account, Hannibal, after four marches from the place at which he had paſſed the Rhône, came to the confluence of this with another river, which is evidently the Iſere. From thence, having continued his route ten days on the river, and marched about a hundred miles, he began to aſcend the ſummit, and was employed in that difficult work fifteen days. This account may incline us to believe, that Hannibal followed the courſe of the Iſere from its confluence with the Rhône to about Conflans; that, having ſurmounted the ſummit, he deſcended into Italy by the channel of another river, or the Vale of Aoſte. Such are the paſſages by which ridges of mountains, in every inſtance, are to be traverſed. It is indeed aſſerted, or implied in the text of Polybius, that Hannibal marched ten days on the Rhône after its confluence with the Arar or Iſara; but it is probable, that, in viſiting a barbarous country, in which the Romans had yet no poſſeſſions, and with the language of which he was unacquainted, he may have miſtaken the Iſere for the Rhône, and conſequently the Rhône for the Arar or Saone. The Rhône and Iſere take their riſe from the ſame ridge, and run nearly in the ſame directions. In this account of the courſe of the ſuppoſed Rhône which he viſited, he mentions nothing of the Lake of Geneva, which is ſcarcely poſſible, if he had ſeen it. Polyb. lib. iii. c. 47.

According to this conjecture, Hannibal, having

The natives, either fearing him as an enemy, or propoſing to plunder his baggage, had occupied every poſt at which they could obſtruct his march; aſſailed him from the heights, endeavoured to overwhelm his army in the gorges of the mountains, or force them over precipices, which frequently ſunk perpendicular under the narrow paths by which they were to paſs.

Near to the ſummits of the ridge, at which he arrived by a continual aſcent of many days, he had his way to form on the ſides of frozen mountains, and through maſſes of perennial ice, which, at the approach of winter, were now covered with recent ſnow. Many of his men and horſes, coming from a warm climate, periſhed by the cold; and his army having ſtruggled, during ſo long a time, with extremes to which it was little accuſtomed, was reduced, from fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, the numbers which remained to him in deſcending the Pyrenees, to twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand cavalry, a force, in all appearance, extremely diſproportioned to the ſervice for which they were deſtined [12].

The Roman Conſul, in the mean time, had, in ſearch of his enemy, directed his march to the Rhône; and, in three days after the departure of Hannibal, had arrived at the place where he had paſſed that river; but was ſatisfied that any further attempts to purſue him in this direction, would only carry himſelf away from what was to be the ſcene of the war, and from the ground he muſt occupy

having marched by the vale of Iſere, Grenoble, Chamberry, and Mountmelian, and deſcended by the vale of Aoſte, muſt have paſſed the ſummit at or near the leſſer abbey of St. Bernard.

As mountains are penetrated by the channels of rivers, it is probable that Hannibal, if he were himſelf to explore his paſſage, would try the courſe of the firſt conſiderable river he found on his right deſcending from the Alps, which was the Iſere: but if, as is extremely probable, he had well-inſtructed guides, it is not likely that they would lead him ſo long a circuit as he muſt have made by the courſe and ſources of the Rhône, when, in fact, he had one equally practicable, and much nearer, by the Iſere on one ſide of the Alps, and the Dorea Baltea on the other.

[12] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 55. Liv. lib. xxi.

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for the defence of Italy; he returned therefore without loſs of time to his ſhips; ſent his brother, Cneius Scipio, with the greater part of the army, to purſue the object of the war in Spain; and he himſelf, with the remainder, ſet ſail for Piſa, where he landed and put himſelf at the head of the legions which he found in that quarter; and which had been appointed to reſtore the ſettlements of Cremona and Placentia. With theſe forces he paſſed the Po, and was arrived on the Tecinus, when Hannibal came down into the plain country at ſome diſtance below Turin.

The Carthaginian general, at his arrival in thoſe parts, had moved to his right; and, to gratify his new allies the Inſubres, inhabiting what is now the dutchy of Milan, who were then at war with the Taurini or Piedmonteſe, he laid ſiege to the capital of that country, and in three days reduced it by force. From thence he continued his march on the left of the Po; and, as the armies advanced, both generals, as if by concert, approached with their cavalry, or light troops, mutually to obſerve each other. They met on the Tecinus with ſome degree of ſurprize on both ſides, and were neceſſarily engaged in a conflict, which ſerved as a trial of their reſpective forces, and in which the Italian cavalry were defeated by the Spaniſh and African horſe. The Roman Conſul was wounded, and with much difficulty reſcued from the enemy by his ſon Publius Cornelius, afterwards ſo conſpicuous in the hiſtory of this war, but then only a youth of ſeventeen years of age, entering on his military ſervice [13].

The Roman detachment, it ſeems, had an eaſy retreat from the place of this encounter to that of their main army, and were not purſued. Scipio, diſabled by his wound, and probably, from the check he had received, ſenſible of the enemy's ſuperiority in the quality of their

[13] Polyb. lib. x. c. 3.

horſe, determined to retire from the plains; repaſſed the Po, marched up the Trebia, and, to ſtop the progreſs of the Carthaginians, while he waited for inſtructions or reinforcements from Rome, took poſt on the banks of that river. While he lay in this poſition, an alarming effect of his defeat, and of the diſaffection of ſome Gauls who profeſſed to be his allies, appeared in the deſertion of two thouſand horſemen of that nation, who went over to the enemy.

The Roman Senate received theſe accounts with ſurprize, and with ſome degree of conſternation. An enemy was arrived in Italy, and had obliged the Conſul, with his legions, to retire. The forces which they had lately muſtered were numerous, but conſiſted in part of doubtful friends, or of declared enemies. They ſuppoſed all their late vanquiſhed ſubjects on the Po to be already in rebellion, or to be muſtered againſt them in the Carthaginian camp. And, notwithſtanding the numerous levies that could have been made in the city, and in the contiguous colonies; notwithſtanding the expediency of carrying the war into Africa, as the ſureſt way of forcing the Carthaginians to withdraw their forces from Italy for the defence of their own country, they, with a degree of puſillanimity uncommon in their councils, ordered the other Conſul, Sempronius Longus, to deſiſt from his deſign upon Africa; they recalled him with his army from Sicily, and directed him, without delay, to join his colleague on the Trebia, and, if poſſible, to ſtop the progreſs of this daring and impetuous enemy.

The Conſul Sempronius, therefore, after he had met and defeated a Carthaginian fleet on the coaſt of Sicily, and was preparing for a deſcent on Africa, ſuddenly changed his courſe, and, having turned the eaſtern promontories of Sicily and Italy, ſteered for Ariminum, where he landed; and, having performed this voyage and march in forty days, joined his colleague, where he lay oppoſed to Hannibal on the Trebia.

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By the arrival of a ſecond Roman Conſul, the balance of forces was again reſtored, and the natives ſtill remained in ſuſpence between the two parties at war. Inſtead of a deliverance from ſervitude, which many of them expected to obtain from the arrival of foreigners to balance the force of the Romans, they began to apprehend, as uſual in ſuch caſes, a confirmation of their bonds, or a mere change of their maſters. When the conteſt ſhould be ended, they wiſhed to have the favour of the victor, and not to ſhare in the fortunes of the vanquiſhed. They had, therefore, waited to ſee how the ſcales were likely to incline, and had not repaired to the ſtandard of Hannibal, in the manner, it is probable, he expected; and this, with every other circumſtance of the war, forced him to rapid and hazardous counſels. Being too far from his reſources to continue a dilatory war, he haſtened to ſecure the neceſſary poſſeſſions on the Po; and, by the reputation of victory, to determine the wavering inhabitants to declare on his ſide. For theſe reaſons he ever preſſed on the enemy, and ſought for occaſions to draw them into action. He had been, ever ſince the encounter on the Ticinus, cautiouſly avoided by Scipio; who, even after he was reinforced by the other conſular army, endeavoured to engage his colleague likewiſe in the ſame dilatory meaſures; but Sempronius, imputing this caution to the impreſſion which Scipio had taken from his late defeat, and being confident of his own ſtrength, diſcovered to the Carthaginian general an inclination to meet him, and to decide the campaign by a general action. Sempronius was farther encouraged in this intention by his ſucceſs in ſome encounters of foraging parties, which happened ſoon after he had arrived on this ground; and Hannibal, ſeeing this diſpoſition of his enemy, took meaſures to bring on the engagement in circumſtances the moſt favourable to himſelf.

CHAP. V.

He had a plain in his front, though which the Trebia ran, and parted the two armies. He wiſhed to bring the Romans to his own ſide of the river, and to fight on the ground where his army was accuſtomed to form. Here, beſides the other advantages which he propoſed to take, he had an opportunity to place an ambuſcade, from which he could attack the enemy on the flank or the rear, while they ſhould be engaged in front. It was the middle of winter, and there were frequent ſhowers of ſnow. The enemy's infantry, if they ſhould ford the river, and afterwards remain any time inactive, were likely to ſuffer conſiderably from the effects of wet and cold. Hannibal, to lay them under this diſadvantage, ſent his cavalry acroſs the fords, with orders to parade on the ground before the enemy's lines; and, if attacked, to repaſs the river with every appearance of flight. He had, in the mean time, concealed a thouſand choſen men under the ſhrubby banks of a brook, which fell into the Trebia beyond the intended field of battle. He had ordered his army to be in readineſs, and to prepare themſelves with a hearty meal for the fatigues they were likely to undergo.

When the Carthaginian cavalry, paſſing the river as they had been ordered, preſented themſelves to the Romans, it was but break of day, and before the uſual hour of the firſt meal in the Roman camp. The legions were, nevertheleſs, haſtily formed; and purſued the enemy to where they were ſeen in diſorder to paſs the river; and there, by the directions of their general, who ſuppoſed he had gained an advantage, and with the ardor which is uſual in the purſuit of victory, they paſſed the fords, and made a diſplay of their forces on the oppoſite bank. Hannibal, expecting this event, had already formed his troops on the plain, and made a ſhew of only covering the retreat of his cavalry, while he knew that a general action could no longer be avoided. After it began in front, the Romans were attacked in the rear by the party which had been poſted in ambuſh

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buſh for this purpoſe; and this being added to the other diſadvantages under which they engaged, they were defeated with great ſlaughter.

The legions of the centre, to the amount of ten thouſand men, cut their way through the enemy's line, and eſcaped to Placentia. Of the remainder of the army, the greater part either fell in the field, periſhed in attempting to repaſs the river, or were taken by the enemy. In this action, although few of the Africans fell by the ſword, they ſuffered conſiderably by the cold and aſperity of the ſeaſon, to which they were not accuſtomed; and of the elephants, of which Hannibal had brought a conſiderable number into this country, only one ſurvived the diſtreſs of this day[15].

In conſequence of this victory, Hannibal ſecured his quarters on the Po; and, by the treachery of a native of Brunduſium, who commanded at Claſtidium, got poſſeſſion of that place, after the Romans had fortified and furniſhed it with conſiderable magazines for the ſupply of their own army. In his treatment of the priſoners taken at this place, he made a diſtinction between the citizens of Rome and their allies: the firſt he uſed with ſeverity, the others he diſmiſſed to their ſeveral countries, with aſſurances that he was come to make war on the Romans, and not on the injured inhabitants of Italy.

The Roman Conſul, Sempronius, was among thoſe who eſcaped to Placentia. He meant, in his diſpatches to the Senate, to have diſguiſed the amount of his loſs; but the difficulty with which his meſſenger arrived through a country over-run by the enemy, with many other conſequences of his defeat, ſoon publiſhed at Rome the extent of that calamity. The people, however, roſe in their ardour and animoſity, inſtead of being ſunk. As awakened from a dream of puſillanimity, in which they had hitherto ſeemed to conſume their

[15] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 74.

views

views to the defence of Italy, they not only commanded freſh levies to replace the army they had loſt on the Trebia, but they ordered the Conſul Scipio to his firſt deſtination in Spain, and ſent forces to Sardinia, Sicily, Tarentum, and every other ſtation where they apprehended any defection of their allies, or any impreſſion to be made by the enemy [17].

CHAP. V.

The unfortunate Sempronius, being called to the city to hold the election of magiſtrates, eſcaped, or forced his way through the quarters of the enemy. He was ſucceeded by Caius Flaminius and Cn. Servilius; the firſt, being of obſcure extraction, was choſen in oppoſition to the Nobles, to whom the people imputed the diſaſters of the preſent war. He was ordered early in the ſpring to take poſt at Arretium, that he might guard the paſſes of the Appenines and cover Etruria, while the other Conſul was ſtationed at Ariminum to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, if he attempted to paſs by the eaſtern coaſt.

Hannibal, after his firſt winter in Italy, took the field for an early campaign; and being inclined to counſels the moſt likely to ſurpriſe his enemies, took his way to Etruria, by a paſſage in which the vales of the Appenines were marſhy, and, from the effects of the ſeaſon, ſtill covered with water. In a ſtruggle of many days with the hardſhips of this dangerous march, he loſt many of his horſes and much of his baggage; and himſelf, being ſeized with an inflammation in one of his eyes, loſt the uſe of it. Having appeared, however, in a quarter where he was not expected, he availed himſelf of this degree of ſurpr ze with all his former activity and vigour.

The character of Flaminius, who was raiſed by the favour of the People in oppoſition to the Senate, and who was now diſpoſed to gratify his conſtituents by ſome action of ſplendor and ſucceſs, encouraged Hannibal to hope that he might derive ſome advantage

[17] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 75.

from

BOOK I.

from the ignorance and preſumption of his enemy. He therefore endeavoured to provoke the new Conſul, by deſtroying the country in his preſence, and to brave his reſentment, by ſeeming, on many occaſions, to expoſe himſelf to his attacks. He even ventured to penetrate into the country beyond him with an appearance of contempt. In one of theſe movements he marched by the banks of the Lake Thraſimenus, over which the mountains roſe with a ſudden and ſteep aſcent. He truſted that the Roman Conſul would follow him, and occupied a poſt from which with advantage to attack him, if he ſhould venture to engage amidſt the difficulties of this narrow way. On the day in which his deſign was ripe for execution, he was favoured in concealing his poſition on the aſcent of the mountains by a fog which covered the brows of the hills; and he ſucceeded in drawing the Roman Conſul into a ſnare, in which he periſhed, with the greater part of his army.

The loſs of the Romans in this action amounted to fifteen thouſand men who fell by the ſword, or who were forced into the lake and drowned. Of thoſe who eſcaped by different ways, ſome continued their flight for fourſcore miles, the diſtance of this field of battle from Rome, and arrived in the city with the news of this diſaſtrous event. On the firſt reports great multitudes aſſembled at the place from which the People were accuſtomed to receive a communication of public diſpatches from the officers of State; and the Prætor, who then commanded in the city, being to inform them of what had paſſed, began his account of the action with theſe words: "We are van-
" quiſhed in a great battle; the Conſul, with great part of his army,
" is ſlain." He was about to proceed, but could not be heard for the conſternation and the cries which aroſe among the People: inſomuch, that perſons who had been preſent in the action confeſſed, they heard theſe words with a deeper impreſſion, than any they had received amidſt the bloodſhed and horrors of the field; and that it was then only they became ſenſible of the whole extent of their loſs.

To

CHAP. V.

To encreaſe the general affliction, farther accounts were brought, at the ſame time, that four thouſand horſe, which had been ſent, upon hearing that Hannibal had paſſed the Appenines, by the Conſul Servilius, to ſupport his colleague, were intercepted by the enemy and taken. The Senate continued their meetings for many days without interruption, and the People, greatly affected with the weight of their mortifications and diſappointments, committed themſelves with proper docility to the conduct of this reſpectable body. In conſidering the cauſe of their repeated defeats, it is probable that they imputed them more to the difference of perſonal qualities in the leaders, than to any difference in the arms, diſcipline, or courage of the troops. In reſpect to the choice of weapons, Hannibal was ſo much convinced of the ſuperiority of the Romans, that he availed himſelf of his booty on the Trebia and the Lake Thraſimenus, to arm his African veterans in their manner [18]. In reſpect to diſcipline and courage, although mere detachments of the Roman People were likely, in their firſt campaigns, to have been inferior to veterans, hardened in the ſervice of many years under Hamilcar, Haſdrubal, and Hannibal himſelf; yet nothing is imputed by any hiſtorian to this point of diſparity. They are not ſaid to have been backward in any attack, to have failed their general in the execution of any plan, to have diſobeyed his orders, to have been ſeized with any panic, or, in any inſtance, to have given way to the enemy, until, being caught in ſome ſnare by the ſuperiority of the general, they fought with diſadvantage, and periſhed in great numbers on the field.

The reſult of the Senate's deliberations was to name a Dictator. This meaſure, except to diſpenſe with ſome form that hampered the ordinary magiſtrate, had not been adopted during an interval of five

[18] Polyb. lib. iii. c. 115.

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and thirty years. The choice fell upon Quintus Fabius Maximus, who ſeemed to poſſeſs the vigilance, caution, and vigour which were wanted in this arduous ſtate of affairs. In proceeding to name him, the uſual form which, perhaps, in matters of ſtate, as well as in matters of religion, ſhould be ſuppoſed indiſpenſible, could not be obſerved. Of the Conſuls, of whom one or the other, according to antient practice, ought to name the Dictator, one was dead; the other, being at a diſtance, was prevented by the enemy from any communication with the city. The Senate, therefore, to elude the ſuppoſed neceſſity of his preſence, reſolved that not a Dictator, but a Pro-dictator, ſhould be named; and that the People ſhould themſelves chuſe this officer, with all the powers that were uſually entruſted to the Dictator himſelf. Fabius was accordingly elected Pro-dictator, and in this capacity named M. Minutius Rufus for his ſecond in command, or general of the horſe.

While the Romans were thus preparing again to collect their forces, Hannibal continued to purſue his advantage. He might, with an enemy more eaſily ſubdued or daunted than the Romans, already have expected great fruit from his victories, at leaſt he might have expected offers of conceſſion and overtures of peace: but it is probable that he knew the character of this people enough, not to flatter himſelf ſo early in the war with theſe expectations, or to hope that he could make any impreſſion by a nearer approach to the city, or by any attempt on its walls. He had already, by his preſence, enabled the nations of the northern and weſtern parts of Italy to ſhake off the dominion of Rome. He had the ſame meaſures to purſue with reſpect to the nations of the South. The capital, he probably ſuppoſed, might be deprived of the ſupport of its allies, cut off from its reſources, and even deſtroyed; but while the State exiſted could never be brought to yield to an enemy.

Under

CHAP. V.

Under theſe impreſſions the Carthaginian general, leaving Rome at a great diſtance on his right, repaſſed the Appenines to the coaſt of Picenum, and from thence directed his march to Apulia. Here he proceeded, as he had done on the ſide of Etruria and Gaul, to lay waſte the Roman ſettlements, and to detach the natives from their allegiance to Rome. But while he purſued this plan in one extremity of Italy, the Romans took meaſures to recover the poſſeſſions they had loſt on the other, or at leaſt to prevent the diſaffected Gauls from making any conſiderable diverſion in favour of their enemy.

For this purpoſe, while Fabius Maximus was aſſembling an army to oppoſe Hannibal in Apulia, the Prætor, Lucius Poſthumius, was ſent with a proper force to the Po. Fabius having united the troops that had ſerved under the Conſul Servilius, with four legions newly raiſed by himſelf, followed the enemy. On his march he iſſued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants of open towns and villages in that quarter of Italy to retire into places of ſafety, and the inhabitants of every diſtrict to which the enemy approached, to ſet fire to their habitations and granaries, and to deſtroy whatever they could not remove in their flight [12]. Though determined not to hazard a battle, he drew near to the Carthaginian army, and continued from the heights to obſerve and to circumſcribe their motions. Time alone, he truſted, would decide the war in his favour, againſt an enemy who was far removed from any ſupply or recruit, and in a country that was daily waſting by the effect of their own depredations.

Hannibal, after endeavouring in vain to bring the Roman Dictator to a battle, perceived his deſign to protract the war; and conſidering inaction as the principal evil he himſelf had to fear, frequently ex-

[12] Liv. lib. xxii. c. 11.

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poſed his detachments, and even his whole army, in dangerous ſituations. The advantages he gave by theſe acts of temerity were ſometimes effectually ſeized by his wary antagoniſt, but more frequently recovered by his own ſingular conduct and unfailing reſources.

In this temporary ſtagnation of Hannibal's fortune, and in the frequent opportunities which the Romans had, though in trifling encounters, to meaſure their own ſtrength with that of the enemy, their confidence began to revive. The Public reſumed the tranquillity of its Councils, and looked round with deliberation to collect its force. The people and the army recovered from their late conſternation, and took advantage of the breathing-time they had gained, to cenſure the very conduct to which they owed the returns of their confidence and the renewal of their hopes. They forgot their former defeats, and began to imagine that the enemy kept his footing in Italy, by the permiſſion, by the timidity, or by the exceſſive caution of their leader.

A ſlight advantage over Hannibal, who had too much expoſed his foraging parties, gained by the general of the horſe in the abſence of the Dictator, confirmed the army and the people in this opinion, and greatly ſunk the reputation of Fabius. As he could not be ſuperſeded before the uſual term of his office was expired, the Senate and People, though precluded by law from proceeding to an actual depoſition, came to a reſolution equally violent and unprecedented, and which they hoped might induce him to reſign his power. They raiſed the general of the horſe to an equal command with the Dictator, and left them to adjuſt their pretenſions between them. Such affronts, under the notions of honour, which in modern times are annexed to the military character, would have made it impoſſible for the Dictator to remain in his ſtation. But in a commonwealth, where, to put any perſonal conſideration in competition with the public,

lic, would have appeared abſurd; ſeeming injuries done by the State to the honour of a citizen, only furniſhed him with a more ſplendid occaſion to diſplay his virtue. The Roman Dictator continued to ſerve under this diminution of his rank and command, and overlooked with magnanimity the inſults with which the people had requited the ſervice he was rendering to his country.

Minutius being now aſſociated with the Dictator, in order to be free from the reſtraints of a joint command, and from the wary counſels of his colleague, deſired, as the propereſt way of adjuſting their pretenſions, to divide the army between them. In this new ſituation he ſoon after, by his raſhneſs, expoſed himſelf and his diviſion to be entirely cut off by the enemy. But being reſcued by Fabius, he too gave proofs of a magnanimous ſpirit, confeſſed the favour he had received, and committing himſelf, with the whole army to the conduct of his colleague, he left this cautious officer, during the remaining period of their joint command, to purſue the plan he had formed for the war [20].

At this time, however, the People, and even the Senate, were not willing to wait for the effect of ſuch ſeemingly languid and dilatory meaſures as Fabius was inclined to purſue. They reſolved to augment the army in Italy to eight legions, which, with an equal number of the allies, amounted to eighty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand two hundred horſe; and they intended, in the approaching election of Conſuls, to chuſe men, not only of reputed ability, but of deciſive and reſolute Counſels. As ſuch they elected C. Terentius Varro, ſuppoſed to be of a bold and dauntleſs ſpirit; and, in order to temper his ardour, joined with him in the command L. Emilius Paulus, an officer of approved experience, who had formerly obtained a triumph for his victories in Illyricum, and who was high in the confidence of the Senate, as well as in that of the People.

[20] Plutarch. in vit. Fab. Max.

BOOK I.

In the autumn before the nomination of theſe officers to command the Roman army, Hannibal had ſurpriſed the fortreſs of Cannæ on the Auſidus, a place to which the Roman citizens of that quarter had retired with their effects, and at which they had collected conſiderable magazines and ſtores. This, among other circumſtances, determined the Senate to hazard a battle, and to furniſh the new Conſuls with inſtructions to this effect.

Theſe officers, it appears, having opened the campaign on the banks of the Auſidus, advanced by mutual conſent within ſix miles of the Carthaginian camp, which covered the village of Cannæ. Here they differed in their opinions, and, by a ſtrange defect in the Roman policy, which, in times of leſs virtue, muſt have been altogether ruinous, and even in theſe times was ill fitted to produce a conſiſtent and well-ſupported ſeries of operations, had no rule by which to decide their precedency, and were obliged to take the command each a day in his turn.

Varro, contrary to the opinion of his colleague, propoſed to give battle on the plain, and with this intention, as often as the command devolved upon him, ſtill advanced on the enemy. In order that he might occupy the paſſage and both ſides of the Auſidus, he encamped in two ſeparate diviſions on its oppoſite banks, having his larger diviſion on the right of the river, oppoſed to Hannibal's camp. Still taking the opportunity of his turn to command the army, he paſſed with the larger diviſion to a plain, ſuppoſed to be on the left of the Auſidus, and there, though the field was too narrow to receive the legions in their uſual form, he preſſed them together, and gave the enemy, if he choſe it, an opportunity to engage. To accommodate his order to the extent of his ground, he contracted the head, and the intervals of his manipules or columns, making their depth greatly to exceed the front which they turned to the enemy [21].

[21] Πυκνὸν τὸ βάθος ἐποίησε τῆς Στοιχίας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ μετώπου. Vid. Polyb.

He

He placed his cavalry on the flanks, the Roman knights on his right towards the river, and the horſemen of the allies on the left.

Hannibal no ſooner ſaw this movement and diſpoſition of the enemy, than he haſtened to meet them on the plain which they had choſen for the field of action. He likewiſe paſſed the Aufidus, and, with his left to the river and his front to the ſouth, formed his army upon an equal line with that of the enemy.

He placed the Gauliſh and Spaniſh Cavalry on his left facing the Roman knights, and the Numidians on his right facing the allies.

The flanks of his infantry, on the right and the left, were compoſed of the African foot, armed in the Roman manner, with the pilum, the heavy buckler, and the ſtabbing ſword. His centre, though oppoſed to the choice of the Roman legions, conſiſted of the Gauliſh and the Spaniſh foot, variouſly armed and intermixed together.

Hitherto no advantage ſeemed to be taken on either ſide. As the armies fronted ſouth and north, even the Sun, which roſe ſoon after they were formed, ſhone upon the flanks, and was no diſadvantage to either. The ſuperiority of numbers was greatly on the ſide of the Romans; but Hannibal reſted his hopes of victory on two circumſtances; firſt, on a motion to be made by his cavalry, if they prevailed on either of the enemy's wings; next, on a poſition he was to take with his centre, in order to begin the action from thence, to bring the Roman legions into ſome diſorder, and expoſe them, under that diſadvantage, to the attack which he was prepared to make with his veterans on both their flanks.

The action accordingly began with a charge of the Gauliſh and Spaniſh horſe, who, being ſuperior to the Roman knights, drove them from their ground, forced them into the river, and put the greater part of them to the ſword. By this event the flank of the Roman army,

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army, which might have been joined to the Aufidus, was entirely uncovered.

Having performed this ſervice, the victorious cavalry had orders to wheel at full gallop round the rear of their own army, and to join the Numidian horſe on their right, who were ſtill engaged with the Roman allies. By this unexpected junction, the left wing of the Roman army was likewiſe put to flight, and purſued by the African horſe; at the ſame time the Spaniſh cavalry prepared to attack the Roman infantry, wherever they ſhould be ordered on the flank, or the rear.

While theſe important events took place on the wings, Hannibal amuſed the Roman legions of the main body with a ſingular movement that was made by the Gauls and Spaniards, and with which he propoſed to begin the action. Theſe came forward, not in a ſtreight line abreaſt, but ſwelling out to a curve in the centre, without disjoining their flanks from the African infantry, who remained firm on their ground.

By this motion they formed a kind of creſcent convex to the front. The Roman manipules of the right and the left, fearing, by this ſingular diſpoſition, to have no ſhare in the action, haſtened to bend their line into a correſponding curve, and, in proportion as they came to cloſe with the enemy, charged them with a confident and impetuous courage. The Gauls and Spaniards reſiſted this charge no longer than was neceſſary to awaken the precipitant ardour with which victorious troops often blindly purſue a flying enemy. And the Roman line being bent, and fronting inwards to the centre of its concave, the legions purſued where the enemy led them. Hurrying from the flanks to ſhare in the victory, they narrowed their ſpace as they advanced, and the men who were accuſtomed to have a ſquare of ſix feet clear for wielding their arms, being now preſſed together, ſo as to prevent entirely the uſe

uſe of their ſwords, found themſelves ſtruggling againſt each other for ſpace, in an inextricable and hopeleſs confuſion.

Hannibal, who had waited for this event, ordered a general charge of his cavalry on the rear of the Roman legions, and at the ſame time an attack from his African infantry on both their flanks; by theſe diſpoſitions and joint operations, without any conſiderable loſs to himſelf, he effected an almoſt incredible ſlaughter of his enemies. With the loſs of no more than four thouſand, and theſe chiefly of the Spaniſh and Gauliſh infantry, he put fifty thouſand of the Romans to the ſword. U. C. 537.

The Conſul, Emilius Paulus, had been wounded in the ſhock of the cavalry; but when he ſaw the condition in which the infantry were engaged, he refuſed to be carried off, and was ſlain [22]. The Conſuls of the preceding year, with others of the ſame rank, were likewiſe killed. Of ſix thouſand horſe only ſeventy troopers eſcaped with Varro. Of the Infantry three thouſand fled from the carnage that took place on the field of battle, and ten thouſand who had been poſted to guard the camp were taken.

The unfortunate Conſul, with ſuch of the ſtragglers as joined him in his retreat, took poſt at Venuſia; and with a noble confidence in his own integrity, and in the reſources of his country, put himſelf in a poſture to reſiſt the enemy, till he could have inſtructions and reinforcements from Rome [23].

This calamity which had befallen the Romans in Apulia, was accompanied with the defeat of the Prætor Poſthumius, who, with his army, on the other extremity of the country, was cut off by the Gauls. A general ferment aroſe throughout all Italy. Many cantons of Grecian extraction, having been about ſixty years ſubject to Rome, now declared for Carthage. Others, feeling themſelves releaſed from the dominion

[22] He has received from the poet the following honourable grave: Animæque magnæ prodigum Paulum ſuperante Pœno. Hor. Car. lib. i. Ode 12.

[23] Liv. lib. xxiii.

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of the Romans, but intending to recover their liberties, not merely to change their maſters, now waited for an opportunity to ſtipulate the conditions on which they were to join the victor. Of this number were the cities of Capua, Tarentum, Locri, Metapontus, Crotona, and other towns in the ſouth-eaſt of the peninſula. In other cantons, the people being divided and oppoſed to each other with great animoſity, ſeverally called to their aſſiſtance ſuch of the parties at war as they judged were moſt likely to ſupport them againſt their antagoniſts. Some of the Roman colonies, even within the diſtricts that were open to the enemy's incurſions, ſtill adhered to the metropolis; but the poſſeſſions of the republic were greatly reduced, and ſcarcely equalled what the State had acquired before the expulſion of Pyrrhus from Italy, or even before the annexation of Campania, or the conqueſt of Samnium. The allegiance of her ſubjects and the faith of her allies in Sicily were greatly ſhaken. Hiero, the king of Syracuſe, who had ſome time, under the notion of an alliance, cheriſhed his dependance on Rome, being now greatly ſunk in the decline of years, could no longer anſwer for the conduct of his own court, and died ſoon after this event, leaving his ſucceſſors to change the party of the vanquiſhed for that of the victor.

Hitherto the nations of Greece and of Aſia had taken no part in the conteſt of thoſe powerful rivals. But the Romans having already interfered in the affairs of Greece, and made their ambition be felt beyond the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea, the news of their ſuppoſed approaching fall was received there with attention: it awakened the hopes of many who had ſuffered from the effects of their power. Among theſe Demetrius, the exiled king of Pharos, being ſtill at the court of Macedonia, and much in the confidence of Philip, who had recently mounted the throne of that kingdom, urging that it was impoſſible to remain an indifferent ſpectator in the conteſt of ſuch powerful nations, perſuaded the king to prefer the alliance of Carthage to that

of Rome, and to join with Hannibal in the reduction of the Roman power; obſerving, that with the merit of declaring himſelf while the event was yet in any degree uncertain, the king of Macedonia would be juſtly intitled to a proper ſhare of the advantages to be reaped in the conqueſt.

Philip accordingly endeavoured to accommodate the differences which he had to adjuſt with the Grecian States, and ſent an officer into Italy to treat with Hannibal, and with the Carthaginian deputies who attended the camp. In the negotiation which followed it was agreed, that the king of Macedonia and the republic of Carthage ſhould conſider the Romans as common enemies; that they ſhould purſue the war in Italy with their forces united, and make no peace but on terms mutually agreeable to both. In this treaty the intereſt of the prince of Pharos was particularly attended to; and his reſtoration to the kingdom from which he had been expelled by the Romans, with the recovery of the hoſtages which had been exacted from him, were made principal articles [24].

Hannibal, from the time of his arrival in Italy, after having made war for three years in that country, had received no ſupply from Africa, and ſeemed to be left to purſue the career of his fate with ſuch reſources as he could deviſe for himſelf; but this alliance with the king of Macedonia, promiſed amply to make up for the deficiency of his aids from Carthage; and Philip, by an eaſy paſſage into Italy, was likely to furniſh him with every kind of ſupport or encouragement that was neceſſary to accompliſh the end of the war.

The Romans were appriſed of this formidable acceſſion to the power of their enemy, as well as of the general defection of their own allies, and of the revolt of their ſubjects. Though taxes were accumulated on the people, and frequent loans obtained from the

[24] Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 33.

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commiſſaries and contractors employed in the public ſervice, their expences began to be ill ſupplied. There appeared not, however, in their councils, notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances of diſtreſs, the ſmalleſt diſpoſition to purchaſe ſafety by mean conceſſions of any ſort. When the vanquiſhed Conſul returned to the city, in order to attend the nomination of a perſon who, in this extremity of their fortunes, might be charged with the care of the commonwealth, the Senate, as conſcious that he had acted at Cannæ by their own inſtructions, and had, upon the ſame motives that animated the whole Roman People, diſdained, with a ſuperior army, to ſtand in awe of his enemy, or to refuſe him battle upon equal ground, went out in a kind of proceſſion to meet him; and, upon a noble idea, that men are not anſwerable for the ſtrokes of fortune, nor for the effects of ſuperior addreſs in an enemy, they overlooked his temerity and his miſconduct in the action; they attended only to the undaunted aſpect he preſerved after his defeat, returned him thanks for not having deſpaired of the commonwealth[25]; and from thence forward continued their preparations for war, with all the dignity and pride of the moſt proſperous fortune. They refuſed to ranſom the priſoners who had been taken by the enemy at Cannæ, and treated with ſullen contempt, rather than ſeverity, thoſe who by an early flight had eſcaped from the field; being petitioned to employ them again in the war, "We have no ſervice," they ſaid, "for men who could leave their fellow citizens engaged "with an enemy." They ſeemed to riſe in the midſt of their diſtreſs, and to gain ſtrength from misfortune. They prepared to attack or to reſiſt at once, in all the different quarters to which the war was likely to extend, and took their meaſures for the ſupport of it in Spain, in Sardinia and Sicily, as well as in Italy. They continued

[25] In the famous and admired expreſſion, Quia de republica non deſperaſſet.

their

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their fleets at ſea; not only obſerved, and obſtructed the communications of Carthage with the ſeats of the war, but having intercepted part of the correſpondence of Philip with Hannibal, they ſent a powerful ſquadron to the coaſt of Epirus; and, by an alliance with the States of Etolia, whom they perſuaded to renew their late war with Philip, found that prince ſufficient employment on the frontiers of his own kingdom, effectually prevented his ſending any ſupply to Hannibal, and, in the ſequel, reduced him to the humiliating neceſſity of making a ſeparate peace.

In the ordinary notions which are entertained of battles and their conſequences, the laſt victory of Hannibal at Cannæ, in the ſequel of ſo many others that preceded it, ought to have decided the war; and ſucceeding ages have blamed this general for not marching directly to the capital, in order to bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy termination by the reduction of Rome itſelf. But his own judgment is of much more weight than that of the perſons who cenſure him. He knew the character of the Romans and his own ſtrength. Though victorious, he was greatly weakened by his victories, and at a diſtance from the means of a reinforcement or ſupply. He was unprovided with engines of attack; and, ſo far from being in a condition to venture on the ſiege of Rome, that he could not undertake even that of Naples, which, after the battle of Cannæ, refuſed to open its gates; and, indeed, ſoon after this date he received a check from Marcellus in attempting the ſiege of Nola [26].

The Romans, immediately after their diſaſter at Cannæ, prepared again to act on the offenſive, formed a freſh army of five and twenty thouſand men, which they ſent, under the Dictator Junius Pera, to collect the remains of their late vanquiſhed forces, and to annoy the enemy wherever they might find them expoſed.

[26] Liv. lib. xxiii. c. 14, 15, 16.

Hannibal

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Hannibal kept in motion with his army to protect the cantons that were inclined to declare on his ſide; but, together with the extent and multiplication of his new poſſeſſions, which obliged him to divide his army in order to occupy and to ſecure them, he became ſenſible of his weakneſs; and, with the accounts ſent to Carthage of his victories, he likewiſe ſent repreſentations of his loſſes, and demanded a ſupply of men, of ſtores, and of money. He was indeed in his new ſituation ſo much in want of theſe articles, that, having in the three firſt years of the war apparently raiſed the reputation of Carthage to the greateſt height, and procured to his country more allies and more territory in Italy than were left in the power of the Romans, together with Capua, and other cities, more wealthy than Rome itſelf, and ſurrounded with lands better cultivated, and more full of reſources, yet his affairs from thenceforward began to decline.

Armies are apt to ſuffer, no leſs from an opinion, that all the ends of their ſervice are obtained, than they do from defeats, and from deſpair of ſucceſs. The ſoldiers of Hannibal, now elated with victory, perhaps grown rich with the plunder of the countries they had overrun, and of the armies they had defeated; and preſuming, that the war was at an end, or that they themſelves ought to be relieved, or ſent to enjoy the rewards of ſo glorious and ſo hard a ſervice, became remiſs in their diſcipline, or indulged themſelves in all the exceſſes, of which the means were to be found in their preſent ſituation. Being mere ſoldiers of fortune, without a country, or any civil ties to unite them together, they were governed by the ſole authority of their leader, and by their confidence in his ſingular abilities. Although there is no inſtance of their openly mutinying againſt him in a body, there are many inſtances of their ſeparately and clandeſtinely deſerting his ſervice. The Spaniſh and Numidian horſe, in particular, to whom he owed great part of his victories, upon ſome diſappointment in their hopes, or upon a diſguſt taken at the mere ſtagnation

ſtagnation of his fortune, went over in troops and ſquadrons to the enemy[27]. His hopes from the ſide of Macedonia were entirely diſappointed, the power of that nation having full employment at home[28]. He found himſelf unable, without dividing his forces, to preſerve his recent conqueſts, or to protect the Italians who had declared for him. Some of his poſſeſſions, therefore, he abandoned or deſtroyed; and the natives of Italy, become the victims of his policy, or left to the mercy of the Romans whom they had offended, became averſe to his cauſe, or felt that they could not rely on his power to protect them[29]. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he made earneſt applications at Carthage for reinforcements and ſupplies, to enable him to continue the war. But the councils of that republic, though abject in misfortune, were inſolent or remiſs in proſperity. Being broken into factions, the projects of one party, however wiſe, were fruſtrated by the oppoſition of the other. One faction received the applications of Hannibal with ſcorn. "Do "victories," they ſaid, "reduce armies to the want of reinforce-"ments and of ſupplies, even againſt the very enemies they had "vanquiſhed? And do the acquiſitions of Hannibal require more "money and men to keep them than were required to make them? "Other victorious generals are proud to diſplay the fruits of their "conqueſts, or bring home the ſpoils of their enemies to enrich their "own country, inſtead of draining it to ſupport a career of vain and "unprofitable victories."

Theſe invectives concluded with a motion, which, on the ſuppoſition that the advantages gained by Hannibal were real, was well-founded in wiſdom and ſound policy: that the occaſion ſhould be ſeized to treat with the Romans, when the State had reaſon to ex-

[27] Liv. lib. xxiii. c. 46.
[28] Ibid. lib. xxvi. c. 28—29. Lib. xxviii. c. 4.
[29] Ibid. lib. xxvii. c. 1 and 16.

peſt

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pect the moſt advantageous terms. But this council either was, or appeared to be, the language of faction; and no meaſures were adopted, either to obtain peace, or effectually to ſupport the war.

The friends, as well as the enemies of Hannibal, contributed to the neglect with which he was treated. In proportion as his friends admired him, and gloried in his fortune, they acted as if he alone were able to ſurmount every difficulty; and they accordingly were remiſs in ſupporting him. The republic, under the effects of this wretched policy, with all the advantages of her navigation and of her trade, ſuffered her navy to decline, and permitted the Romans to obſtruct, or moleſt, all the paſſages by which ſhe could communicate with her armies in Spain and Italy, or her allies in Sicily and Greece [30]. They voted indeed to Hannibal, on the preſent occaſion, a reinforcement of four thouſand Numidian horſe, forty elephants, and a ſum of money. But this reſolution appears to have languiſhed in the execution; and the armament, when ready to ſail, was ſuffered to be diverted from its purpoſe, and ordered to Spain inſtead of Italy [31].

Notwithſtanding theſe mortifications and diſappointments, Hannibal ſtill kept his footing in Italy for ſixteen years; and ſo long gave ſufficient occupation to the Romans, in recovering, by ſlow and cautious ſteps, what he had raviſhed from them in three years, and by a few daring examples of ability and valour. When the war had taken this turn, and the Romans, by the growing ſkill and ability of their leaders, as well as by the unconquerable ſpirit of their people, began to prevail, Hannibal, receiving no ſupport directly from Africa, endeavoured to procure it from Spain by the junction of his brother Haſdrubal, to whom he recommended a ſecond paſſage over the Alps, in imitation of that which he himſelf had accompliſh-

[30] Liv. lib. xxviii. c. 4.

[31] Ibid. lib. xxiii. c. 13 and 32.

ed.

ed. Every attempt of this ſort, however, had been defeated, during ſix years, by the vigour and abilities of the two Scipios, Caius and Publius, and afterwards by the ſuperior genius of the young Publius Scipio, who, ſucceeding the father and the uncle, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, ſupported, with freſh luſtre, the cauſe of his country. CHAP. V.

The two Scipios, after ſome varieties of fortune, though, while they acted together, they were generally ſucceſsful, having, in the ſeventh year of this war, ſeparated their forces, were both, within the ſpace of forty days, betrayed or deſerted by their allies, and cut off by the ſuperior force of the enemy.

The natives of Spain had, by their want of union and military ſkill, as has been mentioned, ſuffered many foreign eſtabliſhments to be made in their country; they had permitted the Carthaginians, in particular, to poſſeſs themſelves of a conſiderable territory; but afterwards, in order to remove them from thence, accepted of the protection of the Romans; and, in the ſequel, occaſionally applied to either of theſe parties for aid againſt the other, being, during the greater part of this war, the unſtable friends, or irreſolute enemies of both.

A ſervice of ſo much danger, ſo little in public view, and at a diſtance from the principal ſcenes of the war, was not ſought for as an opportunity to accumulate fame. The young Scipio, fired with the memory of his father and of his uncle, who had fallen in that ſervice, and, inſtead of being deterred by their fate, eager to revenge their fall, courted a command, which every other Roman is ſaid to have declined. This young man, as has been obſerved, had begun his military ſervices, in the firſt year of this war, on the Tecinus, where he had the good fortune to reſcue his father. He was afterwards preſent at the battle of Cannæ, and was one of the few, who, from that diſaſtrous field, forced their way to Canuſium. Be-

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ing chofen commander by thofe who efcaped to this place, he prevented the effect of a deiperate refolution they had taken to abandon Italy. Many of the feverer forms of the commonwealth having been dilpenfed with in the prefent exigencies of the State, Scipio had been chofen Edile, though under the legal ftanding and age, being only turned of twenty-four, one year younger than Hannibal was when he took the command of the army in Spain, and four years younger than he was when he marched into Italy.

Such particulars relating to men of fuperior genius and virtue, are in the higheft degree intereiting to mankind. It is even pleafing to know, that this young man was, according to Livy, tall and graceful in his perfon, with a beautiful countenance, and engaging afpect.

The Romans had been hitherto preferved in all the extremities of their fortune by the fuperiority of their national character, and by means of political eftablifhments, which, although they do not inipire men with fuperior genius, yet raife ordinary citizens to a degree of elevation approaching to heroifm; enabling the ftates they compofe to fubfift in great dangers, and to await the appearance of fuperior men. They had not yet oppofed to Hannibal an officer of fimilar talents, or of a like fuperiority to the ordinary race of mankind. Scipio was the firft who gave indubitable proofs of his title to this character [32]. Upon his arrival in Spain, with a fleet of thirty galliies, and ten thoufand men, he found the remains of the vanquifhed Romans retired within the Iberus, where, under the command of T. Fonteius and Lucius Marcius, they had fcarcely been able to withftand the further progrefs of the enemy [33]. There he accordingly landed, and fixed his principal quarters for the winter at Tarragona. By his information of the poiture of the enemy, it appeared, that they had placed all their magazines and

[32] Liv. lib. xxvi. c. 18, 19, &c.

[33] Ibid. lib. xxvi. c. 19 and 20.

ſtores at New Carthage; and that, thinking this place ſufficiently ſecured by a garriſon of a thouſand men, they had ſeparated their army into three diviſions, and were gone in different directions to extend their poſſeſſions, or to cover the territories they had acquired. Of theſe diviſions, none were nearer to their principal ſtation than ten days march.

Upon theſe informations, Scipio formed a project to ſurprize the town of New Carthage, though at a diſtance from Tarragona of above three hundred miles. He reſted his hopes of ſucceſs on the ſecurity of his enemies, and on the proſpect of being able to accompliſh the greater part of his march before his deſign ſhould be ſuſpected, or before any meaſures could be taken to prevent him. For this purpoſe, he diſcloſed it to Lælius alone; and gave him orders to ſteer for that place with his fleet, while he himſelf made haſty marches by land. This city was ſituated, like Old Carthage, on a peninſula, or neck of land, ſurrounded by the ſea. Scipio took poſt on the iſthmus, fortified himſelf towards the continent, from which he had reaſon to expect ſome attempt would be made to relieve the place, and ſecured himſelf on that ſide, before he attacked the town.

In his firſt attempt on the ramparts he was repulſed; but obſerving, that at low water, the walls were acceſſible at a weaker place than that at which he had made his aſſault; and having encouraged his men, by informing them, that the God of the ſea had promiſed to favour them, which they thought to be verified by the ſeaſonable ebb which enſued, he there planted his ladders, and forced his way into the town. Here he made a great booty in captives, money, and ſhips [34].

In this manner Scipio conducted his firſt exploit in Spain; and having carried on the war with equal ability and ſucceſs for five

[34] Polyb. lib. x. c. 9—15—17. Appian de Bell. Hiſpan.

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years, he obliged the Carthaginians, after repeated defeats, to abandon that country. He himſelf, while Haſdrubal attempted to join his brother Hannibal in Lucania, and Mago to make a diverſion in his favour in Liguria, returned to Rome. He was yet under thirty years of age, and not legally qualified to bear the office of Conſul. But having an unqueſtionable title to the higheſt confidence of his country, the ſervices which he had already performed procured a diſpenſation in his favour. He was accordingly raiſed to the Conſulate; and when the provinces came to be aſſigned to the officers of ſtate, he moved that Africa ſhould be included in the number, and be allotted to himſelf: "There," he ſaid, "the "Carthaginians may receive the deepeſt wounds, and from thence "be the ſooneſt obliged for their own ſafety to recal their forces "from Italy."

This motion was unfavourably received by the greater part of the Senate; it ſeemed to be matter of ſurprize, that, while Rome itſelf lay between two hoſtile armies, that of Hannibal in Brutium, and that of Mago in Liguria or Gaul, the Conſul ſhould propoſe to ſtrip the republic of ſo great a force as would be neceſſary for the invaſion of Africa [*]. The fatal miſcarriage of Regulus on that ground in a former war, the unhappy effects of precipitant counſels in the beginning of the preſent, were cited againſt him; and the deſire of ſo arduous a ſtation was even accounted preſumptuous in ſo young a man.

Among the difficulties which Scipio met with in obtaining the conſent of the Senate to the execution of his plan, is mentioned the diſinclination of the great Fabius, who, from a prepoſſeſſion in favour of that dilatory war, by which he himſelf had acquired ſo much glory; and by which, at a time when procraſtination was ne-

[*] Appian de Bell. Punic. p. 4.

ceſſary,

ceſſary, he had retrieved the fortunes of his country, obſtinately oppoſed the adopting of this hazardous project.

It had been, for the moſt part, an eſtabliſhed maxim in the counſels of Rome, to carry war, when in their power, into the enemy's country. They had been prevented in the preſent caſe only by the unexpected appearance of Hannibal in Italy, and were likely to return to the execution of their firſt deſign as ſoon as their affairs at home ſhould furniſh them with a ſufficient reſpite. We may, therefore, conceive what they felt of the difficulties of the preſent war, from this and other circumſtances; that even after fortune had ſo greatly inclined in their favour, they did not yet think themſelves in condition to retaliate on the enemy; or ſafe againſt the deſigns which Hannibal might form in Italy, if they ſhould divide their forces, or detach ſo great a part of them as might be neceſſary to execute the project of a war in Africa.

They concluded, however, at laſt, with ſome heſitation, that Scipio, while the other Conſul ſhould remain oppoſed to Hannibal in Italy, might have for his province the Iſland of Sicily, diſpoſe of the forces that were ſtill there, receive the voluntary ſupplies of men and of money, which he himſelf might be able to procure; and if he found, upon mature deliberation, a proper opportunity, that he might make a deſcent upon Africa. Agreeably to this reſolution, he ſet out for the province aſſigned him, having a conſiderable fleet equipped by private contribution, and a body of ſeven thouſand volunteers, who embarked in high expectation of the ſervice in which he propoſed to employ them [36].

While Scipio, by his exertions in Spain, was riſing to this degree of eminence in the councils of his country, the war, both in Sicily and in Italy, had been attended with many ſignal events, and fur-

[36] Appian de Bell. Punic.

niſhed

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nified many proofs of diſtinguiſhed ability in the courſe of its operations, highly intereſting to thoſe who are qualified to receive inſtruction from ſuch examples of conduct, and from the experience of great events. But in the ſummary account of the ſteps by which the Romans aſcended to empire, we can only point out the tract by which they advanced; and, with a few general obſervations on the means, haſten to contemplate the end which they attained.

The fortunes of Hannibal, as we have already remarked, had been ſome time on the decline. Capua and Tarentum, notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts to preſerve them, had been taken by the Romans. While the firſt of theſe places was beſieged, he endeavoured to force the enemies lines; and being repulſed, made a feint, by a haſty march towards Rome itſelf, to draw off the beſiegers. By this movement he obtained a ſight of that famous city; but again retired without having gained any advantage from this intended diverſion. His allies, in Sicily, were entirely overwhelmed by the reduction of Syracuſe; but that which chiefly affected his cauſe, by cutting off all hopes of future ſupplies or reinforcements, was the fall of his brother Haſdrubal. This officer had found means to elude the forces of Scipio in Spain; and attempted, by purſuing the tract of his brother into Italy, to join him in that country. In this deſign he actually ſurmounted all the difficulties of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, had paſſed the Po and the Rubicon, and advanced to the Metaurus before he met with any conſiderable check. There, at laſt, he encountered with the Roman Conſuls, M. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator, and was defeated with the loſs of his whole army, amounting to fifty thouſand men, of whom not one eſcaped being taken or ſlain [37].

[37] Liv. lib. xxvii. c. 49.

On

CHAP. V.

On this occaſion, the Romans, who had ſo long left their poſſeſſions in the country a prey to the enemy, began to enjoy ſome degree of ſecurity, returned to their ruined habitations, and reſumed the labours of the field. Hannibal, as overwhelmed with deſpair or affliction, confeſſed, that he could no longer be in doubt of the fate that awaited his country[38]. From this time he contracted his quarters, withdrew his poſts from Apulia, gave intimation to all his allies in Italy, who had much to fear from the reſentment of the Romans, that they ſhould retire under the covert of his army in Bruttium. Here he himſelf remained on the defenſive; and, as if ſenſible that his career in Italy was nearly at an end, erected thoſe curious monuments which are cited by Polybius, and on which were recorded the particulars of his march from Spain to Italy, and the numbers of his army at different periods of the war[39].

In the following year, Mago, as we have obſerved, being unable to effect any conſiderable ſervice in Spain, had orders to make ſail for Italy, and once more endeavour to reinforce the army of Hannibal. But, having loſt ſome time in a fruitleſs attempt on New Carthage, and a report in the mean time having ſpread of Scipio's intention to invade Africa, he received a ſecond order to land at Genua; and, that he might diſtract or employ the forces of the Romans at home, endeavour to rekindle the war in Liguria and Gaul.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when Scipio propoſed to invade Africa, paſſed into Sicily, and employed the whole year of his Conſulate in making preparations. In this interval, however, having acceſs by ſea to the coaſts which were occupied by Hannibal in Italy, he forced the town of Locri, and poſted a garriſon there, under the command of Pleminius, an officer, whoſe ſingular abuſes of power became the

[38] Agnoſcere ſe fortunam Carthaginis. Liv. lib. xxvii. fine.

[39] Liv. lib. xxviii. fine.

ſubjects

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ſubjects of complaint at Rome, and drew ſome cenſure on Scipio himſelf, by whom he was employed, and ſuppoſed to be countenanced.

Scipio was ſaid, on this occaſion, not only to have connived at the outrages committed by Pleminius, whom he had ſtationed at Locri, but to have been himſelf, while at Syracuſe, abandoned to a life of effeminacy and pleaſure, unworthy of a perſon entruſted with ſo important a command. It may appear ſtrange, that this cenſure ſhould ariſe from his having ſhewn a diſpoſition at Syracuſe to become acquainted with the learning of the Greeks. His enemies gave out, that he affected the manners of that people; that he paſſed his time among books, and in public places of converſation and exerciſe. Upon theſe ſurmiſes, a commiſſion was granted to the Prætor of Sicily, with ten Senators, two Tribunes of the People, and one of the Ediles, who had orders to join the Prætor in that iſland. To theſe inſtructions were given, that if they found Scipio acceſſary to the diſorders committed at Locri, or reprehenſible in his own conduct, they ſhould ſend him in arreſt to Rome: but that, if they found him innocent, he ſhould continue in his command, and be ſuffered to carry the war wherever he thought moſt expedient for the good of the commonwealth.

The members of this formidable court of inqueſt, having landed at Locri, in their way to Sicily, ordered Pleminius, with thirty of his officers, in chains to Rome: and from Locri, proceeding to Syracuſe, they reported from thence, that Scipio was no way acceſſary to the crimes committed by the troops in garriſon at Locri: and that within the diſtrict of his own immediate command the allies were fully protected, and the troops preſerved in ſuch order and diſcipline [49], as, whenever they ſhould be employed, gave the moſt encouraging proſpect of victory.

[49] Liv. lib. xxix. c. 20.

Such

CHAP. V.

Such was the report in favour of this young man, who appears to have been the firſt Roman ſtateſman or warrior, who ſhewed any conſiderable diſpoſition to become acquainted with the literature and ingenious arts of the Greeks. In this particular, his Carthaginian rival is ſaid to have advanced before him, having long ſtudied the language and learning of thoſe nations; and having in his retinue ſome perſons from Greece to aid him in the uſe of their writings.

Scipio, while he commanded the Roman army in Spain, having already conceived his deſign upon Africa, had with this view opened a correſpondence with Syphax, king of Numidia; and had actually made a viſit in perſon to this prince, who, being at variance with Carthage, was eaſily prevailed upon to promiſe his ſupport to the Romans, in caſe they ſhould carry the war into that country. The Roman general, now ready to embark with a conſiderable army, ſent Lælius with the firſt diviſion, probably to examine the coaſt, to chuſe a proper ſtation at which to fix the aſſembling of his fleet, and to call upon the king of Numidia to perform his engagements.

This diviſion of the fleet, at its firſt appearance, was ſuppoſed to bring the Roman Proconſul, with all his forces, from Sicily; and the Carthaginians, whatever reaſon they might, for ſome time, have had to expect this event, were, in a great meaſure, unprepared for it. They had their levies to make at home, and troops to hire from abroad; their fortifications were out of repair, and their ſtores and magazines unfurniſhed. Even their fleet was not in a condition to meet that of the enemy. They now haſtened to ſupply theſe defects; and, though undeceived with reſpect to the numbers and force of the firſt embarkation, they made no doubt that they were ſoon to expect another; accordingly they continued their preparations, and took every meaſure to ſecure themſelves, or to avert the ſtorm with which they were threatened.

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They had recently made their peace with Syphax, king of Numidia; and, inſtead of an enemy in the perſon of this prince, had obtained for themſelves a zealous ally. He had broke off his engagements with Scipio and the Romans, tempted by his paſſion for Sophoniſba, the daughter of Haſdrubal, a principal citizen of Carthage, who refuſed to marry him on any other terms. But this tranſaction, which procured to the Carthaginians one ally, loſt them another: for this high-minded woman, who, inſtead of a dower, contracted for armies in defence of her country, had formerly captivated Maſſiniſſa, another Numidian prince, that, being deprived of his kingdom by Syphax, had received his education, and formed his attachments, at Carthage[42]. Maſſiniſſa, while he had hopes of an alliance with the family of Haſdrubal, engaged all his partizans in Numidia in behalf of the Carthaginians; and he himſelf fought their battles in perſon. But, ſtung with his diſappointment, and the preference which was given to his rival, he determined to court the favour of their enemies; had made advances to Scipio, before his departure from Spain; and now, hearing of the arrival of the Roman fleet, haſtened to Hippo, where Lælius had come to an anchor, and made offer of his aſſiſtance, with that of his friends in the kingdom of Numidia.

Such was the ſtate of parties in Africa, when this country was about to become the ſcene of war. The Carthaginians, ſtill in hopes of diverting the ſtorm, ſent earneſt inſtructions to both their generals to preſs upon the Romans in Italy, and to make every effort to diſtract or to occupy their forces, and to leave them no leiſure for the invaſion of Africa. They ſent, at the ſame time, an embaſſy to the king of Macedonia, to remind him of the engagements into which he had entered with Hannibal, and to repreſent the danger to which

[42] Appian de Bell. Hiſpan. p. 275.

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he and every other prince muſt be expoſed from a people ſo ambitious as the Romans, if they were ſuffered to unite, by a conqueſt, the reſources of Carthage with thoſe of Rome.

Philip, at the earneſt intreaty of many Grecian ſtates, who were anxious that the Romans ſhould have no pretext to embroil the affairs of Greece, had, in the preceding year, made a ſeparate peace, firſt with the Etolians, and afterwards with the Romans themſelves [42]; and was now extremely averſe to renew the quarrel. The occaſion, however, appeared to be of great moment; and he liſtened ſo far to the remonſtrances of the Carthaginians, as to furniſh them with a body of four thouſand men, and a ſupply of money.

By ſuch meaſures as theſe, haſtily taken on the approach of danger, the Carthaginians endeavoured to make amends for the former remiſſneſs of their counſels. Hitherto they appear to have conſidered the war with little concern, and to have left their exertions to the ambition of a ſingle family, by whom the State was engaged in this quarrel [43]. They neglected their ſtrength at home, in proportion as they believed the enemy to be at a diſtance; and were indifferent to national objects, while their private intereſts were ſecure.

The harbour of Hippo, about fifty miles weſt from Carthage, and under the Fair Promontory, being ſeized by Lælius, furniſhed a place of reception for Scipio's fleet. This officer accordingly ſailed from Sicily with fifty armed galleys, and four hundred tranſports. As he had reaſon to expect, that the country would be laid waſte before him, great part of this ſhipping was employed in carrying his proviſions and ſtores. The numbers of his army are not mentioned. His firſt object was to make himſelf maſter of Utica, ſituated about half way between Carthage and Hippo, the place where he landed. He accordingly, without loſs of time, preſented himſelf before it;

[42] Liv. lib. xxix. c. 13.

[43] The ſons of Hamilcar.

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but ſoon found himſelf unable to execute his purpoſe. The country, to a conſiderable diſtance, was laid waſte or deſerted by the natives, and could not ſubſiſt his army. The Carthaginians had a great force in the field, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, under Haſdrubal the ſon of Giſgo, together with fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, under Syphax king of Numidia, who now advanced to the relief of Utica.

Scipio, on the junction and approach of theſe numerous armies, retired from Utica, took poſſeſſion of a peninſula on the coaſt, fortified the iſthmus which led to it, and in this ſtation having a ſafe retreat, both for his fleet and his army, continued to be ſupplied with proviſions by ſea from Sardinia, Sicily, and Italy. But being thus reduced to act on the defenſive in the preſence of a ſuperior enemy, and not likely, without ſome powerful reinforcements from Italy, to

CHAP. V.

once, ſet fire to Haſdrubal's camp. The flames, being eaſily caught by the dry materials, ſpread with the greateſt rapidity. The Carthaginians, ſuppoſing that theſe fires were accidental, and having no apprehenſion of the preſence of an enemy, ran without arms to extinguiſh them: And the Numidians, with ſtill leſs concern, left their huts to gaze on the ſcene, or to lend their aſſiſtance. In this ſtate of ſecurity and confuſion Scipio attacked and diſperſed them with great ſlaughter [44]; and being, in conſequence of this action, again maſter of the field, he returned to Utica, and renewed the ſiege or blockade of that place.

In ſuch a ſurprize and defeat as the African armies had now received, they were likely to have loſt their arms and their baggage, and to have nowhere ſufficient numbers together to withſtand an enemy; on this ſuppoſition, it had been already propoſed at Carthage to have recourſe to their laſt reſort, the recalling of Han-

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The harbour of Hippo, about fifty miles weſt from Carthage, and under the Fair Promontory, being ſeized by Lælius, furniſhed a place of reception for Scipio's fleet. This officer accordingly ſailed from Sicily with fifty armed galleys, and four hundred tranſports. As he had reaſon to expect, that the country would be laid waſte before him, great part of this ſhipping was employed in carrying his proviſions and ſtores. The numbers of his army are not mentioned. His firſt object was to make himſelf maſter of Utica, ſituated about half way between Carthage and Hippo, the place where he landed. He accordingly, without loſs of time, preſented himſelf before it;

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Scipio, on the junction and approach of theſe numerous armies, retired from Utica, took poſſeſſion of a peninſula on the coaſt, fortified the iſthmus which led to it, and in this ſtation having a ſafe retreat, both for his fleet and his army, continued to be ſupplied with proviſions by ſea from Sardinia, Sicily, and Italy. But being thus reduced to act on the defenſive in the preſence of a ſuperior enemy, and not likely, without ſome powerful reinforcements from Italy, to make any further impreſſion on Africa, he had recourſe to a ſtratagem which, though amounting nearly to a breach of faith, was ſuppoſed to be allowed in war with an African enemy.

The combined armies of Carthage and Numidia lay in two ſeparate encampments, and, it being winter, were lodged in huts covered with bruſhwood and the leaves of the palm. In theſe circumſtances the Roman general formed a deſign to ſet fire to their camp, and, in the midſt of the confuſion which that alarm might occaſion, to attack them in the night. In order to gain a ſufficient knowledge of the ground, and of the ways by which his emiſſaries muſt paſs in the execution of this deſign, he entered into a negotiation, and affected to treat of conditions for terminating the war. His deputies, under this pretence, being freely admitted into the enemy's ſtation, brought him minute information of their poſition, and of the avenues which led to different parts of their camp.

Scipio being poſſeſſed of theſe informations, broke off the treaty, advanced with his army in the night, and, in many different places at once,

once, ſet fire to Haſdrubal's camp. The flames, being eaſily caught by the dry materials, ſpread with the greateſt rapidity. The Carthaginians, ſuppoſing that theſe fires were accidental, and having no apprehenſion of the preſence of an enemy, ran without arms to extinguiſh them: And the Numidians, with ſtill leſs concern, left their huts to gaze on the ſcene, or to lend their aſſiſtance. In this ſtate of ſecurity and confuſion Scipio attacked and diſperſed them with great ſlaughter [44]; and being, in conſequence of this action, again maſter of the field, he returned to Utica, and renewed the ſiege or blockade of that place.

In ſuch a ſurprize and defeat as the African armies had now received, they were likely to have loſt their arms and their baggage, and to have nowhere ſufficient numbers together to withſtand an enemy; on this ſuppoſition, it had been already propoſed at Carthage to have recourſe to their laſt reſort, the recalling of Hannibal from Italy. But this motion, upon a report from Haſdrubal and Syphax, that they were again arming and aſſembling their forces, and that they were joined by a recruit of four thouſand men newly arrived from Spain, was for ſome time laid aſide. Theſe hopes, however, were ſpeedily blaſted by a ſecond defeat which the combined army received before they were fully aſſembled, and by a revolution which enſued in the kingdom of Numidia, where Syphax, purſued by Maſſiniſſa and Lælius, was vanquiſhed and driven from his kingdom, which from thenceforward became the poſſeſſion of his rival, and a great acceſſion of ſtrength to the Romans. On this calamity Haſdrubal being threatened by the populace of Carthage with vengeance for his repeated miſcarriages, and being aware of the relentleſs and ſanguinary ſpirit of his countrymen, durſt not truſt himſelf in their hands; and in a ſpecies of exile, with a body of

[44] Polyb. lib. xiv. c. ; Liv. lib. xxx. c. 6.

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eight thouſand men that adhered to him, withdrew from their ſervice.

In this extremity there was no hope but in the preſence of Hannibal; and expreſſes were accordingly ſent both to Mago and himſelf, to haſten their return into Africa, with all the forces they could bring for the defence of their country.

Hannibal, it is probable, had for ſome time been prepared for this meaſure, having tranſports in readineſs to embark his army; yet he is ſaid to have received the order with ſome expreſſions of rage. "They have now accompliſhed, he ſaid (ſpeaking of the oppoſite "faction at Carthage), what, by withholding from me the neceſſary "ſupports in this war, they have long endeavoured to effect. They "have wiſhed to deſtroy the family of Barcas; and rather than fail in "their aim, are willing to bury it at laſt under the ruins of their "country[45]."

While the Carthaginians were thus driven to their laſt reſource, Scipio advanced towards their city, and inveſted at once both Tunis and Utica, which, though at the diſtance of above thirty miles from each other, may be conſidered as baſtions on the right and the left, which flanked and commanded the country which led to this famous place. His approach gave the citizens a freſh alarm, and ſeemed to bring their danger too near to ſuffer them to await the arrival of relief from Italy. It appeared neceſſary to ſtay the arm of the victor by a treaty; and thirty Senators were accordingly deputed to ſue for peace. Theſe deputies, in their addreſs to the Roman Proconſul, laid the blame of the war upon Hannibal, ſupported, as they alleged, by a deſperate faction who had adopted his wild deſigns. They intreated that the Romans would once more be pleaſed to ſpare a republic which was again brought to the brink of ruin by the precipitant counſels of a few of its members.

[45] Liv. lib. xxx. c. 22.

In

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In anſwer to this abject requeſt, Scipio mentioned the terms upon which he ſuppoſed that the Romans would be willing to treat of a peace. A ceſſation of arms was agreed to, and a negotiation commenced; but it was ſuddenly interrupted and prevented of its final effect by the arrival of Hannibal. This general, after many changes of fortune, having taken the neceſſary precautions to ſecure his retreat, in caſe he ſhould be called off for the defence of Carthage; now in the ſeventeenth year of the war, and after he had ſupported himſelf ſixteen years in Italy, by the ſole force of his perſonal character and abilities, againſt the whole weight, inſtitutions, reſources, diſcipline, and national character of the Romans, tranſported his U. C. 551. army from thence, landed at Hadrumetum, at a diſtance from any of the quarters occupied by the Romans, and drew to his ſtandard all the remains of the lately vanquiſhed armies of Carthage, and all the forces which the republic was yet in a ſtate to ſupply.

This event produced a change in the counſels of Carthage, and inſpired the people with freſh preſumption. They now ſlighted the faith which they had lately engaged to Scipio, and ſeized on all the Roman veſſels, which, truſting to the ceſſation of arms, had taken refuge in their bay. They even inſulted the meſſenger whom the Roman general ſent to complain of this outrage; and thus hoſtilities, after a very ſhort truce, were renewed with redoubled animoſity and rancour on both ſides.

The people of Carthage, under dreadful apprehenſions of becoming a prey to the Romans, ſent a meſſage to Hannibal, then at Hadrumetum, to haſten his march, requeſting him to attack the enemy, and at any hazard to relieve the city from the dangers and hardſhips of a ſiege. To this meſſage he made anſwer, That in affairs of State the Councils of Carthage muſt decide; but in the conduct of war, the general who commands muſt judge of his opportunity to fight.

The

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The forcing of Hannibal to evacuate Italy was a victory to Scipio; as this was the firſt fruit which he ventured to promiſe from the invaſion of Africa. With this enemy, however, in his rear, it was not expedient to continue the attack of Tunis or Utica. He withdrew his army from both theſe places, and prepared to contend for the poſſeſſion of the field.

The Carthaginian leader, having collected his forces at Hadrumetum, marched to the weſtward, intending to occupy the banks of the Bagrada, and from thence to obſerve and counteract the operations of his enemy. Scipio, intending to prevent him, or to occupy the advantageous ground on the upper Bagrada, took his route to the ſame country; and while both directed their march to Sicca, they met on the plains of Zama.

When the armies arrived on this ground, neither party was in condition to protract the war. Hannibal, whoſe intereſt it would have been to avoid any hazardous meaſures, and to tire out his enemy by delays, if he were in poſſeſſion of his own country, or able to protect the capital from inſult, was in reality obliged to riſk the whole of its fortunes, in order to reſcue it from the hands of the enemy, or to prevent their renewing the blockade.

Scipio was far advanced in an enemy's country, which was ſoon likely to be deſerted by its natives, and exhauſted of every means of ſubſiſtence; he was far removed from the ſea, the principal and only ſecure ſource of any laſting ſupply; ſurrounded by enemies; a great army under Hannibal in his front; the cities of Utica, Carthage, and Tunis, with all the armed force that defended them, in his rear.

In ſuch circumſtances both parties probably ſaw the neceſſity of immediate action; and the Carthaginian general, ſenſible of the unequal

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equal ſtake he was to play, the ſafety of his country againſt the fortune of a ſingle army, whoſe loſs would not materially affect the State from whence they came, choſe to try the effect of negotiation, and for this purpoſe deſired a perſonal interview with Scipio.

In compliance with this requeſt, the Roman general put his army in motion, and the Carthaginians advancing at the ſame time, they halted at the diſtance of thirty ſtadia, or about three miles, from each other. The generals, attended by a few horſe, met on an eminence between their lines. Hannibal began the conference, by expreſſing his regret that the Carthaginians ſhould have aimed at any conqueſts beyond their own coaſts in Africa, or the Romans beyond thoſe of Italy. "We began," he ſaid, "with a conteſt for Sicily; we pro-
"ceeded to diſpute the poſſeſſion of Spain, and we have each in our
"turns ſeen our native land over-run with ſtrangers, and our country
"in danger of becoming a prey to its enemies. It is time that we
"ſhould diſtruſt our fortune, and drop an animoſity which has
"brought us both to the verge of deſtruction. This language indeed
"may have little weight with you, who have been ſucceſsful in all
"your attempts, and who have not yet experienced any reverſe of
"fortune; but I pray you to profit by the experience of others. You
"now behold in me a perſon who was once almoſt maſter of your
"country, and who am now brought, at laſt, to the defence of my
"own. I encamped within five miles of Rome, and offered the
"poſſeſſions round the Forum to ſale. Urge not the chance of war
"too far. I now offer to ſurrender, on the part of Carthage, all her
"pretenſions to Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and every other iſland that
"lies between this continent and yours. I wiſh only for peace to
"my country, that ſhe may enjoy undiſturbed her antient poſſeſ-
"ſions on this coaſt; and I think, that the terms I offer you are ſuf-
"ficiently advantageous and honourable to procure it."

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To this addreſs Scipio replied, "That the Romans had not been "aggreſſors in the preſent or preceding wars with Carthage: that "they ſtrove to maintain their own rights, and to protect their allies; "and that, ſuitably to theſe righteous intentions, they had been fa-"voured by the juſtice of the gods: that no one knew better than him-"ſelf the inſtability of human affairs, nor ſhould be more on his guard "againſt the chances of war. The terms," he ſaid, "which you now "propoſe might have been accepted of, had you offered them while "yet in Italy, and had propoſed, as a prelude to the treaty, to remove "from thence; but now, that you are driven from every poſt, you "propoſe to ſurrender, and are forced not only to evacuate the Ro-"man territory, but are ſtripped of part of your own. Theſe con-"ceſſions are no longer ſufficient; they are no more than a part of "the conditions already agreed to by your countrymen, and which "they, on your appearance in Africa, ſo baſely retracted. Beſides what "you now offer, it was promiſed on their part, that all Roman cap-"tives ſhould be reſtored without ranſom; that all armed ſhips "ſhould be delivered up; that a ſum of five thouſand talents ſhould "be paid, and hoſtages given by Carthage for the performance of all "theſe articles.

"On the credit of this agreement we granted a ceſſation of arms, "but were ſhamefully betrayed by the councils of Carthage. Now "to abate any part of the articles which were then ſtipulated, would "be to reward a breach of faith, and to inſtruct nations hereafter "how to profit by perfidy. You may therefore be aſſured, that I "will not ſo much as tranſmit to Rome any propoſal that does not "contain, as preliminaries, every article formerly ſtipulated, toge-"ther with ſuch additional conceſſions as may induce the Romans "to renew the treaty. On any other terms than theſe, Carthage "muſt vanquiſh, or ſubmit at diſcretion[46]."

[46] Polyb. lib. xv. c. 6, 7, 8.

From this interview both parties withdrew with an immediate proſpect of action; and on the following day, neither having any hopes of advantage from delay or ſurprize, came forth into the plain in order of battle.

Hannibal formed his army in three lines with their elephants in front.

Scipio drew forth his legions in their uſual diviſions, but ſomewhat differently diſpoſed.

Hannibal had above eighty elephants, with which he propoſed to begin the action. Behind theſe he formed the mercenary troops, compoſed of Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. In a ſecond line he placed the Africans and natives of Carthage; and in a third line, about half a quarter of a mile behind the firſt, he placed the veterans who had ſhared with himſelf in all the dangers and honours of the Italian war. He placed his cavalry in the wings, oppoſite to thoſe of the enemy.

Scipio poſted Lælius with the Roman cavalry on his left, and Maſſiniſſa with the Numidian Horſe on his right. He placed the manipules, or diviſions of the legions, not as uſual, mutually covering their intervals, but covering each other from front to rear. His intention in this diſpoſition was to leave continued avenues or lanes, through which the elephants might paſs without diſordering the columns. At the head of each line he placed the Velites, or irregular infantry, with orders to gall the elephants, and endeavour to force them back upon their own lines; or, if this could not be effected, to fly before them into the intervals of the heavy-armed foot, and, by the ways which were left open between the manipules, to conduct them into the rear. It being the nature of theſe animals, even in their wild ſtate, to be the dupes of their own reſentment, and to follow the hunter by whom they are galled into any ſnare that is prepared for them[47]; the

[47] Vid. Buff. Hiſt. Nat.

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design thus formed by Scipio to miſlead them, accordingly proved ſucceſsful. As ſoon as the cavalry began to ſkirmiſh on the wings, Hannibal gave the ſignal for the elephants to charge. They were received by a ſhower of miſſile weapons from the Roman light infantry, and, as uſual, carried their riders in different directions. Some broke into their own line with conſiderable diſorder, others fled between the armies and eſcaped by the flanks, and many, incited with rage, as Scipio had foreſeen, purſued the enemy that galled them through the intervals of the Roman diviſions quite out of the action; and in a little time the front of the two armies was cleared of theſe animals, and of all the irregulars who had ſkirmiſhed between them in the beginning of the battle.

In the mean time the firſt and ſecond line of Hannibal's foot had advanced, to profit by the impreſſion which the elephants were likely to make. The third line ſtill remained on its ground, and ſeemed to ſtand aloof from the action.

In this poſture, the firſt line of the Carthaginian army, compoſed of Gauls and Ligurians, engaged with the Roman legions; and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, were forced back on the ſecond line, who, having orders not to receive them, nor allow them to paſs, preſented their arms. The fugitives were accordingly maſſacred on both ſides, and fell by the ſwords of their own party, or by thoſe of the enemy.

The ſecond line, conſiſting of the African and native troops of Carthage, had a ſimilar fate; they periſhed by the hands of the Romans, or by thoſe of their own reſerve, who had orders to receive them on their ſwords and turn them back, if poſſible, againſt the enemy.

Scipio, after ſo much blood had been ſhed, finding his men out of breath and ſpent with hard labour, embarraſſed with heaps of the ſlain, ſcarcely able to keep their footing on ground become ſlippery with mud and gore, and in theſe circumſtances likely to be inſtantly attacked

attacked by a freſh enemy, who had yet borne no part in the conteſt; he endeavoured, without loſs of time, to put himſelf in a poſture to renew the engagement.

His cavalry, by good fortune, in theſe hazardous circumſtances, were victorious on both the wings, and were gone in purſuit of the enemy. He ordered the ground to be cleared; and his columns, in the original form of the action, having been ſomewhat diſplaced, he ordered thoſe of the firſt line to cloſe to the centre; thoſe of the ſecond and third to divide, and, gaining the flanks, to form in a continued line with the front. In this manner, while the ground was clearing of the dead, probably by the Velites or irregular troops, he, with the leaſt poſſible loſs of time, and without any interval of confuſion, completed his line to receive the enemy. An action enſued, which, being to decide the event of this memorable war, was likely to remain ſome time in ſuſpence; when the cavalry of the Roman army, returning from the purſuit of the horſe they had routed, fell on the flank of the Carthaginian infantry, and obliged them to give way.

Hannibal had reſted his hopes of victory on the diſorder that might ariſe from the attack of his elephants, and if this ſhould fail, on the ſteady valour of the veterans, whom he reſerved for the laſt effort to be made, when he ſuppoſed that the Romans, already exhauſted in their conflict with the two ſeveral lines whom he ſacrificed to their ardour in the beginning of the battle, might be unable to contend with the third, yet freſh for action and inured to victory. He was diſappointed in the effect of his elephants, by the precaution which Scipio had taken in opening his intervals, and in forming continued lanes for their paſſage from front to rear; and of the effect of his reſerve, by the return of the enemy's horſe, while the action was yet undecided [48]. Having taken no meaſures to ſecure a retreat,

[48] Polyb. lib. xv. c. 16.

nor

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nor to ſave any part of his army, he obſtinately fought every minute of the day to the laſt; and when he could delay the victory of his enemy no longer, he quitted the field with a ſmall party of horſe, of whom many, overwhelmed with hunger and fatigue, having fallen by the way, he arrived with a few, in the courſe of two days and two nights, at Hadrumetum. Here he embarked and proceeded by ſea to Carthage. His arrival convinced his countrymen of the extent of their loſs. Seeing Hannibal without an army, they believed themſelves vanquiſhed; and, with minds unprovided with that ſpirit which ſupported the Romans when overthrown at Thraſimenus and Cannæ, were now deſirous, by any conceſſions, to avert the ſuppoſed neceſſary conſequences of their fate.

The riotous populace, that had ſo lately purſued with vengeance, and threatened to tear aſunder the ſuppoſed authors of peace [49], were now ſilent, and ready to embrace any terms that might be preſcribed by the enemy. Hannibal, knowing how little his countrymen were qualified to contend with misfortune, confeſſed in the Senate, that he was come from deciding, not the event of a ſingle battle, but the fate of a great war, and adviſed them to accept of the victor's terms [50]. They accordingly determined to ſue for peace.

In the mean time the Roman army, in purſuit of its victory, was returned to the coaſt; and having received from Italy a large ſupply of ſtores and military engines, together with a reinforcement of fifty galleys, was in a condition, not only to reſume the ſiege of Utica and Tunis, but likewiſe to threaten with a ſtorm the capital itſelf; and, for this purpoſe, began to inveſt the town and block up the harbour.

Scipio being himſelf embarked, and conducting the fleet to its ſtation, was met by a Carthaginian veſſel that hoiſted wreaths of olive

[49] Appian de Bell. Punic. p. 51. [50] Polyb. lib. xv. c. 4—17. Liv. lib. xxx. c. 31.

and

and other enſigns of peace. This veſſel had ten commiſſioners on board, who were authoriſed to declare the ſubmiſſion of Carthage, and to receive the victor's commands.

The ambition of Scipio might have inclined him to urge his victory to the utmoſt, that he might carry, inſtead of a treaty, the ſpoils of Carthage to adorn his triumph at Rome. But the impatience with which the Conſuls of the preſent and of the preceding year endeavoured to ſnatch from his hands the glory of terminating the war, may, with other motives, have induced him to receive the ſubmiſſion of the vanquiſhed upon the firſt terms that appeared ſufficiently honourable, and ſuited to the object of the commiſſion with which he had been entruſted.

In alluſion to this circumſtance, he was heard to ſay, that Claudius, by his impatience to ſupplant him in this command, had ſaved the republic of Carthage [51]. But men ſeldom act from any ſingle conſideration; and Scipio is, in all probability, juſtly ſuppoſed to have had other and nobler motives than this jealouſy of a ſucceſſor. He is even ſaid to have ſpared the rival of his country, in order to maintain the emulation of courage and of national virtue. This motive Cato, who had ſerved under him in the capacity of Quæſtor, and who was not inclined to flatter, did him the honour to aſſign in a ſpeech to the Senate [52].

Scipio, having appointed the Carthaginian commiſſioners to attend him at Tunis, preſcribed the following terms:

That Carthage ſhould continue to hold in Africa all that ſhe had poſſeſſed before the war, and be governed by her own laws and inſtitutions:

That ſhe ſhould make immediate reſtitution of all Roman ſhips or other effects taken in violation of the late truce:

[51] Appian de Bell. Punic. p. 36. [52] Ibid.

Should

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Should releaſe or deliver up all captives, deſerters, or fugitive ſlaves taken or received during any part of the war:

Surrender the whole of her fleet, ſaving ten gallies of three tier of oars:

Deliver up all the elephants ſhe then had in the ſtalls of the republic, and refrain from taming or breaking any more of thoſe animals:

That ſhe ſhould not make war on any nation whatever without conſent of the Romans:

That ſhe ſhould indemnify Maſſiniſſa for all the loſſes he had ſuſtained in the late war:

And, to reimburſe the Romans, pay a ſum of ten thouſand talents[53], at the rate of two hundred talents a-year for fifty years:

That the State ſhould give hoſtages for the performance of theſe ſeveral articles, ſuch as Scipio ſhould ſelect from the nobleſt families of Carthage not under fourteen, nor exceeding thirty years of age:

And that, until this treaty ſhould be ratified, they ſhould ſupply the Roman forces in Africa with pay and proviſions.

When theſe conditions were reported in the Senate of Carthage, one of the members aroſe, and, in terms of indignation, attempted to diſſuade the acceptance of them: but Hannibal, with the tone of a maſter, interrupted and commanded him ſilence. This action was reſented by a general cry of diſpleaſure; and Hannibal, in excuſe of his raſhneſs, informed the Senate, that he had left Carthage while yet a child of nine years old; that he was now at the age of forty-five; and, after a life ſpent in camps and military operations, returned for the firſt time to bear his part in political councils; that he hoped they would bear with his inexperience in matters of civil form, and regard more the tendency than the manner of what he had done; that he was ſenſible the propoſed terms of peace were unfavourable, but he knew not how elſe his country was to be reſcued from her

[53] Near two millions ſterling

preſent

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preſent difficulties; he wiſhed to reſerve her for a time in which ſhe could exert her reſolution with more advantage. He hoped that the Senate would, in the preſent extremity, accept, without heſitation, and even without conſulting the people, conditions which, though hard, were, notwithſtanding, leſs fatal to the commonwealth than any one could have hoped for in the night that followed the battle of Zama [53].

The conditions were accordingly accepted, and deputies were ſent to Rome with conceſſions, which in ſome meaſure ſtripped the republic of her ſovereignty. The ratification of the treaty was remitted to Scipio, and the peace concluded on the terms he had preſcribed. U. C. 552.

Four thouſand Roman captives were inſtantly releaſed: five hundred galleys were delivered up and burnt: the firſt payment of two hundred talents was exacted, and, under the execution of this article, many members of the Carthaginian Senate were in tears. Hannibal was obſerved to ſmile, and being queſtioned on this inſult to the public diſtreſs, made anſwer, That a ſmile of ſcorn for thoſe who felt not the loſs of their country, until it affected their own intereſt, was an expreſſion of ſorrow for Carthage.

[53] Polyb. lib. xv. c. 18. Liv. lib. xxx. c. 37.

CHAP. VI.

State of Rome at the Peace with Carthage.——Wars with the Gauls.——With the Macedonians.——Battle of Cynocæphalæ.——Peace. Freedom to Greece.——Preludes to the War with Antiochus.——Flight of Hannibal to that Prince.——Antiochus paſſes into Europe.——Diſpoſitions made by the Romans.——Flight of Antiochus to Aſia.——His Defeat at the Mountains of Sipylus.——Peace and Settlement of Aſia.——Courſe of Roman Affairs at Home, &c.

BOOK I.

IN the courſe of the war, which terminated in ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſuperiority of the Roman over the Carthaginian republic, the victors had experienced much greater diſtreſs than had, even in the laſt ſtage of the conflict, fallen to the ſhare of the vanquiſhed. The greater part of their territory, during a ſeries of years, lay waſte; was ruined in its habitations, plundered of its ſlaves and its cattle, and deſerted of its people. The city itſelf was reduced to a ſcanty ſupply of proviſions that threatened immediate famine[1]. Among other modes of taxation deviſed at this time, the monopoly of ſalt was eſtabliſhed or renewed; but every public fund that was conſtituted in the ordinary way being inſufficient, the State had recourſe to the voluntary contribution of its members, and called for their plate and other ornaments of ſilver and gold to defray the expences. They debaſed their ſilver coin by a great mixture of alloy, and farther reduced the copper As from its late coinage at two ounces to one[2]. The numbers of the people on the rolls, either by deſertion or by the ſword of the enemy, uncommonly fatal in ſuch a ſeries of battles,

[1] Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iii. c. iii.

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were reduced from two hundred and ſeventy thouſand to nearly the half[3].

In the muſters and levies, no leſs than twelve colonies at once withheld their names, and refuſed their ſupport. Yet, proof againſt the whole of theſe ſufferings, the Romans maintained the conflict with a reſolution, which ſeemed to imply, that they conſidered the ſmalleſt conceſſion as equivalent to ruin. In the farther exertion of this unconquerable ſpirit, when the preſſure of this war was removed, their fortunes roſe to a flood of proſperity and greatneſs, proportioned to the low ebb to which they ſeemed to have fallen in the courſe of it.

They joined, in Sicily, to their former poſſeſſions, the city of Syracuſe, and the whole kingdom of Hiero. In Spain, they ſucceeded to all the poſſeſſions, to all the claims and pretenſions of Carthage, and became maſters of all that had been the ſubject of diſpute in the war. They brought Carthage herſelf under contribution, and reduced her almoſt to the ſtate of a province.

On the ſide of Macedonia and Illyricum, in their treaty with Philip and his allies, they retained to themſelves conſiderable pledges, not only of ſecurity, but of power; and began to be conſidered in the councils of Greece, as the principal arbiters of the fortunes of nations.

In Italy, where their progreſs was ſtill of greater conſequence, they became more abſolute maſters than they had been before the war. The cantons, which, in ſo general a defection of their other allies, had continued faithful to them, were fond of the merit they had acquired, and were confirmed in their attachment by the habits of zeal which they had exerted in ſo proſperous a cauſe. Thoſe, on the contrary, who had revolted, or withdrawn their allegiance, were

[3] Theſe were probably the citizens, fit to carry arms, reſiding in the city; for it was not yet the practice to enrol thoſe who did not offer their names at Rome.

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reduced to a ſtate of ſubmiſſion more entire than they had formerly acknowledged; and the ſovereignty of this whole country being, till now, precarious and tottering, derived, from the very ſtorm which had ſhaken it, ſtability and force.

But, notwithſtanding the ſplendor of ſuch rapid advancement, and of the high military and political talents which procured it, if by any accident the career of the Romans had been ſtopt at the preſent æra, their name, it is probable, would never have appeared on the record of poliſhed nations, nor they themſelves been otherwiſe known than as a barbarous dynaſty, that fell a prey to ſome more fortunate pretenders to dominion and conqueſt.

The Romans, being altogether men of the ſword, or of the State, made no application to letters, or ſedentary occupations. Cato is introduced by Cicero as ſaying, That it had been anciently the faſhion at Roman feaſts to ſing heroic ballads in honour of their anceſtors; but that this cuſtom had been diſcontinued in his own time; and it is probable, from the great change which their language underwent in a few years, that they had no popular or eſtabliſhed compoſitions in writing, or even in vulgar tradition, by which the uniformity of language has, in other inſtances, been longer preſerved. They had hitherto no hiſtorian, poet, or philoſopher; and it was only now, that any taſte began to appear for the compoſitions of ſuch authors. Fabius, Ennius, and Cato, became the firſt hiſtorians of their country, and raiſed the firſt literary monuments of genius that were to remain with poſterity [4].

The inclination which now appeared for the learning of the Greeks was, by many, conſidered as a mark of degeneracy, and gave riſe to the never-ending diſpute, which, in this as in other nations, took place between the patrons of ancient and modern manners. The

[4] In the ſixth century of Rome.

admirers

admirers of ancient times, being attached to what they received from their anceſtors, were diſpoſed to reject every new improvement, and ſeemed willing to ſtop the progreſs of ingenuity itſelf. The gay, and the faſhionable, on the other hand, liked what was new; were fond of every change, and would ever adopt the lateſt invention as the model of propriety, elegance, and beauty.

To the ſimplicity of the Roman manners in other reſpects, and to the ability of the moſt accompliſhed councils of State, was joined a very groſs ſuperſtition, which led to many acts of abſurdity and cruelty. In this particular it appears, that the conceptions of men are altogether unconnected with their civil and political, as well as military character; and that the rites they adopt, even when innocent, and the moſt admiſſible expreſſions of worſhip, do not deſerve to be recorded for any other purpoſe, than to ſhew how far they are arbitrary; and how little, in many inſtances, they are directed, even among nations otherwiſe the moſt accompliſhed, by any rule of utility, humanity, or reaſon.

A little time before the breaking out of the late war, the Roman Senate, upon the report of a prophecy, that the Gauls and the Greeks were to poſſeſs the city, ordered a man and a woman of each of thoſe nations to be buried alive in the market-place; ſuppoſing, we may imagine, that, by this act of monſtrous injuſtice and cruelty, they were to fulfil or elude the prediction [5]. They attended to the numberleſs prodigies that were annually collected, and to the charms that were ſuggeſted to avert the evils which thoſe prodigies were ſuppoſed to preſage, no leſs than they did to the moſt ſerious affairs of the Commonwealth [6]. They frequently ſeemed to impute their diſtreſſes, more to the neglect of ſuperſtitious rites, than to the miſconduct of their officers, or to the ſuperiority of their enemies. Fa-

[5] Plutarch. in Vit. Marcell.

[6] Vide Liv. paſſim.

bius,

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bius, who, by perſeverance and ſteadineſs, had the merit of reſtoring their affairs, was no leſs celebrated for his diligence in averting the effect of prodigies and unhappy preſages, than he was for the conduct and ability of a cautious and ſucceſsful commander [7]. Even Scipio is ſaid to have been influenced by his dreams, and to have pretended to ſpecial revelations.

From ſuch examples as theſe, we may learn the fallacy of partial repreſentations of national character, and carefully to guard againſt drawing any inference from the defects or accompliſhments which a people may exhibit of one kind, to eſtabliſh thoſe of another.

The peace with Carthage was introduced with ſome popular acts in favour of thoſe who had ſuffered remarkably in the hardſhips and dangers of the war. Large quantities of corn that had been ſeized in the magazines of the enemy, were ſold in the city at a low price, and a conſiderable diſtribution of land was made to numbers of the people in reward of their long and perilous ſervices.

Theſe precedents, however reaſonable in the circumſtances from which they aroſe, were the ſources of great abuſe; private citizens, in the ſequel, were taught to rely on public gratuities, and were made to hope, that, in the midſt of ſloth and riot, they might ſubſiſt without care, and without induſtry. Soldiers were taught to expect extraordinary rewards for ordinary ſervices; and ambitious leaders were inſtructed how to transfer the affection and the hopes of the legions from the republic to themſelves.

The treaty with Carthage, while it terminated the principal war in which the Romans were engaged, left them at leiſure to purſue a variety of quarrels, which ſtill remained on their hands, rather

[7] Plutarch. in Vit. Fab. Max.

than

than beſtowed entire peace. The Inſubres, and other Gauliſh nations on the Po, although they had not taken the full advantage, which the preſence of Hannibal in Italy might have given them againſt the Romans, were unable to remain at peace, and were unwilling to acknowledge the ſovereignty of any nation over their own. Having a Carthaginian exile, of the name of Hamilcar, at their head, they attempted again to diſlodge the colonies of Cremona and Placentia; and, on that ſide, with various events for ſome years, furniſhed occupation to the arms of the republic.

Philip, notwithſtanding the treaty of peace, which, about three years before, he had concluded *with the* Romans, had lately ſupplied the Carthaginians with an aid of four thouſand men, and a ſum of money. Of the men he had ſent to the aſſiſtance of Carthage, many had been taken at the battle of Zama, and detained as captives. Truſting, however, to the authority of his crown, he ſent, during the dependance of the treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, a meſſage to demand the enlargement of thoſe Macedonian captives. To this meſſage the Senate replied with diſdain, that the king of Macedonia appeared to deſire a war, and ſhould have it.

The People, nevertheleſs, wearied and exhauſted with the late conteſt, engaged in this war with uncommon reluctance. The Senate, they thought, was directed by the ambition of a few members, who never ceaſed to ſeek for new ſubjects of triumph, and for freſh occaſion of military honours. But notwithſtanding their averſion to enter into a war upon theſe motives, they were perſuaded to give their conſent upon a repreſentation of the great progreſs which was making by the king of Macedonia, and the ſuppoſed neceſſity of carrying the war into his own country, in order to check or prevent his deſigns upon Italy.

Philip,

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Philip, from being the head of a free confederacy, in which the Achæans, and many other ſtates of Greece, were united, aſpired to become the deſpotic ſovereign of that country; and, either by inſinuation or force, had made himſelf maſter of moſt places of conſequence round the Ægean ſea, whether in Europe or Aſia. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philopater, and the ſucceſſion of an infant ſon of that prince to the throne of Egypt, Philip had entered into a treaty with Antiochus, king of Syria, to divide between them the poſſeſſions of the Egyptian monarchy; and, in order to be ready for his more diſtant operations, was buſy in reducing the places which ſtill held out againſt him in Greece, and in its neighbourhood.

For this purpoſe he ſent an army with orders to take poſſeſſion of Athens, and was himſelf employed in the ſiege of Abydos. The Athenians ſent a meſſage to Rome to ſue for protection. "It is "no longer a queſtion," ſaid the Conſul Sulpicius, in his harangue to the People, "whether you will have a war with Philip, but whe-"ther you will have that war in Macedonia or in Italy. If you "ſtay until Philip has taken Athens, as Hannibal took Saguntum, "you may then ſee him arrive in Italy, not after a march of five "months, and after the paſſage of tremendous mountains, but after "a voyage of five days from his embarkation at Corinth."

Theſe conſiderations decided the reſolution of the Roman People for war; and the officers, yet remaining in Sicily at the head of the ſea and the land forces that had been employed againſt Carthage, had orders, without touching on Italy, to make ſail for the coaſt of Epirus.

552. The Conſul Sulpicius was deſtined to command in that country. He found, upon his arrival, that Attalus, the king of Pergamus, and the republic of Rhodes, had taken arms to oppoſe the progreſs of Philip. In concert with theſe allies, and in conjunction with the Dardanians and other cantons who joined him on the frontiers of

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Macedonia, the Roman Conſul was enabled to relieve and to protect the Athenians. But the other ſtates of Greece, though already averſe to the pretenſions of Philip, and impatient of his uſurpations; even the Etolians, though the moſt determined opponents of this prince, ſeemed to be undecided on this occaſion, and deferred entering into any engagement with the Romans. The reputation of the Macedonian armies was ſtill very high; and it was doubtful, whether theſe Italian invaders, conſidered as an upſtart and a barbarous power, might be able to protect the ſtates that declared for them againſt the vengeance of ſo great a king [s].

The two firſt years of the war elapſed without any deciſive event. Philip took poſt on the mountains that ſeparate Epirus from Theſſaly, and effectually prevented the Romans from penetrating any farther. But, in the third year, Titus Quintius Flamininus, yet a young man under thirty years of age, being Conſul, and deſtined to this command, brought to an immediate iſſue a conteſt which, till then, had been held in ſuſpence.

The Roman legion, except in its firſt encounters with Pyrrhus, had never meaſured its force, or compared its advantages with any troops formed on the Grecian model, and, to thoſe who reaſoned on the ſubject, may have appeared greatly inferior to the Macedonian phalanx. One preſumption, indeed, had appeared in favour of the legion, that both Pyrrhus and Hannibal thought proper to adopt its weapons, though there is no account of their having imitated the line of battle, or form of its manipules.

The phalanx was calculated to preſent a ſtrong and impenetrable front, ſupported by a depth of column, which might be varied occaſionally to ſuit with the ground. The men were armed with ſpears of twenty-one or twenty-four feet in length. The five firſt ranks

[s] Plutarch. in Vit. Flamin. p. 407.

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could level and carry their points to the front of the column. The remainder reſted their ſpears obliquely on the ſhoulders of thoſe that were before them; and, in this poſture, formed a kind of ſhed to intercept the miſſiles of the enemy; and, with their preſſure, ſupported, or urged, the front of their own column.

In the ſhock of the phalanx and legion, it is computed, that every ſingle man in the front of the legion, requiring a ſquare ſpace of ſix feet in which to ply his weapons, and acting with his buckler and ſword, had ten points of the enemy's ſpears oppoſed to him[9]: nevertheleſs, the ſtrength of the phalanx being entirely collected in front, and depending on the cloſeneſs of its order; when attacked on the flank or the rear, when broken or taken by ſurprize, and unformed, it was eaſily routed, and was calculated only for level ground, and the defence of a ſtation acceſſible only in one direction.

The Roman legion could act on its front, its flank, or its rear. Each diviſion, or manipule, and even the men that compoſed it, could act apart; and, if they had ſpace enough to ply their weapons, could ſcarcely be taken by ſuprize, or be made to ſuffer for want of a determinate order. It was ſerviceable, therefore, upon any ground, and, except on the front of the phalanx, had an undoubted advantage over that body.

In its ordinary form, the legion made its attack by ſeparate diviſions, at conſiderable intervals; and this mode of attack had a tendency to break and disjoin the front of the phalanx. The diviſions of the ſecond line were made to face the intervals of the firſt, in order to take advantage of any diſorder that might ariſe from the impreſſion made on the enemy, whether they repulſed and purſued, or gave way to the diviſions that attacked them.

Such are the reaſonings which occurred to military men, at leaſt after the events of the preſent war. In the mean time the Romans,

[9] Polyb. lib. xvii. c. 23.

in

in whatever degree they comprehended this argument, had ſufficient confidence in their own weapons, and in their looſe order, to encounter the long ſpear and compacted force of their enemy.

When Flamininus arrived in Epirus, Philip received him in a rugged paſs, where the Aöus burſts from the mountains that ſeparate Epirus from Theſſaly. This poſt was ſtrong, and could be defended even by irregular troops; but the phalanx, in this place, had none of its peculiar advantages; the Romans got round it upon the heights, and obliged the king of Macedonia to retire. He fled through Theſſaly; U. C. 555. and, to incommode the enemy in their attempts to purſue him, laid waſte the country as he paſſed.

The flight of Philip determined the Etolians to take part in the war againſt him; and the Roman general, after the operations of the campaign, being to winter in Phocis on the gulph of Corinth, found, that the greater part of the Achæan ſtates were likewiſe diſpoſed to join him. He took advantage of this diſpoſition, and got poſſeſſion of all the towns in the Peloponneſus, except Corinth and Argos, which hitherto had been in alliance with the enemy.

In the following ſpring, Philip, having with great induſtry collected and diſciplined the forces of his kingdom, received Flamininus in Theſſaly. The armies met in the neighbourhood of Pheræ; but the country, being interſperſed with gardens, and cut with plantations and hedges, the king declined a battle, and withdrew. Flamininus, knowing that he had magazines at Scotuſa, ſuppoſed that he was gone towards that place, and followed by a route that was ſeparated from that of the king by a ridge of hills. In the firſt day's march, the Romans and Macedonians were hid from each other by the heights; on the ſecond day they were covered by a thick fog, which hindered them from ſeeing diſtinctly even the different parts of their own armies.

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The ſcouts and advanced parties on both ſides, had, about the ſame time, aſcended the heights to gain ſome obſervation of their enemy. They met by ſurpriſe, and could not avoid an engagement. Each party ſent for ſupport to the main body of their reſpective armies. The Romans had begun to give way, when a reinforcement arrived, that enabled them, in their turn, to preſs on the enemy, and to recover the height from which they had been forced. Philip was determined not to hazard his phalanx on that unfavourable ground, broken and interſperſed with little hills; which, on account of their figure, were called the Cynocephalæ[9]. He ſent, nevertheleſs, all his horſe and irregular infantry to extricate his advanced party, and to draw them off with honour. Upon their arrival, the advantage came to be on the ſide of the Macedonians; and the Roman irregulars were forced from the hills in the utmoſt diſorder. The cry of victory was carried back to the camp of the king. His courtiers exclaimed, that now was the time to urge a flying enemy, and to complete his advantage. The king heſitated; but could not reſiſt the general voice. He ordered the phalanx to move; and he himſelf at the head of the right wing, while his left was marching in column, had arrived and formed on the hill. On his way to this ground, he was flattered with recent tracts of the victory which had been gained by his troops.

Flamininus, at the ſame time, alarmed at the defeat of his light infantry, and ſeeing a kind of panic likely to ſpread through the legions, put the whole army in motion, and advanced to receive his flying parties. In that point of time the fog cleared up, and ſhowed the right of the Macedonian phalanx already formed upon the height.

Flamininus haſtily attacked this body, and, being unable to make any impreſſion, gave up the day, on that quarter, for loſt. But, obſerving

[9] The name implies, that theſe hills reſembled the head of a dog.

ſerving that the enemy oppoſite to his right were not yet come to their ground, he inſtantly repaired to that wing, and, with his elephants and light infantry, ſupported by the legions, attacked them before the phalanx was formed, and put them to flight.

In this ſtate of the action, a Tribune of the victorious legion, being advanced in purſuit of the enemy, as they fled beyond the flank of their own phalanx on the right, took that body in the rear; and, by this fortunate attempt, in ſo critical a moment, completed the victory in all parts of the field.

Thus Philip, if his phalanx had any advantage over the legion of the Romans, had not, in two ſucceſſive encounters, been able to avail himſelf of it; and it may well be ſuppoſed, that, in the movements of armies, which often require them to act on varieties of ground, the chances were greatly in favour of the more verſatile body [10].

From this field the king of Macedonia fled with a mind already diſpoſed not to urge the fate of the war any farther. He retired to the paſſes of the mountains that ſurround the valley of Tempe, and from thence ſent a meſſage to the Roman general with overtures of peace.

It was a fortunate circumſtance in the manners and policy of the Romans, that the ſame motives of ambition which urged the rulers of the State to war, likewiſe, on occaſion, inclined the leaders of armies to peace, made them admit from an enemy the firſt offers of ſubmiſſion, and embrace any terms on which they could for themſelves lay claim to a triumph.

The prayer of the republic, in entering on a war, included three objects, ſafety, victory, and enlargement of territory [11]. Every general endeavoured to obtain theſe ends for his country; but, in proportion as he approached to the completion of his wiſhes, he became

[10] Polyb. lib. xvii. c. 22.

[11] Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 5.

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jealous of his ſucceſſor, and deſirous to terminate the war before any other ſhould come to ſnatch out of his hands the trophies he had won. This people appeared, therefore, on moſt occaſions, willing to ſpare the vanquiſhed, and went to extremities only by degrees, and urged by the ambition of ſucceſſive leaders, who, each in his turn, wiſhed to make ſome addition to the advantages previouſly gained to his country. At the ſame time, the State, when furniſhed with a fair pretence for reducing a province to ſubjection, made the moſt effectual arrangements to accompliſh this purpoſe.

Flamininus, on the preſent occaſion, encouraged the advances that were made to him by Philip, granted a ceſſation of arms, gave him an opportunity to continue his applications for peace at Rome, and forwarded the meſſenger whom he ſent on this buſineſs. The Senate, on being informed that the king of Macedonia caſt himſelf entirely on the mercy and juſtice of the Romans, named ten com-

U. C. 557. miſſioners to be joined with Flamininus, and to determine, in preſence of the other parties concerned in the war, what were to be the terms on which peace ſhould be granted.

The time was not yet come for the Romans to lay hold of any poſſeſſions beyond the ſea of Ionia. They had paſſed into that country as the protectors of Athens, were now ſatisfied with the title of Deliverers of Greece; and, under pretence of ſetting the republics of that quarter free, detached them from the Macedonian monarchy; but, in this manner, made the firſt ſtep towards conqueſt, by weakening their enemy, and by ſtripping him of great part of that power with which he had been able to reſiſt them in the late war.

They obliged the king of Macedonia to withdraw his garriſons from every fortreſs in Greece, and to leave every Grecian city, whether of Europe or Aſia, to the full enjoyment of its own independence and ſeparate laws.

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To ſecure the effects of this treaty, they obliged him to ſurrender all his ſhips of war; except one galley, on which, it was ſaid, were mounted ſixteen tier of oars, requiring a height above the water, and dimenſions in every part, more fitted for oſtentation than wieldineſs or uſe.

They made him reduce his ordinary military eſtabliſhment to five hundred men, and forbade him entirely the uſe of elephants.

For themſelves, they deſired only to have the Roman captives reſtored, deſerters delivered up, and a ſum of one thouſand talents to reimburſe the expence of the war [12].

By this treaty the Romans not only weakened their enemy, but acquired great acceſſions of reputation and general confidence. They announced themſelves as protectors of all free nations; and in this character took an aſcendant, which, even over the ſtates they had reſcued from foreign uſurpations, by degrees might riſe into ſovereignty and a formal dominion.

To give the greater ſolemnity to the gift of liberty which they made to the Grecian ſtates, they had this act of ſplendid munificence proclaimed at the Iſthmus of Corinth, in preſence of great multitudes from every part of Greece met to ſolemnize the ordinary games; and, in return, were extolled by the flatterers of their power, or the dupes of their policy, as the common reſtorers of freedom to mankind.

The Romans haſtened the completion of the treaty, by which they diſarmed the king of Macedonia, upon having received information, that Antiochus, king of Syria, was in motion with a mighty force, and, without declaring his intentions, made ſail towards Europe. This prince ſucceeded to the kingdom of Syria a few years before Ptolomy Philopater began to reign in Egypt, or Philip in Greece;

[12] Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 31.

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and was nearly of the ſame age with thoſe princes. In his youth he waged war with the kingdom of Egypt for the poſſeſſion of the Cœlo-Syria, and with the Satraps or governors of his own provinces, who attempted to render themſelves independent, and to diſmember his kingdom. His ſucceſs in re-uniting all the members of his own monarchy, put him in poſſeſſion of a great empire, which reached from the extremities of Armenia and Perſia to Sardis and the ſeas of Greece. The ſplendor of his fortunes procured him the title of Antiochus the Great. The crown of Egypt had been, for ſome time, the principal object of his jealouſy and of his ambition. He had made an alliance with Philip, in which the common object of the parties was to avail themſelves of the minority of Ptolomy: but he was not aware, in time, how much the king of Macedonia ſtood in need of his ſupport againſt the Romans; or how much it was his intereſt to preſerve that kingdom as a barrier againſt the incroachments of an ambitious people, who now began to direct their views to the Eaſt. He advanced, however, though now too late, by the coaſt of Aſia to the Helleſpont, with a fleet and an army rather deſtined for obſervation, than for any decided part in a war which was brought to a concluſion about the time of his arrival in thoſe parts.

At Lyſimachia, the Roman deputies, who were charged with the adjuſtment and execution of the late treaty, met with Antiochus, and remonſtrated againſt ſome of his proceedings on the coaſt of Aſia, as affecting the poſſeſſions both of Philip and of Ptolomy. They complained of his preſent invaſion of Europe with a hoſtile force. "The Romans," they ſaid, "had reſcued the Greeks from "Philip, not to deliver them over to Antiochus." They demanded a reſtitution of all the towns he had taken from Ptolomy, and enjoined him to refrain from any attempts on the freedom of Greece.

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To theſe remonſtrances and requiſitions the king of Syria with ſcorn replied, That he knew the extent of his rights, and was not to be taught by the Romans: that they were buſy in ſetting bounds to the ambition of other ſtates, but ſet no bounds to their own; adviſed them to confine their views to the affairs of Italy, and to leave thoſe of Aſia to the parties concerned.

During the conferences which were held on theſe ſubjects, each of the parties, without communicating what they heard to the others, received a report of the death of Ptolomy, the infant king of Egypt; and they ſeparated from each other, intent on the evils to be apprehended, or the benefits to be reaped, from this event.

This report, in which both parties were ſoon after undeceived, occaſioned the return of Antiochus into Syria, and ſuſpended for ſome time the war which he was diſpoſed to carry into Europe [13].

Under pretence of obſerving the motions of this prince, the Romans, although they had profeſſed an intention to evacuate the Greek cities, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Demetrias, a convenient ſea-port in Theſſaly, and of Chalcis on the ſtraits of Eubœa; and Flamininus, under pretence of reſtraining the violence of Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedemon, and of reſtoring the tranquillity of that country [14], ſtill remained with an army in the Peloponneſus.

While the Romans were carrying their fortunes with ſo high a hand in this part of the world, and defeating armies hitherto deemed invincible, they received a conſiderable check in Spain.

That country had been recently divided into two provinces; and, though now poſſeſſed by the Romans, without the competition of any foreign rival, it continued to be held by a very difficult and precarious tenure, that of force, oppoſed to the impatience and continual revolts of a fierce and numerous people.

[13] Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 41. [14] Ibid. c. 43.

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Spain had already furnished to Italy its principal ſupplies of ſilver and gold. At every triumph obtained in that country, the precious metals were brought in conſiderable quantities to the treaſury of Rome; but were purchaſed for the moſt part with the blood of her legions, and led her into a ſucceſſion of wars, in which ſhe experienced defeat as well as victory. About the time that Flamininus had terminated the war in Macedonia; the Proconſul Sempronius, in the nearer province of Spain, was defeated with the loſs of many officers of rank. He himſelf was wounded in action, and ſoon after died.

Even the Roman poſſeſſions in Italy were not yet fully recovered from the troubles that had ariſen in the time of the late war with Carthage. The Gauliſh nations on the Po ſtill continued in a ſtate of hoſtility. The ſlaves, of which the numbers had greatly increaſed in Etruria, and other parts of the country, being moſtly captives taken from enemies enured to arms and to violence, interrupted their ſervitude with frequent and dangerous inſurrections. Having perſons among them, who had been accuſtomed to command as well as to obey, they often deſerted from their maſters, formed into regular bodies, and encountered the armies of the republic in battle[13].

The ridge of the Appenines beyond the confines of Etruria and the Roman frontier, ſtill harboured fierce and numerous tribes known by the name of Ligurians and Gauls, who not only often and long defended their own mountains and woods, but likewiſe frequently invaded the territory of the Romans. Here, or in Spain, during the reſts of other wars, there was a continual ſervice for the Conſuls and Prætors, and a continual exerciſe to the legions. The State, nevertheleſs, though ſtill occupied in this manner with petty enemies and deſultory wars, never loſt ſight of the great objects of its jea-

[13] Liv. lib. xxviii. c. 36.

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louſy, from whom were to be apprehended a more regular oppoſition, and better concerted deſigns againſt its power. Among theſe, the Carthaginians were not likely to continue longer at peace than until they recovered their ſtrength, or had the proſpect of ſome powerful ſupport. Antiochus, poſſeſſed of all the reſources of Aſia, was ready to join with this or any other ſtate that was inclined to check the advancement of the Roman power.

About a year after the concluſion of the war with Philip, the Romans received intelligence, that the Carthaginians had entered into a correſpondence with Antiochus; and as their ſuppoſed implacable enemy, Hannibal, was then in one of the firſt offices of ſtate at Carthage, it was not doubted, that the ſecret intrigues of thoſe parties were hoſtile to Rome. It was determined, therefore, to ſend a proper commiſſion into Africa, under pretence of an amicable mediation, in ſome differences that ſubſiſted between Maſſiniſſa and the people of Carthage; but with injunctions to the commiſſioners to penetrate, if poſſible, the deſigns of the Carthaginians; and, if neceſſary, to demand that Hannibal, the ſuppoſed author of a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the peace of both the republics, ſhould be delivered up. U. C. 558.

This great man, from the termination of the late war, had acquitted himſelf in the political departments, to which he had been appointed, with an integrity and ability worthy of his high reputation as a ſoldier; but his reformations in a corrupted ſtate had procured him enemies at home, not leſs dangerous than thoſe he had encountered abroad [1]. Upon the arrival of the Roman deputies, he ſuſpected that the commiſſion regarded himſelf, and made no doubt that a faction whoſe ambition he had reſtrained, and many particular perſons whom he had recently incenſed by the reformation of certain abuſes in which they were intereſted, would gladly ſeize

[1] Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 46—49.

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that opportunity to rid themſelves of a powerful enemy, and from fear or ſome other motives, prevail on a corrupted people to deliver him up to the Romans. It is ſaid, that he had been long prepared for an emergence of this ſort, and, without any embarraſſment, appeared, upon the arrival of theſe meſſengers, in all the functions of his public character; but at night withdrew to the coaſt, and ſet ſail for Aſia [15]. He was received by Antiochus at Epheſus, and treated as a perſon worthy to direct the councils of a great king; an office too much expoſed to envy for the favourites of a court, or even for the prince himſelf long to endure.

From this time forward the king of Syria, ſuppoſed to be governed by the counſels of Hannibal, became the principal object of attention and of jealouſy at Rome; and though he ſeemed to remain in tranquillity during about three years after the acquiſition of this formidable counſellor, yet it was not doubted that the firſt violent ſtorm was to burſt from that quarter.

Flamininus had, during the greater part of this interval, remained in Greece; had been occupied in ſettling the affairs of that country, and in obſerving the Etolians, who, being diſſatisfied with the late peace, endeavoured to raiſe a ſpirit of diſcontent againſt the Romans. He made war at the ſame time againſt Nabis the tyrant of Lacedemon; and though he failed in his attempt to force this famous uſurper in his own capital, he obliged him to evacuate Argos, and to cede all his poſſeſſions on the coaſt. By theſe means he removed all the dangers with which any of the States of the Achæan league had been threatened, and reſtored them to the full poſſeſſion of their freedom.

To leave no ground of jealouſy or diſtruſt in Greece, Flamininus perſuaded the Roman Commiſſioners to evacuate Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth, which they were diſpoſed to retain in the proſpect of

[15] Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 46—49.

a war

a war with Antiochus; and having thus concluded the affairs that were entrusted to him, he returned into Italy, and made his entry at Rome in a triumphal procession, which lasted three days, with a splendid display of spoils, captives, and treasure [16].

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All the troubles of Greece, at the departure of Flamininus, seemed to be composed; these appearances, however, were but of short duration. Nabis was impatient under his late concessions; and flattering himself that the Romans would not repass the sea merely to exclude him from the possession of a few places of little consequence on the coast of the Peloponnesus, began to employ insinuation, corruption, and open force, in order to recover the towns he had lost. In this design he was encouraged by the Etolians, who flattered him with the hopes of support, not only from themselves, but likewise from Antiochus, and even from Philip; all of whom had an evident interest in repressing the growing power of the Italian republic. The Etolians had expected, at the close of the war with Philip, to come into the place of that prince, as the head of all the Grecian confederacies, and to have a principal share in the spoils of his kingdom. They urged the Roman commissioners to the final suppression of that monarchy; and, being disappointed in all their hopes, complained of the Romans, as bestowing upon others the fruits of a victory which had been obtained chiefly by their means, and as having, under the pretence of setting the Greeks at liberty, reduced that country into a weak and disjointed state, which might in any future period render it an easy prey to themselves.

Flamininus accordingly had, in all his measures for the settlement of Greece, found from this people a warm and obstinate resistance. He found them endeavouring to form a powerful confederacy against the Romans, and for this purpose engaged in intrigues with Nabis, Philip, and Antiochus; applying to each of them in terms suited to

[16] Liv. lib. xxxiv. c. 52.

the

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a war

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[16] Liv. lib. xxxiv. c. 52.

the

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the ſuppoſed injuries they had ſeverally received in the late war, or in the negotiations that followed.

At the concluſion of the peace with Philip, Antiochus thinking himſelf by the effects of that treaty aggrieved, in reſpect to the freedom granted to ſome cantons in Thrace, on which he derived a claim from his anceſtors, ſent an embaſſy to Rome with remonſtrances on that ſubject. The Romans made anſwer, In the capacity which they had aſſumed of the deliverers of Greece, that they would oppoſe every attempt to enſlave any Grecian ſettlement; and as they had no deſigns on Aſia, they expected that the king of Syria would not intermeddle in the concerns of Europe. While they gave this anſwer to the Ambaſſador of Antiochus, they reſolved, under pretence of treating with the king, to ſend commiſſioners, in their turn, to obſerve his motions.

The famous Scipio Africanus is mentioned by ſome hiſtorians as having been of this commiſſion, and as having had ſome converſations with Hannibal, which are recorded to the honour of both. Livy, however, ſeems to reject theſe particulars as fabulous, while he admits that the apparent intimacy of Hannibal with the Roman commiſſioners, very much diminiſhed the part which this formidable counſellor held in the confidence of the king [b].

At this time it became known that Antiochus was meditating the invaſion of Italy as well as of Greece; that the firſt of theſe objects was to be committed to Hannibal, who undertook to prevail on the republic of Carthage to take a principal ſhare in the war; and that, for this purpoſe, he had ſent a proper perſon to concert meaſures with his party at Carthage; but the intrigue being diſcovered, the Carthaginians, in order to exculpate themſelves, ſent an account of it to Rome.

[b] Liv. lib. xxxv. c. 14.

Before

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Before this intelligence had been received, the Roman commiſſioners were ſet out for Aſia, and, according to their inſtructions, paſſed through Pergamus to conſult with Eumenes the ſovereign of that kingdom, who, having reaſon to dread the power of Antiochus, employed all his credit to engage the Romans in a war with that prince. They had an audience of the king of Syria at Apamea, and a conference afterwards, on the object of their commiſſion, with a principal officer of his court at Epheſus. This miniſter made no ſcruple to charge the Romans with the real deſigns of ambition, which they endeavoured to diſguiſe under the pretence of procuring the liberties of Greece. "Your conduct," he ſaid, "where "you are in condition to act without diſguiſe, is a much better evi- "dence of your intention, than any profeſſions you may think proper "to make in Greece or in Aſia, where, by aſſuming a popular cha- "racter, you have ſo many parties to reconcile to your intereſt. "Are not the inhabitants of Naples and of Rhegium Greeks, as well "as thoſe of Lampaſcus and Smyrna? You are extremely deſirous "to ſet the Greeks at liberty from the dominion of Antiochus and "Philip, but have no remorſe in ſubjecting them to your own."

The deputies of the cities whoſe intereſt was in queſtion were preſent at theſe conferences, and each pleaded the cauſe of his country, but without any other effect than that of convincing the parties concerned, that a war could not long be avoided. The Romans, alarmed by the intelligence received from Carthage during the dependance of his conference, had already begun to prepare for hoſtilities: and, upon the report of their commiſſioners from Aſia, ſtill continued to augment their forces by ſea and by land. Under pretence of repreſſing the violences committed by Nabis, they ordered one army into Greece, and ſtationed a ſecond on the coaſt of Calabria and Apulia, in order to ſupport the operations of the firſt.

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The Romans had reaſon to conſider the Etolians as enemies, and even to diſtruſt the intentions of many of the republics lately reſtored to their liberty, who began to ſurmiſe, that, under the pretence of being relieved from the dominion of Philip, they were actually reduced to a ſtate of dependence on Rome.

To obviate the difficulties which from theſe ſurmiſes might ariſe among the Grecian republics, the Roman Senate ſent a freſh commiſſion into that country, requiring thoſe who were named in it to act under the direction of Flamininus, the late deliverer of Greece. Theſe commiſſioners found the principal cities of that country variouſly affected: a general meeting of the States being called to receive them at Demetrias, they were, by ſome of the parties preſent at this meeting, reproached with a deſign, under pretence of reſtoring the Greeks to their liberties, of ſeparating them from every power that was fit to protect them; and they were likewiſe reproached with a deſign of eſtabliſhing their own tyranny, under pretence of oppoſing that of every other State.

This ſpecies of blaſphemy, uttered againſt a power which the majority of thoſe who were preſent affected to revere, raiſed a great ferment in the council; and the perſons who had thus ventured to inſult the Romans being threatened with violence, were forced to withdraw from Demetrias, and to take refuge in Etolia. The remaining deputies of Greece endeavoured to pacify the Roman commiſſioners, or at leaſt entreated them that they would not impute to ſo many different nations, what was no more than the frenzy of a few individuals.

The Etolians had already invited Antiochus to paſs into Europe. The meaſure was accordingly under deliberation in the council of this prince. Hannibal warmly recommended the invaſion of Italy as the moſt effectual blow that could be ſtruck at the Romans. "At "home," he ſaid, "their force is ſtill compoſed of diſjointed ma-

" terials, which will break into pieces when aſſailed by the imme-
" diate touch of an enemy; and the moſt effectual power that can
" be raiſed up againſt them, is that which may be formed from the
" ruins of their own empire. But if you allow them to remain in
" quiet poſſeſſion of Italy, and to ſtretch out the arms of that country
" to a diſtance, their reſources are endleſs, and their ſtrength irreſiſt-
" able." He made an offer of himſelf for this ſervice, demanding a hundred gallies, ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. With this armament he propoſed to preſent himſelf on the coaſt of Africa, and, from what further reinforcements or ſupplies he could derive from Carthage, to effect his deſcent upon Italy.

Theſe councils, however, were given in vain. Hannibal, as a perſon likely to reap all the glory of every ſervice in which he bore any part, was become an object of jealouſy to the court of Antiochus, and to the king himſelf. His advice being received with more averſion than reſpect, ſerved to determine the king againſt every meaſure he propoſed. " Such a monarch," it was ſaid by the courtiers, " could
" not be under any neceſſity to employ foreign aid or direction:
" —his own force was ſufficient to overcome the Romans in any
" part of the world:—the recovery of Greece muſt be the firſt
" object of his arms:—the people of that country, whenever his
" galleys appeared, would crowd to the ſhores to receive him:—
" the Etolians were already in arms for this purpoſe:—Nabis was
" impatient to recover the poſſeſſions of which he had been ſtripped
" by the Romans:—Philip muſt eagerly fly to his ſtandard, and
" embrace every opportunity to revenge the indignities which had
" been lately put upon himſelf and his kingdom [18]."

Flattered with theſe expectations, Antiochus ſet ſail for Europe U. C. 562. with ten thouſand foot, ſome elephants, and a body of horſe. He

[18] Liv. lib. xxxv. c. 18 & 42.

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was received at Demetrias with acclamations of joy; but ſoon after, in the ſequel, came to underſtand that his allies in that country had ſent for him to bear the burden of the war, and were deviſing how they ſhould reap for themſelves the advantages that might be made to ariſe from it.

The Etolians, at whoſe inſtance Antiochus had come into Greece, were ſtill divided. One party among them contended for peace, and alleged that the preſence of the king of Syria was a fortunate circumſtance, as it might give them an opportunity to negociate with greater advantage. Another party contended for immediate war; inſiſting that force alone could obtain any equitable terms from ſuch a party as that they had to do with.

Flamininus was preſent in the aſſembly of Etolia when theſe debates took place relating to the reſolution for peace or war with the Romans. He obſerved to the party who contended for war, that, before they proceeded to this extremity, they ought to have made their repreſentations at Rome, and to have waited for an anſwer from thence. "We ſhall make our repreſentations, and demand our anſwer," ſaid a principal perſon in the aſſembly, ſtill thinking of a deſcent upon Italy, to be effected by Hannibal, "perhaps where we are leaſt expected, on the banks of the Tiber[12]."

The reſolution for war with the Romans was accordingly taken in this aſſembly, and Antiochus was declared head of the confederacy to be formed for mutual ſupport in the conduct of it. This prince endeavoured to obtain a declaration to the ſame effect from the Achæans and Beotians; but being diſappointed in his application to thoſe States, he left part of his forces at Demetrias, and he himſelf having negociated his admiſſion at Chalcis on the Straits of Eubœa, retired, as if he had come to act upon the defenſive, behind the Euripus, and eſtabliſhed his court at that place for the winter.

[12] Liv. lib. xxxv. c. 33.

Mean

Mean time the Romans prepared themſelves as for a ſtruggle of great difficulty, and probably of long duration [20]. They conſidered the abilities of Hannibal, employed to conduct the forces of Aſia, as a ſufficient ground of alarm. Their firſt object was to guard Italy and their other poſſeſſions. An army of obſervation was for this purpoſe ſtationed at Tarentum. A numerous fleet was ordered to protect the coaſt. The Prætors and other officers of State, with proper forces under their command, had charge of the different diſtricts of Italy that were ſuſpected of inclining to the enemy, or of being diſaffected to the commonwealth. The inſtructions given to theſe officers, were to obſerve what was paſſing in the ſeveral quarters to which they were ſent, but to avoid every occaſion of animoſity or tumult that might open a way for the admiſſion of an enemy, or ſhew an invader where to direct his attack.

Having made theſe diſpoſitions for their own ſecurity, they proceeded to form an army which was to act offenſively, and to fix the ſcene of the war in their enemy's country. Bæbius, a Prætor of the preceding year, under pretence of oppoſing Nabis, who had renewed the war in the Peloponneſus, had already paſſed into Epirus with a conſiderable force. Acilius Glabrio, one of the Conſuls of the preſent year, to whoſe lot this province had fallen, was underſtood to have in charge the farther preparations that were making for a war in that country, and haſtened the aſſembling of an army and fleet ſufficient to diſconcert the meaſures of the parties that were ſuppoſed to be forming againſt the Romans.

The uſual tithes of corn were ordered from Sardinia, and double tithes from Sicily, to ſupply the army in Epirus. Commiſſaries likewiſe were ſent to Carthage and Numidia, in order to purchaſe ſupplies from thence. And with ſuch a ſenſe of its importance did the Ro-

[20] Appian Syriacæ, p. 95.

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mans enter on this war, that the Conſul Cornelius iſſued an edict, prohibiting all Senators, and all thoſe who were intitled to be admitted into the Senate, to abſent themſelves from Rome above one day at a time, and requiring that no more than five Senators ſhould on the ſame day be abſent from the city.

The equipment of the fleet was retarded by a diſpute that aroſe with eight of the maritime colonies or ſea-ports, who pretended to a right of exemption from the preſent ſervice. But their plea, upon an appeal to the Tribunes, and a reference from them to the Senate, was over-ruled.

Antiochus paſſed the winter at Chalcis in a manner too common with princes of a mean capacity, who put every matter of perſonal caprice on the ſame footing with the affairs of State. Being enamoured of a Grecian beauty, he employed the attention of his court on feaſts and proceſſions, deviſed for her entertainment, and to enhance his pleaſures. His reputation declined, and his forces made no progreſs either in numbers or diſcipline.

In the ſpring he loſt ſome time in forming confederacies with petty States, which are ever under the neceſſity of declaring themſelves for the prevailing power, and who change their ſide with the reverſes of fortune. Having traverſed the country from Beotia to Acarnania, negotiating treaties with ſuch allies as theſe, he had paſſed into Theſſaly, and had beſieged Lariſſa, when the Roman Prætor began to advance from Epirus.

After the contending parties had thus taken the field, and the armies of Rome and of Syria were about to decide the ſuperiority on the frontiers of Macedonia, Philip ſeemed to remain in ſuſpence, having yet made no open declaration to which ſide he inclined. He had felt the arms of the Romans, and had reaſon to dread thoſe of Antiochus.

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The princes who divided the Macedonian empire were not only rivals in power, they were in ſome degree mutual pretenders to the thrones which they ſeverally occupied; Philip, probably conſidering Antiochus, in this capacity, as the principal object of his jealouſy, took his reſolution to declare for the Romans; and having accordingly joined the Prætor on the confines of Theſſaly, their vanguard advanced to obſerve the poſition and motions of the enemy.

Antiochus, upon the junction of theſe forces, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege of Lariſſa. From this time forward he ſeemed to have dropped all his ſanguine expectations of conqueſt in Europe, was contented to act on the defenſive, and when the Roman Conſul arrived in Epirus, and directed his march towards Theſſaly, he took poſt at the Straits of Thermopylæ, intending to ſhut up this paſſage into Greece: but being diſlodged from thence, his army was routed, the greater part of it periſhed in the flight, and he himſelf, with no more than five hundred men, eſcaped to Chalcis, his former retreat in Eubœa, from whence he ſoon after ſet ſail for Aſia.

Upon the flight of Antiochus, the Etolians alone remained in the predicament of open enemies to the Romans. They were yet extremely irreſolute and diſtracted in their councils. After having brought the king of Syria into Europe, they had not ſupported him with a ſufficient force; and now, upon his departure, being ſenſible of their danger from the Romans, a powerful enemy whom they had greatly provoked, they endeavoured to perſwade the king to return; repreſenting to him how much he was concerned to furniſh that arrogant people with a ſufficient occupation in Greece, to prevent their paſſing into Aſia. They at the ſame time made offers of pacification and of ſubmiſſion to the Romans, but were received in a manner, which gave them no hopes of being able to palliate the offence they had given. The Conſul advanced into their country, laid ſiege to Naupactus, and having reduced that place and the whole nation

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to great diſtreſs, agreed to a ceſſation of arms, only while they ſent deputies to Rome to implore forgiveneſs and to make their peace with the Senate. Such was the poſture of affairs when Lucius Cornelius Scipio, being elected one of the Conſuls for the enſuing year, was deſtined to ſucceed Acilius Glabrio in Etolia; and, with his brother Publius, the victor in the battle of Zama, who was to act as ſecond in command, had orders to proſecute the war againſt the kingdom of Syria.

Theſe leaders being arrived in Greece, and intent on the removal of the war into Aſia, willingly accepted of the ſubmiſſion of all the towns that had incurred any ſuſpicion during the ſtay of Antiochus in Europe; and, leaving the difference which remained to be ſettled with the Etolians in a ſtate of negociation, they proceeded without delay, by the route of Macedonia and Thrace, towards the Helleſpont.

In paſſing through theſe countries, they were conducted and furniſhed with all the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions and carriages by Philip.

The fleets of Aſia and Europe, during this march of the Roman army, contended for the command of the ſeas. That of Europe, which was joined by the navy of Rhodes, and even by that of the Carthaginians, who, to vindicate themſelves from any blame in the preſent war, had taken part with their rival, after various encounters, obtained the victory in a deciſive battle, which made them entire maſters of the ſea, and opened all the ports of Aſia to the ſhipping of the Romans.

The king of Syria had fortified Seſtos and Abydos on the Helleſpont, and Lyſimachia on the iſthmus of Cherſoneſus, with an apparent reſolution to diſpute the march and paſſage of the Scipios at all theſe different ſtations. But on the total defeat of his navy, he either conſidered thoſe places as loſt, or, fearing to have his forces ſeparately

ſeparately cut off in attempting to defend them, he withdrew his garriſons from Lyſimachia, Seſtos, and Abydos; and while he thus opened the way for his enemies to reach him, gave other ſigns of deſpondency, or of a diſpoſition to ſink under adverſity, making overtures of peace, and offering to yield every point which he had formerly diſputed in the war. In reply to theſe offers he was told, That he muſt do a great deal more; that he muſt ſubmit to ſuch terms as the Romans were intitled to expect from victory. But as he continued to aſſemble his forces, he choſe rather to ſtake his fortune on the deciſion of a battle; and having in vain endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of Pergamus, the capital of Eumenes, he fell back on Thyatira, and from thence proceeded to take poſt on the mountains of Sypylus, where he meant to contend for the empire of Aſia.

In the mean time the Scipios advanced to the Helleſpont, and without any reſiſtance paſſed the Strait. This was the firſt time that any Roman army ſet foot on Aſia; and being met by the deputies of the king with the overtures of peace that have been mentioned, ſent accounts to Rome of their arrival; and made a halt for ſome days.

This deſcent was conſidered by the Romans as an epoch of great renown; and the meſſenger who brought the accounts of it was received with proceſſions and ſolemn rites. Supplications and prayers were offered up to the gods, that this firſt landing of a Roman army in Aſia might be proſperous for the commonwealth. U. C. 562

Publius Scipio, the famous antagoniſt of Hannibal, ſoon after his arrival in Aſia, was taken ill; or, what may be ſuppoſed for his honour, being deſirous not to rob his brother of any ſhare in the glory which he perceived was to be eaſily won againſt the preſent enemy, he affected indiſpoſition, and remained at a diſtance from the camp. Lucius, thus left alone to command the Roman army, advanced upon the king, attacked him in the poſt he had choſen, and, in a deciſive

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victory, diſperſed the ſplendid forces of Aſia, with all their apparatus of armed chariots, horſes, and elephants, harneſſed with gold.

The king himſelf fled with a few attendants, paſſed through Sardis in the night, and continued his flight to Apamea in Piſidia, where he expected to be out of the reach of his purſuers.

Thyatira, Sardis, and Magneſia ſoon after opened their gates to the Romans; and the king himſelf by a meſſenger from Apamea, again made haſte to own himſelf vanquiſhed, and to ſue for peace.

The Romans, to diſplay a moderation which they frequently affected in the midſt of their victories, renewed the ſame conditions which they had preſcribed on their arrival in Aſia; and a ceſſation of arms being granted, officers from Antiochus, and from all the other parties concerned in the approaching treaty, repaired to Rome, in order to receive the final deciſion of the Senate and People, on the future ſettlement of their affairs.

Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, on this occaſion, attended in perſon, and, together with the republic of Rhodes, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and faithful ſervices in the late war, became the principal gainer in the treaty.

It was agreed by the Senate, that the preliminary articles already preſcribed by the Conſul ſhould be confirmed:

That, according to theſe articles, Antiochus ſhould reſign all his pretenſions in Europe, and contract the boundaries of his kingdom in Aſia within the mountains of Taurus:

That he ſhould pay to the Romans, at ſucceſſive terms, five thouſand talents to reimburſe the expence of the war:

To Eumenes four hundred talents on the ſcore of a debt that had been due to his father.

And, for the performance of theſe conditions, ſhould give twenty hoſtages, ſuch as the Romans ſhould name.

In

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In the farther execution of this treaty, the Romans again appeared to be ſolicitous only for the intereſt of their allies, and required no more than indemnification for themſelves. They appointed ten commiſſioners to repair into Aſia, and there to determine the ſeveral queſtions that might ariſe relating to the ſettlement of that country. In the mean time they publiſhed to all parties the following inſtructions, as the baſis on which the commiſſioners were to proceed:

That the preliminaries of the peace with Antiochus already offered ſhould be ratified:

That all the provinces which he was to evacuate, except Caria and Lycia, were to be aſſigned to Eumenes:

That theſe provinces, bounded by the Meander on the eaſt, ſhould be given to the republic of Rhodes:

That all the Greek cities which had been tributary to Eumenes ſhould continue ſo, and all which had been tributary to Antiochus ſhould be ſet free [21].

A ſettlement was accordingly ſoon after made in Aſia in theſe terms; and the Romans, while they were haſtening to univerſal dominion, appeared to have no object beyond the proſperity of their allies: they were merciful to the vanquiſhed, and formidable only to thoſe who preſumed to reſiſt their arms. In the midſt of their conqueſts, they reſerved nothing to themſelves beſides the power of giving away entire kingdoms and provinces; or, in other words, they reſerved nothing but the power of ſeizing the whole at a proper time, and, for the preſent, the ſupreme aſcendant over all the conquered provinces that were given away, and over thoſe who received them.

The Etolians were now the only parties in Greece who pretended to hold their liberties, or their poſſeſſions, by any other tenure than that of a grant from the Romans.

[21] Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes, c. 35.

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During the dependance of the war in Aſia, the Etolians were making continual efforts to recover their own loſſes, and to preſerve the city of Ambracia, then beſieged by the Romans; but, upon the defeat of Antiochus, the Ambraciots ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the Etolians ſued for peace.

Ambracia had been the capital of Pyrrhus, and now furniſhed the captor with a plentiful ſpoil of ſtatues, pictures, and other ornaments to adorn his triumph. The Etolians, at the interceſſion of the Athenians, were allowed to hope for peace on the following terms [22]:

That they ſhould not allow to paſs through their country the troops of any nation at war with the Romans:

That they ſhould conſider the allies of Rome as their allies, and the enemies of Rome as their enemies:

That they ſhould make inſtant payment of two hundred talents in ſilver, the ſtandard of Athens; and of three hundred more at ſeparate inſtalments within ſix years:

That if they choſe to make theſe payments in gold rather than ſilver, the proportion ſhould be one of gold to ten of ſilver; and that they ſhould give hoſtages for the performance of theſe ſeveral articles [23].

While the Etolians were on theſe terms concluding a peace, or rather obtaining a pardon, the Conſul Manlius, who had ſucceeded the Scipios in Aſia, willing, if poſſible, to bring back into Italy, together with the victorious legions, ſome pretence of a triumph for himſelf, led his army againſt the Galatians. Theſe were the deſcendants of a barbarous horde, which had, ſome ages before, migrated from the north of Europe, viſited Italy and Greece in their way, and ſtopped on the Halys in the Leſſer Aſia, where they made a ſettlement, round which they levied contributions quite to the ſhores of the Euxine, the Mediterranean, and Egean Seas. Their forces had lately

[22] Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes, c. 28.

[23] Ibid.

made

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made a part in the army of Antiochus, and they had not yet acceded to the peace which that prince had accepted. By theſe means they furniſhed the Roman Conſul with a pretence for invading their country; and being unable to reſiſt him, ſubmitted at diſcretion. In thus extinguiſhing the remains of every hoſtile combination, the Romans took care to ſatisfy the world that it never was ſafe to take part againſt them in any confederacy, and that, while they never abandoned any ally of their own, they were in condition to compel the powers, with whom they were at war, frequently to abandon theirs.

Thus ended the firſt expedition of the Romans into Aſia; in the reſult of which, without ſeeming to enlarge their own dominions, they had greatly reduced the powers both of the Syrian and Macedonian monarchies; and by reſtoring, whether from inclination or policy, every State to its independence, they had balanced a multitude of parties againſt each other, in ſuch a manner, as that no formidable combination was likely to be formed againſt themſelves; or if any one, or a few parties, ſhould preſume to withſtand their power, many others were ready to join in the cry of ingratitude, and to treat any oppoſition that was made to them as an unworthy return to thoſe who had ſo generouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of mankind.

The pacification of Aſia and Greece left the republic at leiſure to manage its ordinary quarrels with nations unſubdued on the oppoſite frontier. In the weſt, hoſtilities had ſubſiſted without interruption, during the whole time that the State was intent on its wars in the Eaſt; and triumphal proceſſions were exhibited by turns from thoſe oppoſite quarters.

In Spain the commanders were, for the moſt part, annually relieved, and the army annually recruited from Italy. The variety of events which are mentioned, and the continuance of the war itſelf are ſufficient to evince that no deciſive victories were obtained, or

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conquefts finally made. On the coaft of Spain there were many Greek or African fettlements eftabliſhed for commerce. Of thefe the Romans, either as having fupplanted the Carthaginians, formerly their maſters, or as having ſubdued the natives, were ſtill in poſſeſſion. But the interior parts of the country were occupied by many hordes, who appear to have been collected in townſhips and fortified ſtations, from which they aſſembled to oppoſe the Roman armies in the field, or in which they defended themſelves with obſtinate valour. Though often defeated, they ſtill renewed the conteſt. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, in the year of Rome five hundred and ſeventy-four, about ten years after the peace with Antiochus, is ſaid to have received the ſubmiſſion of one hundred and three towns of that country [24]. The troubles of Spain were, nevertheleſs, renewed under his ſucceſſors, and continued to occupy the Roman arms with a repetition of ſimilar operations, and a like variety of events.

The war in Liguria was nearly of the ſame deſcription with that in Spain; continued ſtill to occupy a certain part of the Roman force; and, both before and after the late expedition to Greece and Aſia, was for ſome years the principal employment of both the Conſuls. Here, however, the Romans made a more ſenſible progreſs towards an entire conqueſt than they made in Spain. They facilitated their acceſs to the country by highways acroſs the mountains; they reduced the numbers of the enemy by the ſword and by the ordinary diſtreſſes of war; and, after the experience of many pretended ſubmiſſions and repeated revolts of that people, who ſeemed to derive the ferocity of their ſpirit, as well as the ſecurity of their poſſeſſion, from the rugged and inacceſſible nature of their country, it was determined to tranſplant the natives to ſome of the more acceſſible parts of Italy, where the lands, being waſte from the effect of former wars, were ſtill unoccupied and at the diſpoſal of the republic [25].

[24] Liv. lib. xl. c. 50. & paſſim. [25] Ibid. c. 38.

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State of Italy.——Character of the Roman Policy.——Death of Scipio and of Hannibal.——Indulgence of the Romans to the King of Macedonia.——Complaints againſt Philip.——Succeſſion of Perſeus, and Origin of the War.——Action on the Peneus.——Overtures of Peace.——Progreſs of the War.——Defeat of Perſeus at Pidna, by Paulus Emilius.——His Flight and Captivity.——Settlement of Macedonia and Illyricum.——Manners of the Romans.

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BY the methods above related the Romans proceeded to extend their dominion over all the diſtricts around them, and either brought to their own ſtandard, or diſarmed, the ſeveral nations who had hitherto reſiſted their power. While they were about to accompliſh this end, the Tranſalpine Gauls, ſtill having their views directed to the ſouthward of the mountains, made ſome attempts at migration into Italy, in one of which they ſettled a party of their people at Aquileia. The Romans were alarmed, and ordered theſe ſtrangers to be diſlodged and reconducted acroſs the Alps.

This circumſtance ſuggeſted the deſign of ſecuring the frontier on that ſide by a colony; and for this purpoſe a body of Latins was accordingly ſent to Aquileia, a ſettlement which nearly completed the Roman eſtabliſhments within the Alps. The country was now, in a great meaſure, occupied by colonies of Roman and Latin extraction, who, depending on Rome for protection, ſerved, wherever they were ſettled, to carry the deepeſt impreſſions of her authority, and to keep the natives in a ſtate of ſubjection to her government.

The domeſtic policy of the State, during this period, appears to have been orderly and wiſe beyond that of any other time. The diſtinction

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diſtinction between Patrician and Plebeian was become altogether nominal. The deſcendants of thoſe who had held the higher offices of ſtate, wer, in econſequence of the preferments of their anceſtors, conſidered as noble. Inſtead of a title of nobility, the ſon named his father and grandfather, who had been veſted with public honours. And as the Plebeians now found no difficulty in obtaining the offices of State, they were continually opening the way of their poſterity to the rank of Nobles. "Thus I," ſaid Decius Mus, while he pleaded to have the prieſthood [1], joined to the other honours which the different orders of the People enjoyed in common, "can cite my father in "the rank of Conſul; and my ſon can cite both his grandfather and "me [2]." The Plebeians were intitled by law to claim one of the Conſul's ſeats, and frequently occupied both.

The authority of the Senate, the dignity of the Equeſtrian Order, and the manners of the People, in general, were guarded, and, in a great meaſure, preſerved, by the integrity and ſtrict exerciſe of the Cenſorial power. The wiſeſt and the moſt reſpected of the citizens, from every condition, were raiſed into office; and the aſſemblies, whether of the Senate, or the People, without envy, and without jealouſy, ſuffered themſelves to be governed by the counſels of a few able and virtuous men. It is impoſſible otherwiſe to account for that ſplendor with which the affairs of this republic, from the time of the firſt Punic war to that of the laſt wars with Macedonia and Carthage, though committed to hands that were continually changing, were, nevertheleſs, uniformly and ably conducted.

The ſpirit of the People was in a high degree democratical; and though they ſuffered themſelves to be governed by the ſilent influence of perſonal authority in a few of their citizens, yet could not endure any ſpecies of uncommon pre-eminence; even that which

[1] Vid. B. i. c. 3.

[2] Liv. lib. x. c. 8.

aroſe from the luſtre and well-founded pretenſions of diſtinguiſhed merit.

The great Scipio, with his brother Lucius, on their return from Aſia, encountered a proſecution, unworthily ſupported by a popular clamour; which brought them to trial on a formal charge of ſecreting part of the treaſure received from Antiochus. It is likely, from the manner in which Publius Scipio diſdained to anſwer this charge, that he carried his perſonal ſpirit too high for democratical government, which can allow no private merit to come in competition with the rights of the people to ſovereignty, and of individuals to equal attention in the State. At his firſt citation on the libel which was brought againſt him, ſeeming not to hear the perſon who accuſed him, he reminded the people, that this was the anniverſary of that day on which they had gained the victory at Zama; and deſired that they would follow him to the temples, in which he was to return thanks to the Gods for that important event. He was followed accordingly by the whole multitude, and the accuſer for that time was deſerted. At his ſecond citation, he called for the paper of accounts, on which he had entered all the ſums he had received in Aſia; and, while the people expected, that he was to ſatisfy them by a ſtate of particulars, he tore the ſcroll in their preſence; and, taking the privilege of a Roman citizen, retired, without deigning to give any anſwer, and went as an exile into a country village of Italy, where he ſoon after died.

The ſame year likewiſe terminated the life of his antagoniſt Hannibal. This great man, himſelf a ſufficient object of jealouſy to nations, was, by an article in the late treaty of peace with Antiochus, to have been delivered up to the Romans; and had, in order to avoid that danger, retired into Crete. From thence he took refuge with Pruſias, king of Bythinia, where the enmity of Rome ſtill purſued him, and where an embaſſy was ſent to demand that he ſhould be

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be delivered up. As ſoon as he knew that this demand was actually made, and that the avenues to his dwelling were ſecured in order to ſeize him, he took poiſon, and died.

The Romans had been ſo well ſatisfied with the part which was taken by Philip in the late war with Antiochus, that they releaſed his ſon Demetrius, then at Rome, an hoſtage for payment of the father's tribute, of which they likewiſe remitted a part. They even connived at his recovering ſome of his former poſſeſſions, and made no inquiry into the numbers of his troops, in which he greatly exceeded the eſtabliſhment preſcribed by the laſt treaty. They continued in this diſpoſition during four years after the late peace with the king of Syria; and, in this interval, permitted the kingdom of Macedonia, by the improvement of its revenue, and the increaſe of its people, in a great meaſure to recover its former ſtrength.

Theſe circumſtances of proſperity, however, did not fail to excite apprehenſion in the minds of all thoſe who, holding independent poſſeſſions in that neighbourhood, were expoſed to be the firſt victims of this reviving power; and repreſentations, to awaken the attention of the Romans on this ſubject, were accordingly made at Rome, from Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, and from all the petty princes and ſmall communities on the frontier of Macedonia.

On receiving theſe admonitions, the Senate, in their uſual form, ſent to the country from whence they were alarmed a ſelect number of their members to make inquiry into the real ſtate of affairs. Before a tribunal thus conſtituted, the king of Macedonia was cited to appear as a private party, firſt at Tempe, to anſwer the charge of the Theſſalians, and afterwards at Theſſalonica, to anſwer that of Eumenes. After a diſcuſſion, ſufficiently humbling to a ſovereign, he received ſentence, by which he was required to evacuate all the places he had occupied beyond the ancient limits of his kingdom. This ſentence he received with indignation and reſentment, which were too unguardedly expreſſed,

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preſſed, and which rendered him from thenceforward an object of continual attention and of jealouſy to the Romans.

A ſecond commiſſion was granted to ſee the ſentence of the firſt put in execution; and as ſoon as it became publicly known, that the Romans were willing to receive complaints againſt Philip, and were diſpoſed to protect every perſon who incurred his diſpleaſure, ambaſſadors from the princes of Aſia, and perſons of every condition, from all the cities of Greece, and from all the diſtricts in the neighbourhood of Macedonia, reſorted to Rome with complaints againſt the king, ſome of a private, and others of a public nature. The city was crowded with ſtrangers, and the Senate was occupied, from morning to night, in hearing the repreſentations that were made by their allies on the ſubject of the uſurpations and oppreſſions they had ſuffered.

Philip, to divert the ſtorm, had ſent his younger ſon, Demetrius, to anſwer the ſeveral charges which were expected to be brought againſt him; and, in the end, obtained a reſolution of the Senate to accommodate matters on an amicable footing. This reſolution was grounded on pretence of the favour which the Romans bore to Demetrius, who had long reſided as an hoſtage in their city. "The king will "pleaſe to know," they ſaid, "that he has done one thing ex- "tremely agreeable to the Romans, in truſting his cauſe to an ad- "vocate ſo well eſtabliſhed in their eſteem and regard [3]."

This language of the Roman Senate reſpecting Demetrius, together with dangerous ſuggeſtions from ſome of his own confidents, probably inſpired the young man with thoughts, or rendered him ſuſpected of deſigns, injurious to the rights of Perſeus, his elder brother. This prince took the alarm, and never ceaſed to excite the ſuſpicions already formed in the breaſt of the father, until he pre-

[3] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 46. Liv. lib. xxxix. 46—47.

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vailed in ſecuring his own ſucceſſion by the death of his younger brother [4].

Philip, having ordered the execution of one ſon to gratify the jealouſy of the other, lived about three years after this action, ſuffering part of the puniſhment that was due to him on that account, in the moſt gloomy apprehenſions of danger from his ſurviving ſon, and died in great ſolicitude for the fate of his kingdom.

Perſeus, nevertheleſs, in aſcending the throne of Macedonia, gave hopes of a better and happier reign than that of his predeceſſor. He was immediately acknowledged by the Romans; and, during a few years after his acceſſion, appeared to have no cauſe of diſquietude from this people. Although he had adopted the meaſures of his father, and endeavoured, by attention to his revenue, his army, and magazines; and by forming alliances with ſome of the warlike Thracian hordes in his neighbourhood, to put his kingdom in a poſture of defence, and in condition to aſſert its independence; yet he appears to have excited leſs jealouſy in the minds of his neighbours. The progreſs which he made ſeems to have eſcaped the attention of the Romans; until, at laſt awakened by the report of a ſecret correſpondence which he carried on with the republic of Carthage, they thought proper to ſend a deputation into Macedonia, in order to obſerve his motions.

By the deputies employed in this ſervice, the Romans obtained intelligence, that Perſeus had made advances to the Achæans as well as to the Carthaginians, and to other ſtates; and was likely to form a powerful party among the Greeks.

From this time forward the leaders of the Roman councils ſeemed to have taken a reſolution to remove this ſubject of jealouſy, and to ſuppreſs the Macedonian monarchy. They renewed their attention to the ſtate of parties in Greece, and endeavoured to reconcile

[4] Liv. lib. xl. c. 24.

all

all the differences that might incline any of thoſe republics to oppoſe them in the execution of their deſign. They encouraged the king of Pergamus, who afterwards appears to have repented of the part which he took in that matter, to ſtate his complaints. They brought him to Rome in perſon, and cited him before the Senate to give a complete detail of the circumſtances that were alarming in the policy of Perſeus. Eumenes, having been thus brought forward as a formal accuſer, and being to return through Greece, in order to offer his devotions at the temple of Delphi, was aſſaulted and wounded by a party who meant to aſſaſſinate him; and this deſign, with ſome other acts of violence, being imputed to Perſeus, ſerved as a pretence for the war which followed.

The Roman Senate had already granted two ſeparate commiſſions, the one of a deputation to viſit Macedonia, and to obſerve the motions of Perſeus; the other of an embaſſy into Egypt, to confirm their alliance with Ptolomy. On hearing of the attempt that had been made to aſſaſſinate Eumenes, they directed one of the Prætors, Caius Sicinius, with a proper force to paſs into Epirus; and, in order to ſecure their acceſs into that country, to take poſſeſſion of Apollonia, and other towns on the coaſt. But a miſunderſtanding then ſubſiſting between the Conſuls, and other principal men of the Senate, cauſed ſome obſtruction in the farther immediate proſecution of the war.

Perſeus however, alarmed by the arrival of a Roman force in his neighbourhood, ſent an embaſſy to Rome with expoſtulations on the ſubject, and with offers, by every reaſonable conceſſion that the Senate or the People could require, to avert the ſtorm which threatened him. But the Romans, affecting reſentment of the injuries they pretended to have received, ordered his ambaſſadors, without delay, to depart from Italy; and gave intimation, that, if for the future he ſhould have any thing to offer, he might have recourſe to the commander of the Roman army in Epirus.

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The interview, which Perſeus ſoon after had with the Roman commiſſioners, terminated with the ſtrongeſt ſigns of hoſtility on both ſides [5]. The king, however, having taken minutes of what paſſed at their conference, ſent copies to all the neighbouring ſtates, in order to exculpate himſelf from any guilt in the approaching war; and as the event afterwards ſhowed how much it was the intereſt of every ſtate to ſupport him, he being the only power that could give them any protection againſt the Romans; ſo numbers, already moved by this apprehenſion, were inclined to favour his cauſe. The Rhodians, then a formidable naval power, though reſtrained by fear from an open breach with the Romans, yet gave ſufficient evidence of this diſpoſition. Eumenes likewiſe, though a principal inſtrument in fomenting the preſent quarrel, ſoon became averſe to its conſequences. The Beotians and Epirots, as well as the Illyrians, openly declared for the king of Macedonia [6].

Theſe circumſtances were ſtated at Rome as additional grounds of complaint againſt the king; and his endeavours to vindicate the part he had acted, were conſidered as attempts to form a hoſtile confederacy againſt the republic.

Additional fleets and armies were accordingly aſſembled, and directed towards Epirus; and a declaration of war was iſſued in the form of an act of the Roman people.

The Romans had now, during about twenty-five years, borne a principal part among the nations that ſurrounded the Mediterranean ſea. The aſcendant they had gained in all their wars or treaties, had made them common objects of fear or reſpect to all the contiguous powers of Europe, Aſia, and Africa. The Macedonians, however, as the lateſt conquerors of the world, ſtill retained a very high reputation for military ſkill and valour. The events of the late war

[5] Liv. lib. lxii. c. 25.

[6] Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes, c. 64—67.

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rather ſurprized mankind, than convinced them of any decided ſuperiority on the part of the Roman arms. The novelty of a new enemy, the miſtakes or miſconduct of the late king, might have accounted for his ill ſucceſs. The kingdom had now been above twenty years exempted from any ſignal calamity, had re-eſtabliſhed its armies, and filled its magazines and its coffers. The military eſtabliſhment amounted to forty thouſand men; the greater part formed and diſciplined upon the plan of the phalanx, and ſupported with numerous troops of irregulars from the warlike cantons of Thrace. The king himſelf, in the vigour of manhood, ſenſible that the ſtorm could not be diverted, affected rather to deſire than to decline the conteſt; and, under all theſe circumſtances, nations ſeemingly leaſt intereſted in the conſequences were intent on the ſcene that was about to be opened before them.

Eumenes, ſuppoſed to be incited by inveterate animoſity to Perſeus, and by recent provocations, prepared to fulfil his profeſſions in behalf of the Romans.

Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, equally inclined by policy to wiſh for a counterpoiſe to the Macedonian power, but having recently formed an alliance by marriage with the family of Perſeus, determined to be neutral in the war.

Ptolomy Philomater, who then filled the throne of Egypt, was a minor. Antiochus Epiphanes, who had lately ſucceeded his brother Seleucus, in the kingdom of Syria, having been ſome time an hoſtage at Rome, affected in his own court the manners of a Roman demagogue; but was chiefly intent on his pretenſions to Cæleſyria, which he hoped to make good under favour of the approaching conjuncture formed by the minority of Ptolomy, and by the avocation of the Roman forces in Greece.

The Carthaginians, and the king of Numidia, while they ſeverally preferred their complaints againſt each other before the Roman Senate, vied likewiſe in their profeſſions of zeal for the Roman republic,

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public, and in their offers of ſupply of men, horſes, proviſions, or ſhips.

Gentius, the king of Illyricum, had incurred the jealouſy of the Romans; but remained undetermined what part he ſhould take.

Cotys, a Thracian king, declared openly for Perſeus. The people of Greece, in their ſeveral republics, were divided among themſelves. The popular parties in general, being deſirous to exchange the government of their own ariſtocracies for that of a monarchy, favoured the king of Macedonia. The leading men were either inclined to the Romans, or wiſhed to balance the rival powers, ſo as to have, in the protection of the one, ſome ſecurity againſt the uſurpations of the other[7].

The Romans had commited an error by ſending a ſmall force into Epirus, which the king of Macedonia might have cut off before it could be properly ſupported from Italy; but their commiſſioners, then in that country, had the addreſs to amuſe the king with a negociation, and to divert him, during the firſt year of the war, from any attempt on Apollonia, or on any other ſtation then in poſſeſſion of the Roman troops.

In the following ſummer, about ſeven years after the acceſſion of Perſeus to the throne of Macedonia, the war in that kingdom being committed to the Conſul Licinius, this general followed the army which had been tranſported to the coaſt of Epirus; and while the Roman fleet, with their allies, aſſembled in the ſtraits of Eubœa, the armies on both ſides began their operations. The Macedonians encamped at Sycurium on the declivity of mount Oſſa. The Roman Conſul penetrated into Theſſaly; and, having paſſed the river Penæus, took poſt at Scea, twelve miles from the camp of the enemy. Here he was joined by Attalus, brother to the king of Pergamus, with four

[7] Liv. lib. xlii. c. 29—30.

thouſand

thouſand men, and by ſmaller bodies collected from different ſtates of Greece.

Perſeus endeavoured to lay waſte the kingdom of Pheræ, from which the Romans drew the greateſt part of their ſubſiſtence; and an action enſued, in which the whole cavalry and light infantry of both armies being engaged, the Romans were defeated; and the Conſul, no longer able to ſupport his foraging parties on that ſide of the Penæus againſt a ſuperior enemy, decamped in the night, and repaſſed the river.

Although this victory had a tendency to raiſe the hopes of the king, it was by him wiſely conſidered as a fit opportunity to renew the overtures of peace; and, in order to bring on a negociation, it was reſolved, that the conditions which, under the misfortune of repeated defeats, had been offered by his father, ſhould be made the preliminaries of the preſent treaty.

It appeared to the king, and to thoſe with whom he conſulted, that, in the ſequel of a victory, this would appear an act of moderation, not of fear; that all neutral powers, who dreaded the conſequences of a decided ſuperiority on either ſide, would favour the perſon who ſhould propoſe to have peace re-eſtabliſhed on moderate terms; and that the Romans, being induced to terminate the war under the effects of a defeat, would from thenceforward reſpect the Macedonian monarchy, and be cautious how they diſturbed its tranquillity.

But if in this manner the opportunity was perceived, and wiſely laid hold of by the councils of Perſeus, it by no means eſcaped the Roman council of war, which was aſſembled to receive the propoſals of the king.

The Romans, whether from national ſpirit or policy, at all times declined entering on negotiations or treaties in conſequence of defeats. They ſpurned the advances of a victorious enemy, while they

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they received thoſe of the vanquiſhed with condeſcenſion and mildneſs. They accordingly, in the preſent caſe, treated the conceſſions of Perſeus with diſdain, haughtily anſwering, that he muſt ſubmit at diſcretion [s].

This reply was received at the court of Perſeus with extreme ſurprize. But it produced ſtill farther conceſſions; and inſtead of reſentment from the king, a repetition of his meſſage with an offer to augment the tribute which had been paid by his father [t].

The remainder of the ſummer having paſſed in the operations of foraging parties, without any conſiderable action, the Romans retired for the winter into Beotia. On this coaſt the fleet, having met with no enemy at ſea, had made repeated deſcents to diſtreſs the inhabitants who had declared for the king. The Conſul took poſſeſſion of his quarters, without any reſiſtance, in the interior parts of the country; and in this, with the progreſs that was made by the army employed on the ſide of Illyricum in detaching that nation from Perſeus, conſiſted the ſervice of the firſt campaign.

Licinius, at the expiration of the uſual term, was relieved by his ſucceſſor in office, A. Hoſtilius Marcius. This commander, being defeated and baffled in ſome attempts he made to penetrate into the kingdom of Macedonia, appears to have made a campaign ſtill leſs fortunate than that of his predeceſſor; and the Senate, at the end of the ſummer, having ordered him home to preſide at the annual elections, ſent a deputation to viſit the army, and to inquire into the cauſe of their miſcarriages, and the ſlowneſs of their progreſs.

The Romans, although they had experienced diſappointments in the beginning of other wars, particularly in their firſt encounters with Pyrrhus and with Hannibal; and had reaſon to expect a ſimilar effect in the opening of the preſent war, appear to have been greatly mortified

[s] In adverſis vultum ſecundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in ſecundis. Liv. lib. xlii. c. 62.

[t] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 69.

and

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and ſurprized at this unpromiſing aſpect of their enterprize. They were engaged with an enemy renowned for diſcipline, who had made war a trade, and the uſe of arms a profeſſion; while they themſelves, it appears, for a conſiderable period after the preſent war, even during the moſt rapid progreſs of their arms, had no military eſtabliſhment beſides that of their civil and political conſtitution, no ſoldiers beſides their citizens, and no officers but the ordinary magiſtrates of the commonwealth.

If this eſtabliſhment had its advantages[10], it may have appeared, on particular occaſions, likewiſe to have had its defects. The citizen may have been too much a maſter in his civil capacity to ſubject himſelf fully to the bondage of a ſoldier; and too abſolute in his capacity of military officer to bear with the controul of political regulations. As the obligation to ſerve in the legions was general and without exception, many a citizen, at leaſt in the caſe of any diſtant or unpromiſing ſervice, would endeavour to ſhun his duty. And the officer would not always dare to enforce diſagreeable duty on thoſe by whom he himſelf was elected, or on whom he in part depended for farther advancement.

At the beginning of this war, the legions were augmented from five thouſand two hundred foot and two hundred horſe, to ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe[11]; and probably, to raiſe the authority of the Conſul more effectually into that of a commander in chief, he was commiſſioned to name the Tribunes, as well as the Centurions of the army, that were to ſerve under his orders: but, upon a complaint that this extenſion of the Conſul's powers did not, by enforcing the diſcipline of the army, ſerve the purpoſe for which it was made, the People reſumed their right of election in

[10] Vid. B. i. c. 3.

[11] Liv. lib. xliii. c. 12.

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the appointment even of inferior officers. The deputies, now ſent into Macedonia by the Senate reported, that the legions employed in that country were extremely incomplete, numbers both of the lower officers and private men being, by the dangerous indulgence of their leaders, ſuffered to abſent themſelves from their colours [12]. This abuſe we may apprehend to have been frequent in a ſervice that was to be performed by citizens who had the choice of their own commanders. And from ſpeculative ideas on the ſubject, if we were not bound to be governed by experience as the preferable tutor, we ſhould be apt to reject, as an improper mode of forming armies, that eſtabliſhment by which the Romans conquered the world.

It is probable, that not only the defect of ſubordination in the beginning of every war, but that of ſkill, likewiſe, in the uſe of their peculiar weapons, made, in the Roman armies, a great diſparity between raw and veteran troops.

The uſe of the buckler and ſword required great ſkill, agility, and muſcular ſtrength; all of them the effect of exerciſe and of continued practice.

The experience of the ſoldier who ſurvived many actions tended to confirm his courage, becauſe his eſcape was in a great meaſure the effect of his ſkill, or of his ſtrength; and upon a return of ſimilar dangers, gave him confidence in himſelf.

In battles the ſtrong and the ſkilful eſcaped, the weak and the awkward were likely to periſh; and every action not only exerciſed the arms of thoſe that ſurvived, but made a ſelection of the vigorous and ſkilful to be reſerved for future occaſions.

Hence probably, in the Roman armies, much more than in thoſe of modern Europe, the practiſed ſoldier had a great ſuperiority over the novice; and citizens, when brought into the field by rotation, had much to learn in the courſe of every campaign.

[12] Liv. lib. xliii. c. 11.

In

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In the preſent conteſt, the checks of the firſt and the ſecond year of the war, though extremely mortifying to the Romans, were received without any ſigns of irreſolution, or change of their purpoſe. In the third year after hoſtilities commenced, the command of the army in Macedonia devolved on Q. Marcius Philippus, who, being choſen one of the Conſuls, drew his province as uſual by lot. This officer had been employed in one of the late deputations that were ſent into Greece; had ſhown his ability in the courſe of negociations which preceded the war; and now, by his conduct as a general, broke through the line with which the king had endeavoured to ſecure the paſſes of the mountains, and to cover the frontier of his kingdom. But, when he had penetrated into Macedonia, he found himſelf at the end of the ſeaſon, and for want of proper ſupplies of proviſions on that ſide of the mountains, unable to purſue the advantage he had gained. Here, therefore, he ſtaid only to deliver his army to Emilius Paullus, who had been named to ſucceed him. This was the ſon of that Paullus, who, being one of the Conſuls who commanded the Roman army at Cannæ, threw away his life rather than ſurvive that defeat. The ſon was now turned of ſixty[13]; and by the length of his ſervice, and the variety of his experience in Liguria and Spain, was well acquainted with the chances of war.

Emilius Paullus, upon his election, in order that he might not be liable to anſwer for the faults of his predeceſſors, moved, that deputies ſhould be ſent into Macedonia to review the army, and to make a report of its ſtate before he entered upon the command. His ſpeech to the People, when about to depart for his province, carries a ſtriking alluſion to the petulant freedom with which, it ſeems, unſucceſsful commanders were cenſured, or traduced in the popular converſations at Rome, and carries a defiance with which he propoſed to

[13] Plutarch. in Vit. Emil. p. 157.

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ſilence the blame that might afterwards be caſt on himſelf. "Let "ſuch as think themſelves qualified to adviſe the general," he ſaid, "now accompany me into Macedonia. They ſhall have a paſſage "on board my ſhip; and, in the field, be welcome to a place in my "tent and at my table; but if they now decline this offer, let them "not afterwards pretend to judge of what they neither ſee nor un- "derſtand. Nor let them ſet up their own opinion againſt that of "a fellow-citizen, who is ſerving the public to the utmoſt of his "ability, and at the hazard of his life and of his honours."

Emilius, upon his arrival in Macedonia, found the king entrenched on the banks of the Enipæus, with his right and left covered by mountains, on which all the paſſes were ſecured. After ſome delay, during which he was employed in obſerving the enemy's diſpoſition, or in improving the diſcipline of his own army, he ſent a detachment to diſpoſſeſs the Macedonians of one of the ſtations which they occupied on the heights, with orders to the officer who commanded in this ſervice, that, if he ſucceeded in it, he ſhould fall down on the plain in the rear of the enemy; he himſelf, in the mean time, made a feint to attack them in front.

The poſt on the heights being forced, Perſeus relinquiſhed his preſent diſpoſition, and fell back towards Pydna on the banks of the Alliacmon. Here it became neceſſary for him either to hazard a battle, or, on account of the nature of the country behind him, to ſeparate his forces.

He preferred the firſt, and made choice of a plain that was fit to receive the phalanx, and was ſkirted with hills, on which his light troops could act with advantage.

Here too the Roman Conſul continued to preſs upon him, and was inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of deciding the war. Both armies, as by appointment, preſented themſelves on the plain in order of battle, and Emilius Paullus ſeemed eager to engage; but, as

he himſelf uſed to confeſs, having never beheld an appearance ſo formidable as when the Macedonians levelled their ſpears, he thought proper to halt [14]. Though much diſconcerted, he endeavoured to preſerve his countenance, would not recede from his ground; and that he might encamp his army where they now ſtood, ordered the firſt line to remain under arms, and ready to attack the enemy, while thoſe who were behind them began to intrench; having in this manner caſt up a breaſt-work of conſiderable ſtrength, he retired behind it, and under that cover completed the fortifications of a camp in the uſual form.

In this poſition he waited for an opportunity to draw on an engagement, when the enemy ſhould be leſs prepared to receive him, or not have time to avail themſelves ſo much of that formidable order which conſtituted the ſtrength of the phalanx.

This occaſion ſoon afterwards ſeemed to be offered by a ſkirmiſh which happened in the fields between the two armies. A horſe, having broke looſe from the camp of the Romans, fled towards that of the Macedonians, was followed by the ſoldiers from whom he eſcaped, and met by their enemy from the oppoſite camp. Theſe parties engaged, and each being joined by numbers from their reſpective armies, brought on at laſt a general action. The ground was favourable to the phalanx; and the Macedonians, though haſtily formed, ſtill poſſeſſed againſt the Romans the advantage of their weapons, and of their formidable order. They filled up the plain in front, and could not be flanked. They had only to maintain their ground, and had no occaſion to diſcompoſe their ranks, in time of the action, by any change of poſition. They accordingly withſtood with eaſe the firſt ſhock of the Roman legions; but were broken and diſjointed in the ſequel by the ſeemingly irregular attacks which were

[14] Polyb. Fragment. vol. iii. p. 243.

made

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made at intervals by the manipules, or the ſeparate diviſions of the Roman foot. The parts of the phalanx that were attacked, whether they were preſſed in, or came forward to preſs on their enemy, could not keep in an exact line with the parts that were not attacked. Openings were made, at which the Roman ſoldier, with his buckler and ſhort ſword, could eaſily enter. Emilius, obſerving this advantage, directed his attack on thoſe places at which the front of the phalanx was broken; and the legionary ſoldier, having got within the point of his antagoniſt's ſpear, pierced to the heart of the column, and in this poſition made a havock which ſoon threw the whole into diſorder and general route [15].

Twenty thouſand of the Macedonians were killed in the field, five thouſand were made priſoners in their flight; and ſix thouſand that ſhut themſelves up in the town of Pydna were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion [16].

After this defeat, the king of Macedonia, with a few attendants, fled to Pella, where, having taken up his children and the remains of his treaſure, amounting to ten thouſand talents, or about two millions of pounds ſterling [17], he continued his flight to Amphipolis, and from thence to Samothracia, where he took refuge in the famous ſanctuary of that iſland.

Emilius puſhed on to Amphipolis, receiving the ſubmiſſion of all the towns and diſtricts as he paſſed. The Prætor, Octavius, then commanding the Roman fleet, beſet the iſland of Samothracia with his ſhips; and, without violating the ſanctuary, took meaſures that effectually prevented the king's eſcape.

This unfortunate prince, with ſome of his children, delivered themſelves up to the Prætor, and were conducted to the camp of Emilius. The king threw himſelf on the ground, and would have

[15] Plutarch in Vit. Emil. p. 173.
[16] Liv. lib. xliv. c. 42.
[17] Juſtin. lib xxxiii. c. 1.

embraced the victor's knees, when the Roman general, with a condeſcenſion that is extolled by ancient hiſtorians, gave him his hand, and raiſed him from the ground, but reproached him as the aggreſſor in the late conteſt with the Romans; and with a leſſon of morality, which tore up the wounds of the unfortunate monarch, bid the young men who were preſent look on this object as an example of the inſtability of fortune, and of the viciſſitude of human affairs.

While the war in Macedonia was coming to this iſſue, that in Illyricum had a like termination, and ended about the ſame time in the captivity of the king.

News of both were received at Rome about the ſame time, and filled the temples, as uſual, with multitudes who crowded to perform the public rites of thankſgiving that were ordered by the Senate. Soon after which, embaſſies arrived from all the kings and ſtates of the then known world, with addreſſes of congratulation on ſo great an event. The Senate proceeded to form a plan for the ſettlement of Macedonia.

It was reſolved to extinguiſh the monarchy, to divide its territory into four diſtricts, and in each to eſtabliſh a republican government, adminiſtered by councils and magiſtrates choſen by the People. This, among the Greeks, could bear the interpretation of beſtowing abſolute liberty. Ten commiſſioners were named to carry this plan into execution in Macedonia, and five were appointed for a ſimilar purpoſe in Illyricum. Emilius was continued in his command, and the army ordered to remain in Macedonia until the ſettlement of the province ſhould be completed.

The Commiſſioners, agreeably to their inſtructions, fixed the limits of the ſeveral diſtricts, and, probably to perpetuate the ſeparation of them, or to prevent any dangerous communication between their inhabitants, prohibited them to intermarry, or to hold any commerce in the property of land, from one diviſion to another.

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To ſome other reſtrictions, which had more a tendency to weaken or to diſmember this once powerful monarchy, than to confer freedom on the people, they joined an act of favour, in conſiderably diminiſhing their former burdens, reducing their tribute to one half of what they had uſually paid to their own kings; and, to facilitate or to ſecure the reception of the republican form which was deviſed for them, they ordered all the ancient nobles, and all the retainers of the late court, as being irreconcileable with the equality of citizens under republic, to depart from the kingdom, and to chuſe places of reſidence for themſelves in Italy.

A like plan was followed with reſpect to Illyricum, which was divided into three diſtricts; and the kings both of Macedonia and of this country, with many other captives, were conducted to Rome to adorn the triumph of their conquerors.

Perſeus is ſaid to have lived as a priſoner at Alba, about four years after he had been exhibited in this proceſſion. Alexander, one of his ſons, had an education calculated merely to procure him ſubſiſtence, and was afterwards, as a ſcribe or a clerk, employed in ſome of the public offices at Rome.

While the event of the Macedonian war was yet undecided, and no conſiderable advantage, either of conduct or fortune, appeared on the ſide of the Romans, they ſtill preſerved the uſual arrogance of their manner, and interpoſed with the ſame imperious aſcendant in the affairs of Greece, Aſia, and Africa, that they could have done in conſequence of the moſt deciſive victory. It was at this time that, by the celebrated meſſage of Popilius Lænas, they put a ſtop to the conqueſts of Antiochus Epiphanes in Egypt. This prince, truſting to the full employment with which the Roman forces were engaged, had ventured to invade this kingdom, and was in poſſeſſion of every part of it, except the city of Alexandria. He was occupied in the ſiege of this place when Popilius arrived and delivered him an

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an order of the Senate to deſiſt. The king made anſwer, That he would conſider of it. "Determine before you paſs this line," ſaid the Roman, tracing a circle with the rod which he held in his hand. This people, however, had occaſion, during the dependance of the Macedonian war, to obſerve that few of their allies were willing to ſupport them in the extremes to which they ſeemed to be inclined. The Epirots had actually declared for the king of Macedonia. The Rhodians had offered their mediation to negotiate a peace, and threatened hoſtility againſt either of the parties who ſhould refuſe to accept of it. Even Eumenes was ſuſpected of having entered into a ſecret concert with Perſeus, although the fall of that prince prevented any open effects of their treaty.

The Romans, nevertheleſs, diſguiſed their reſentment of theſe ſeveral provocations, until their principal enemy, the king of Macedonia, was ſubdued; after they had accompliſhed this end, they proceeded againſt every other party, with a ſeverity which was then ſuppoſed to be permitted in the law of nations, and no more than proportioned to their ſuppoſed offence. They gave orders to Emilius, in paſſing through Epirus, to lay that country under military execution. Seventy towns were accordingly deſtroyed, and an hundred and fifty thouſand of the people ſold for ſlaves.

The Senate refuſed to admit the ambaſſadors of Rhodes, who came to congratulate the Roman people on their victory at Pydna. They ſtripped thoſe iſlanders of the provinces which had been granted to them on the continent by the late treaty with Antiochus, and ordered them to diſcontinue ſome duties levied from ſhips in paſſing through their ſound, which made a conſiderable part of their revenue.

While Eumenes was coming in perſon to pay his court to the Senate, they reſolved to forbid the concourſe of kings to Rome. Their meaning, though expreſſed in general terms, was evidently levelled at this prince; and they ordered, that when he ſhould arrive at Brun-

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duſium, their reſolution ſhould be intimated to him, to prevent his nearer approach.

They in reality, from this time forward, though in the ſtyle of allies, treated the Grecian republics as ſubjects.

Such was the rank which the Romans aſſumed among nations; while their ſtateſmen ſtill retained much of their primeval ruſticity, and did not conſider the diſtinctions of fortune and equipage as the appurtenances of power or of high command. Cato, though a citizen of the higheſt rank, and veſted ſucceſſively with the dignities of Conſul and of Cenſor, uſed to partake in the labour of his own ſlaves, and to feed with them from the ſame diſh at their meals [17]. When he commanded the armies of the republic, the daily allowance of his houſehold was no more than three medimni, or about as many buſhels of wheat for his family, and half a medimnus, or half a buſhel of barley for his horſes. In ſurveying his province he uſually travelled on foot, attended by a ſingle ſlave who carried his baggage [18].

Theſe particulars are mentioned perhaps as peculiar to Cato; but ſuch ſingularities in the manners of a perſon placed ſo high among the people, carry ſome general intimation of the faſhion of the times.

A ſpirit of equality yet reigned among the members of the commonwealth, which rejected the diſtinctions of fortune, and checked the admiration of private wealth. In all military donations the Centurion had no more than double the allowance of a private ſoldier, and no military rank was indelible. The Conſul and commander in chief of one year ſerved not only in the ranks, but even as a Tribune or inferior officer in the next; and the ſame perſon who had diſplayed the genius and ability of the general, ſtill valued himſelf on the courage and addreſs of a legionary ſoldier.

[17] Plutarch. in Vit. Catonis, p. 330. [18] Ibid. p. 335 & 338.

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No one was raiſed above the glory to be reaped from the exertion of mere perſonal courage and bodily ſtrength. Perſons of the higheſt condition ſent or accepted a deliance to fight in ſingle combat, in preſence of the armies to which they belonged. Marcus Servilius, a perſon of conſular rank, in order to enhance the authority with which he ſpoke when he pleaded for the triumph of Paulus Emilius, informed the People that he himſelf, full three and twenty times, had fought ſingly with ſo many champions of the enemy, and that in each of theſe encounters he had ſlain and ſtripped his antagoniſt. A combat of the ſame kind was afterwards fought by the younger Scipio, when ſerving in Spain.

The ſumptuary laws of this age were ſuited to the idea of citizens who were determined to contribute their utmoſt to the grandeur of the State; but to forego the means of luxury or perſonal diſtinction. Roman ladies were reſtrained, except in religious proceſſions, from the uſe of carriages any where within the city, or at the diſtance of leſs than a mile from its walls; and yet the ſpace over which they were to preſerve their communications extended to a circuit of fourteen miles, and began to be ſo much crowded with buildings or cottages, that, even before the reduction of Macedonia, it was become neceſſary to reſtrain private perſons from encroaching on the ſtreets, ſquares, and other ſpaces reſerved for public conveniency. In a place of this magnitude, and ſo ſtocked with inhabitants, the female ſex was alſo forbid the uſe of variegated or party-coloured clothes, or of more than half an ounce of gold in the ornament of their perſons. This law being repealed, contrary to the ſentiments of Cato, this citizen, when he came, in the capacity of Cenſor, to take account of the equipages, clothes, and jewels of the women, taxed each of them tenfold for whatever was found in her wardrobe exceeding the value of one thouſand five hundred denarii, or about fifty pounds ſterling [19].

[19] Liv. lib. xxxiv. c. 1—6.

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The attention of the legiſlature was carried into the detail of entertainments or feaſts. In one act the number of the gueſts, and in a ſubſequent one the expence of their meals, were limited. By the Lex Tribonia, enacted about twenty years after the reduction of Macedonia, a citizen was allowed, on certain high feſtivals, to expend three hundred aſſes, or about twenty ſhillings ſterling; on other feſtivals of leſs note, one hundred aſſes, or about ſix ſhillings and eight pence; but during the remainder of the year, no more than ten aſſes, or about eight pence; and was not allowed to ſerve up more than one fowl, and this with a proviſo that it ſhould not be crammed or fatted [20].

Superſtition made a principal article in the character of the people. It ſubjected them continually to be occupied or alarmed with prodigies and ominous appearances, of which they endeavoured to avert the effects by rites and expiations, as ſtrange and irrational as the preſages on which they had grounded their fears. Great part of their time was accordingly taken up with proceſſions and public ſhews, and much of their ſubſtance, even to the whole annual produce of their herds [21], was occaſionally expended in ſacrifices, or in the performance of public vows. The firſt officers of State, in their functions of the prieſthood, performed the part of the cook and the butcher; and, while the Senate was deliberating on queſtions of great moment, examined the entrails of a victim, in order to know what the gods had determined. "You muſt deſiſt," ſaid the Conſul Cornelius, entering the Senate with a countenance pale and marked with aſtoniſhment; "I myſelf have viſited the boiler, and the head "of the liver is conſumed [22]."

According to the opinions entertained in thoſe times, ſorcery was a principal expedient employed by thoſe who had ſecret deſigns on the life of their neighbour. It was ſuppoſed to make a part in the

[20] Plin. lib. x. c. 50.

[21] The Ver Sacrum was a general ſacrifice of all the young of their herds for a whole year.

[22] Liv. lib. xli. c. 15.

ſtatutory

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ſtatutory crime of poiſoning; and the ſame imagination which admitted the charge of ſorcery as credible, was, in particular inſtances, when any perſon was accuſed, eaſily convinced of his guilt; inſomuch that ſome thouſands were at times convicted together of this imaginary crime [23].

The manners of the people of Italy were at times ſubject to ſtrange diſorders, or the magiſtrate gave credit to wild and improbable reports. The ſtory of the Bachanals, dated in the year of Rome five hundred and ſixty-ſix, or about twenty years before the conqueſt of Macedonia, may be conſidered as an inſtance of one or the other [24]. A ſociety, under the name of Bachanals, had been inſtituted, on the ſuggeſtion of a Greek pretender to divination. The deſire of being admitted into this ſociety prevailed throughout Italy, and the ſect became extremely numerous. As they commonly met in the night, they were ſaid at certain hours to extinguiſh their lights, and to indulge themſelves in every practice of horror, rape, inceſt, and murder; crimes under which no ſect or fraternity could poſſibly ſubſiſt, but which, in being imputed to numbers in this credulous age, gave occaſion to a ſevere inquiſition, and proved fatal to many perſons at Rome, and throughout Italy.

The extreme ſuperſtition, however, of thoſe times, in ſome of its effects, vied with genuine religion; and, by the regard it inſpired, more eſpecially for the obligation of oaths, became a principle of public order and of public duty, and in many inſtances ſuperſeded the uſe of penal or compulſory laws.

When the citizen ſwore that he would obey the call of the magiſtrate to enliſt in the legions; when the ſoldier ſwore that he would not deſert his colours, diſobey his commander, or fly from his enemy;

[23] Liv. lib. xxxix. c. 41. [24] Ibid. c. 8. & ſequen. [25] Venificium.

when

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when a citizen, at the call of the Cenſor, reported on oath the amount of his effects; the State, in all thoſe inſtances, with perfect confidence relied on the good faith of her ſubjects, and was not deceived.

In the period to which theſe obſervations refer, that is, in the ſixth century of the Roman State, the firſt dawning of literature began to appear. It has been mentioned that a cuſtom prevailed among the primitive Romans, as among other rude nations, at their feaſts to ſing or rehearſe heroic ballads which recorded their own deeds or thoſe of their anceſtors [26]. This practice had been ſome time diſcontinued, and the compoſitions themſelves were loſt. They were ſucceeded by pretended monuments of hiſtory equally fallacious, the orations which, having been pronounced at funerals, were, like titles of honour, preſerved in the archives of every noble houſe, but which were rather calculated to flatter the vanity of families, than to record the truth [27].

The Romans owed the earlieſt compilations of their hiſtory to Greeks; and in their own firſt attempts to relate their ſtory employed the language of that people [28]. Nævius and Ennius, who were the firſt that wrote in the Latin tongue, compoſed their relations in verſe. Livius Andronicus, and afterwards Plautus and Terence, tranſlated the Greek fable, and exhibited in the ſtreets of Rome, not the Roman, but Grecian manners. The two laſt are ſaid to have been perſons of mean condition; the one to have ſubſiſted by turning a baker's mill, the other to have been a captive and a ſlave. Both of them had probably poſſeſſed the Greek tongue as a vulgar dialect, which was yet ſpoken in many parts of Italy, and from this circumſtance, became acquainted with the elegant compoſitions of Philemon and Menander [29].

[26] Cic. de Claris Oratoribus, c. 19.
[27] Ibid. p. 394.
[28] Dion. Hal. lib. i. p. 5.
[29] The people of Cumæ, about this time, applied for leave to have their public acts, for the time, expreſſed in Latin.

Their

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Their comedies were acted in the ſtreets, without any ſeats or benches for the reception of an audience. But a nation ſo little ſtudious of ordinary conveniencies, and contented to borrow their literary models from neighbours, to whom, being mere imitators, they continued for ages inferior, were, however, in their political and military character, ſuperior to all other nations whatever; and, at this date, had extended a dominion, which originally conſiſted of a poor village on the Tiber, to more empire and territory than is now enjoyed by any kingdom or ſtate of Europe. U. C. 586.

BOOK

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

State, Manners, and Policy of the Times.——Repeated Complaints from Carthage.——Hoſtile Diſpoſition of the Romans.——Reſolution to remove Carthage from the Coaſt.——Meaſures taken for this Purpoſe.——Carthage beſieged.——Taken and deſtroyed.——Revolt of the Macedonians.——Their Kingdom reduced to the Form of a Roman Province.——Fate of the Achæan League.——Operations in Spain.——Conduct of Viriathus.——State of Numantia.——Blockade of Numantia.——Its Deſtruction.——Revolt of the Slaves in Sicily.——Legal Eſtabliſhments and Manners of the City.

CHAP. I.

THE reduction of Macedonia was in many reſpects a remarkable æra in the hiſtory of Rome. Before this date Roman citizens had been treated as ſubjects, and permitted themſelves to be taxed. They were required at every cenſus to make a return of their effects

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upon oath, and, beſides other ſtated or occaſional contributions to the public, paid a certain rate on the whole value of their property. But upon this event they aſſumed more entirely the character of ſovereigns; and, having a treaſury repleniſhed with the ſpoils of that kingdom, exempted themſelves from their former burdens.

The acceſſion of wealth, ſaid to have put them in this condition, is variouſly reported. Livy quotes Valerius Antias as ſtating it at *millies ducentis*, or about a million ſterling; Velleius Paterculus ſtates it at double this ſum, and Pliny at ſomewhat more [1]. But the higheſt of theſe computations ſcarcely appears adequate to the effect ſuppoſed. It is more likely that the ordinary income of the treaſury, conſiſting of the ſums ſo frequently depoſited at the triumphs of victorious leaders, the tributes received from Carthage and Syria, the rents of Campania, the tithes of Sicily and Sardinia, with the addition of the revenue recently conſtituted in Macedonia, put the Romans at laſt in condition to exempt themſelves from taxation; an effect which no periſhing capital placed at once in their coffers could be ſuppoſed to produce. The Roman treaſury, when examined about ten years after this date, was found to contain, in bars of gold and ſilver, and in coin, not much more than half a million ſterling [2]: a ſum which, without a proper and regular ſupply, muſt have been ſoon exhauſted.

From the concluſion of the war with Perſeus, the Romans, for twenty years, do not ſeem to have been engaged with any conſiderable enemy; and their numerous colonies, now diſperſed over Italy, from Aquileia to Rhegium, probably made great advances, during this period, in agriculture, commerce, and the other arts of peace. Among their public works are mentioned, not only temples and for-

[1] Velleius, lib. i. c. 9. Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.

[2] Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3. In gold 16,810 Æ. in ſilver 22,070 Æ. and in coin 620,854,000 H. S. Arbuthnot of Ancient Coins.

tifications, particulars in which men attain to magnificence even in rude ages, but likewiſe aqueducts, market-places, pavements, high-ways, and other conveniencies, the preludes or attendants of wealth and commerce.

Cato, in pleading againſt the repeated election of the ſame perſon into the office of Conſul, exclaimed againſt the luxury of the times, and alleged, that ſo many citizens could not ſupport their extravagance by any other means than that of draining the provinces by virtue of their repeated appointments to command. "Obſerve," he ſaid, "their villas how curiouſly built, how richly furniſhed with "ivory and precious wood. Their very floors are coloured or ſtained "in the Punic faſhion [3]."

The Romans had formerly made laws to fix the age at which citizens might be choſen into the different offices of State [4]. And on the occaſion on which Cato made this ſpeech, they excluded the ſame perſon from being repeatedly choſen. They likewiſe made thoſe additions to former ſumptuary laws which have been already mentioned. The Cenſus, or enrolment of the People, began to be made with more care than formerly: even the Latin allies, though migrating to Rome, were excluded from the rolls [5]; and the people generally muſtered from three to four hundred thouſand men. Lex Annalis.

While the Romans had no war to maintain with the more regular and formidable rivals of their power, they ſtill employed their legions on the frontier of their provinces in Spain, Dalmatia, Liguria, and on the deſcents of the Alps. They opened, for the firſt time, an intercourſe with the Tranſalpine nations, in a treaty of alliance with

[3] Vid. Pompeium Feſtum.

[4] It appears that, by this law, being Queſtors at thirty-one, they might riſe to the conſulate at forty-three.

[5] Plutarch, in the Life of Flamininus, mentions a law by which the Cenſors were obliged to enrol every freeman that offered. The Latins complained, that their towns were depopulated by emigrations to Rome. Liv. lib. xli. c. 8.

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the republic of Marſeilles; in conſequence of which, they protected that mercantile ſettlement from the attacks of fierce tribes, who infeſted them from the maritime extremities of the Alps and Appenines. They were in general the umpires in the differences of nations, gave audience in all their complaints, interpoſed with their forces as well as authority, and diſpoſed of provinces and kingdoms at their pleaſure. They kept a vigilant eye on the conduct and policy of all the different powers with whom they were at any time likely to be embroiled, and generally conducted their tranſactions with independent nations as they adjuſted the firſt ſettlement of their own acquiſitions, by commiſſion and deputations ſent from the Senate to decide, with the leaſt poſſible delay, on ſuch matters as might ariſe in the place to which their deliberations referred.

The number of commiſſioners employed in theſe ſervices, for the moſt part, was ten. Theſe took informations, formed plans, and made their reports for the final deciſion of the Senate, and, by the frequency of theſe appointments, it appears that the members of the Senate, in rotation, had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with that world which they were deſtined to govern.

The Senate itſelf, though, from its numbers and the emulation of its members, likely to embarraſs affairs by debate, delay, and the raſh publication of all its deſigns, in reality poſſeſſed all the advantages of deciſion, ſecrecy, and diſpatch, that could be obtained in the moſt ſelect executive council. This numerous aſſembly of Roman ſtateſmen appear to have maintained, during a long period, one ſeries of conſiſtent and uniform deſign; and kept their intentions ſo ſecret, that their reſolutions, for the moſt part, were known only by the execution. The king of Pergamus made a journey to Rome, in order to excite the Romans to a war with his rival, the king of Macedonia. He preferred his complaints in the Senate, and prevailed on this body to reſolve on the

the war; but no part of the tranſaction was public till after the king of Macedonia was a priſoner at Rome [6].

During the preſent reſpite from any conſiderable war, the Romans balanced the kingdoms of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia againſt each other, in ſuch a manner as to be able, at pleaſure, to oppreſs any of thoſe powers that ſhould become refractory or formidable to their intereſt.

They made the kingdom of Syria devolve on a minor, the ſon of Antiochus; and, under the pretence of this minority, ſent a commiſſion to take charge of the kingdom. But their commiſſioners were, with the connivance of the court, aſſaulted in a riot at Antioch; ſome of them were killed, and others forced to fly from the country.

Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus, who ought to have ſucceeded to his father in the monarchy of Syria, being, at the death of that prince, an hoſtage at Rome, had been ſupplanted by his younger brother, the father of that minor prince who was now acknowledged by the Romans.

Upon the inſult that had been thus offered to the Roman commiſſion at Antioch, Demetrius thought it a favourable opportunity to urge his claim, and to prevail on the Senate to reſtore him to the ſucceſſion of his father's crown: but theſe crafty uſurpers, notwithſtanding the offence they had received from thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the monarchy, preferred the advantages which they had over a minor king, to the precarious affection or gratitude of an active ſpirited prince, educated at Rome, and taught by their own example to know his intereſt; and they accordingly denied his requeſt.

Demetrius, however, made his eſcape from Rome, and, by the death of the minor and his tutor, got unrivalled poſſeſſion of the

[6] Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. c. 2.

kingdom

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kingdom of Syria. To pay his court to the Romans, as one of the firſt acts of his reign, he ſent the murderer of their late commiſſioner, Octavius, in chains, to be puniſhed at their diſcretion. But the Senate diſdained to wreck their public wrongs on a private criminal; or, having cauſe of complaint againſt the nation itſelf, were not to be ſatisfied with the puniſhment of a ſingle perſon. They ſuffered the priſoner, as beneath their attention, to depart.

As patrons of the kingdom of Egypt, they promoted the diviſion of that country between the two brothers, who were then joined in the ſovereignty, and rivals for the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne [7].

During the dependence of theſe tranſactions, the Senate had repeated complaints from Africa, which ended in a war that proved fatal at laſt to the antient rivals of their power. In the conduct of this war, being now leſs dependent than formerly on the opinion of the world, they, contrary to their uſual pretenſions to national generoſity and liberality, ſacrificed, without reſerve, entire nations to the ambition, or to the meaneſt jealouſy, of their own republic [8].

The province of Emporiæ, a diſtrict lying on the coaſt, and the richeſt part of the Carthaginian territory, had been violently ſeized by Gala king of Numidia, and father of Maſſiniſſa. It had been again reſtored by Syphax, when he ſupplanted the family of Gala on the throne of that kingdom; but now again uſurped by Maſſiniſſa on recovering the crown by the power of the Romans, to whoſe favour he truſted; and the Carthaginians, precluded by the late treaty from making war on any ally of the Romans, had recourſe to complaints and repreſentations, which they made at Rome, both before and after the reduction of Macedonia. The Roman Senate had, for five and twenty years, eluded theſe complaints, and, during this time, was in the practice of ſending commiſſioners into Africa, under pretence of

[7] Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes. [8] Ibid. N° 142.

hearing

hearing the parties in this important diſpute, but with inſtructions or diſpoſitions to favour Maſſiniſſa, and to obſerve, with a jealous eye, the condition and the movements of their antient rival [9].

The Carthaginians, yet poſſeſſed of ample reſources, and, if wealth or magnificence could conſtitute ſtrength, ſtill a powerful nation; being weary of repeated applications, to which they could obtain no ſatisfying anſwer, took their reſolution to arm, and to aſſert by force their claim to the territory in queſtion.

They were met in the field by the army of Maſſiniſſa, commanded by himſelf, though now about ninety years of age, and were defeated [10].

This unfortunate event diſappointed their hopes, and expoſed them to the reſentment of the Romans, who conſidered the attempt they had made to do themſelves juſtice, as a contravention of the late treaty, and a departure from the articles of peace between the two nations.

The expediency of a war with Carthage had been for ſome time a ſubject of debate in the Roman Senate. Deputies had been ſent into Africa, to procure the information that was neceſſary to determine this queſtion. Among theſe Cato, being ſtruck with the greatneſs, wealth, and populouſneſs of that republic, and with the amazing fertility of its territory, when he made his report in the Senate, carried in his lap a parcel of figs which he had brought from thence. "Theſe," he ſaid, "are the produce of a land that is but three days "ſail from Rome. Judge what Italy may have to fear from a "country whoſe produce is ſo much ſuperior to its own. That "country is now in arms; the ſword is drawn againſt Maſſiniſſa; "but when thruſt in his ſide, will penetrate to you. Your boaſted "victories have not ſubdued the Carthaginians, but given them ex-"perience, taught them caution, and inſtructed them how to diſ-

[9] Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes, c. 118. Liv. lib. xl. c. 17.

[10] Liv. Epitome, lib. xlviii. Appian. de Bell. Punic, p. 38.

"guiſe,

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" guiſe, under the ſemblance of peace, a war which you will find " marſhalled againſt you in their docks and in their arſenals." This, and every other ſpeech on this ſubject, Cato concluded with his famous ſaying; " That Carthage ſhould be deſtroyed [11]."

Scipio Naſica, another ſpeaker in this debate, contended for peace. He repreſented the forces of Carthage as not ſufficient to alarm the Romans; or, if really greater than there was any reaſon to ſuppoſe them, no more than were requiſite to exerciſe the virtues of a people already, for want of proper exertion, begun to ſuffer ſome abatement in their vigilance, diſcipline, and valour.

In this diverſity of opinions, it appeared ſoon after, that the Senate took a middle courſe, reſolved not to deſtroy, but to remove the inhabitants of Carthage to a new ſituation, at leaſt ten miles from the ſea [12].

The Carthaginians, after their late unfortunate adventure with Maſſiniſſa, were willing to preſerve their effects, and to purchaſe tranquillity by the loweſt conceſſions. But as the meaſure now propoſed by the Roman Senate amounted to a deprivation of all that property which is veſted in houſes or public edifices, and an entire ſuppreſſion of all thoſe local means of ſubſiſtence which could not be eaſily transferred, it was not ſuppoſed that their conſent could be eaſily obtained, and it was accordingly reſolved to keep the deſign a ſecret, until effectual means were prepared for its execution.

The conſuls, without any declaration of war, were inſtructed to arm, and to paſs with their forces into Sicily. As their arrival on that iſland, which was then in a ſtate of profound peace, evidently implied a deſign upon Africa, the people of Utica, that they might have the merit of an early declaration in favour of the Romans,

[11] Delenda eſt Carthago.

[12] Appian in Punicis. Plutarch in Vit. Catonis. Zonaras, lib. ix. c. 26. Oroſ. lib. iv. c. 22. Velleius, lib. i. c. 12. Polyb. Excerptæ Legationes, N° 142.

ſent a deputation to make them a tender of their port and town, as a harbour and place of arms for the accommodation of their forces. The Carthaginians were diſtracted with oppoſite counſels. They laid the blame of the war with Maſſiniſſa on Haſdrubal and his abettors, whom they ordered into exile; but, without coming to any other reſolutions, ſent a deputation, with full powers to conclude as circumſtances might ſeem to require, and agree to whatever they ſhould find moſt expedient for the commonwealth. Theſe deputies, on their arrival at Rome, finding no diſpoſition in the Senate to treat with them upon equal terms, reſolved to arreſt, by the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion, the ſword that was lifted up againſt their country. They accordingly confeſſed the imprudence of their late conduct, and implored forgiveneſs. They quoted the ſentence of baniſhment paſſed upon Haſdrubal and his party, as an evidence of their contrition for the hoſtilities lately offered to Maſſiniſſa; and they made a formal ſurrender of their city and its territory to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the Romans.

In return to this act of ſubmiſſion, they were told, that the Romans approved their behaviour, and meant to leave them in poſſeſſion of their freedom, their laws, their territory, and of all their effects, whether private or public: but, as a pledge of their compliance with the meaſures that might be neceſſary to prevent the return of former diſputes, they demanded three hundred hoſtages, the children of Senators, and of the firſt families in Carthage. This demand being reported in the city gave a general alarm; but the authors of theſe counſels were too far advanced to recede. They tore from the arms of their parents the children of the firſt families in the commonwealth; and, amidſt the cries of affliction and deſpair, embarked thoſe hoſtages for Sicily. Upon this iſland they were delivered over to the Roman Conſuls, and were by them ſent forward to Rome.

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The commanders of the Roman armament, without explaining themſelves any further, continued their voyage, and, by their appearance on the coaſt of Africa, gave a freſh alarm at Carthage. Deputies from the unfortunate inhabitants of that place went to receive them at Utica, and were told, that they muſt deliver up all their arms, ſhips, engines of war, naval and military ſtores. Even theſe alarming commands they received as the ſtrokes of fate, which could not be avoided. "We do not mean," ſaid one of the deputies, "to "diſpute your commands; but we entreat you to conſider, to what "a helpleſs ſtate you are about to reduce an unfortunate people, who, "by this hard condition, will be rendered unable to preſerve peace "among their own citizens at home, or to defend themſelves againſt "the meaneſt invader from abroad. We have baniſhed Haſdrubal "in order to receive you: we have declared him an enemy to his "country, that you might be our friends: but when we are diſ-"armed, who can prevent this exile from returning to occupy the "city of Carthage againſt you? With twenty thouſand men that fol-"low him, if he comes into the direction of our government, he will "ſoon oblige us to make war on you"[13]." In anſwer to this piteous expoſtulation, the Roman generals undertook the protection of Carthage, and ordered commiſſaries to receive the ſeveral articles that were to be delivered up, and to ſee the arſenals and the docks deſtroyed.

It is reported, that there were delivered up to theſe commiſſaries forty thouſand ſuits of armour, twenty thouſand katapultæ, or large engines of war, with a plentiful ſtore of darts, arrows, and other miſſiles.

So far the Romans proceeded with caution, well knowing the veneration which mankind entertain for the ſeats and tombs

[13] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 142.

of

of their anceſtors, with the ſhrines and conſecrated temples of their gods; and dreading the effects of deſpair, as ſoon as the Carthaginians ſhould perceive how much they were to be affected in their private and public property. But now, thinking their object ſecure, they proceeded to declare their intentions. The Conſul called the Carthaginian deputies into his preſence, and beginning with an exhortation, that they ſhould bear with equanimity what the neceſſity of their fortune impoſed, intimated, as the definitive reſolution of the Roman Senate, that the people of Carthage ſhould relinquiſh their preſent ſituation, and build on any other part of their territory, not leſs than eighty ſtadia, or about ten miles, removed from the ſea. The amazement and ſorrow with which theſe orders were received, juſtified the precautions which the Romans had taken to ſecure the execution of them. The deputies threw themſelves upon the ground, and endeavoured, from motives of pity, or of reaſon, to obtain a revocation of this cruel and arbitrary decree. They pleaded the merit of their implicit ſubmiſſion, their weakneſs, their inability any longer to alarm the jealouſy of Rome, circumvented, diſarmed, bound to their duty by hoſtages the moſt precious blood of their commonwealth. They pleaded the faith which was plighted by the Romans, the hopes of protection they had given, and the reputation they had juſtly acquired, not only for national juſtice, but for clemency and generoſity to all who ſued for mercy. They pleaded the reſpect which all nations owed to the ſhrines and the conſecrated temples of their gods; the deplorable ſtate into which numbers of their people muſt be reduced, expelled from their habitations and immoveable poſſeſſions, the principal articles of their property, and the hopeleſs condition of others, who, inured to ſubſiſt by the advantages of a maritime ſituation, were entirely diſqualified to ſupport themſelves or their children at a diſtance from the ſea.

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The Roman Conſul replied by repeating the expreſs orders of the Senate, and bid the Carthaginians remember, that ſtates were compoſed of men, not of ramparts and walls. That the Roman Senate had promiſed to ſpare and protect the republic of Carthage; and that they had fulfilled this engagement by leaving the people in poſſeſſion of their freedom and their laws. That the ſacred places ſhould remain untouched, and that the ſhrines of the gods would ſtill be within the reach of their pious viſits. That the diſtance to which it was propoſed to remove Carthage from the ſea was not ſo great as the diſtance at which Rome herſelf was ſituated from it; and that the Romans had taken their reſolution, that the people of Carthage ſhould no longer have under their immediate view that element which opened a way to their ambition, had tempted them firſt into Sicily, afterwards into Spain, and laſt of all into Italy, and to the gates of Rome; and which would never ceaſe to ſuggeſt projects dangerous to themſelves, and inconſiſtent with the peace of mankind. "We "go then," ſaid the deputies of Carthage, "to certain death, which "we have merited by having perſuaded our fellow-citizens to reſign "themſelves into the hands of the Romans. But if you mean to "have your commands obeyed, you muſt be ready to enforce them; "and by this means you may ſave an unfortunate people from ex-"poſing themſelves, by any act of deſpair, to worſe ſufferings than "they have yet endured."

The deputies accordingly, being followed at a diſtance by twenty galleys of the Roman fleet, ſet ſail for Carthage. They were received on the ſhore by multitudes, who crowded to hear the reſult of their negociations; but the ſilence they preſerved, under pretence that it was neceſſary to make their report firſt to the Senate, ſpread a general diſmay. In the Senate their meſſage was received with cries of deſpair, which ſoon conveyed to the people in the ſtreets a knowledge of the conditions impoſed upon them. And this nation, who,

about

about forty years before, had conſented to betray their principal citizen into the hands of their enemy, and who had lately reſigned all the honours and pretenſions of a free ſtate, now kindled into rage at the thoughts of being obliged to forego ſo great a part of their wealth, and to remove their habitations. They burſt into the place where the Senate was aſſembled, and laid violent hands on all the members who had adviſed or borne any part in the late degrading ſubmiſſions, or who had contributed to bring the ſtate into its preſent helpleſs condition. They took vengeance, as is common with a corrupted populace, on others, for faults in which they themſelves had freely concurred; and, as awake to new ſentiments of honour, they reviled the ſpirit of their own commonwealth, ever ready to barter national character for profit, to purchaſe ſafety with ſhameful conceſſions, and to remove a preſent danger, by giving up what is the only ſecurity of nations againſt any danger, the reputation of their vigour, and the honour of their arms.

While the multitude indulged themſelves in every ſpecies of riot, a few had the precaution to ſhut the gates, to ſtretch the chain which protected the entrance of the harbour, and to make a collection of ſtones on the battlements, theſe being the only weapons they had left to repel the firſt attacks of the Romans. The remains of the Senate too, without reflecting on the deſperate ſtate of their affairs, reſolved on war. Deſpair and frenzy ſucceeded in every breaſt to dejection and meanneſs.

Aſſemblies were called to reverſe the ſentence of baniſhment lately pronounced againſt Haſdrubal, and againſt the troops under his command. Theſe exiles were entreated to haſten their return for the defence of a city bereft of arms, ſhips, military and naval ſtores. The people, in the mean time, with an ardor which reaſon, and the hopes of ſucceſs during the proſperity of the republic could not have inſpired, endeavoured to replace the arms and the ſtores which they

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had ſo ſhamefully ſurrendered. They demoliſhed their houſes to ſupply the docks with timber. They opened the temples and other public buildings to accommodate the workmen; and, without diſtinction of ſex, condition, or age, became labourers in the public works, collected materials, furniſhed proviſions, or bore a part in any labour that was thought neceſſary to put the city in a ſtate of defence. They ſupplied the founders and the armourers with the braſs and iron of their domeſtic utenſils; or, where theſe metals were deficient, brought what they could furniſh of ſilver and gold. They joined, with the other materials which were uſed in the roperies, their hair to be ſpun into cordage for the ſhipping, and into braces for their engines of war.

The Roman Conſuls, appriſed of what was in agitation, willing to await the returns of reaſon, and to let theſe firſt ebullitions of frenzy ſubſide, for ſome days made no attempts on the city. But, hearing of the approach of Haſdrubal, they thought it neceſſary to endeavour, before his arrival, to poſſeſs themſelves of the gates. Having in vain attempted to ſcale the walls, they were obliged to undergo the labours of a regular ſiege; and though they made a breach, were repulſed in attempting to force the city by ſtorm.

Haſdrubal had taken poſt on the creek which ſeparated the peninſula of Carthage from the continent, maintained his communication by water, and ſupplied the inhabitants with proviſions and arms. The Romans, ſeeing that they could not reduce the city while Haſdrubal retained this poſt, endeavoured to diſlodge him, but were defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege. They had already ſpent two years in this enterprize, changed their commanders twice, but without advancing their fortunes. They began to incur the diſcredit of having formed againſt a neighbouring commonwealth an invidious deſign which they could not accompliſh. Enemies in every quarter, in Greece, Macedonia, and Spain, were encouraged to de-

clare againſt them; and even Maſſiniſſa, unwilling to ſee their power ſubſtituted for that of Carthage, and jealous of the avidity with which they endeavoured to become maſters in Africa, and to ſnatch from his hands a prey in which he thought himſelf intitled to ſhare, withdrew his forces, and left them ſingly to contend with the difculties in which they began to be involved.

But the Romans were animated by thoſe mortifications which are apt to diſcourage other nations. They imputed the miſcarriage of their troops to the miſconduct of their generals; and they clamoured for a better choice. Scipio, by birth the ſon of Emilius Paullus, and by adoption the grandſon of Scipio Africanus, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Spain and in Africa, and being then arrived from the army to ſolicit the office of Edile, was thought worthy of the ſupreme command; but being about ten years under the legal age, the law was ſuſpended in his favour, and his appointment to the province of Africa, in preference to his colleague, was declared without the uſual method of caſting lots.

The Carthaginians were now reinſtated in their conſideration, and in their rank among nations, and had negociations with the neighbouring powers of Mauritania and Numidia, whoſe aid they ſolicited with alarming reflections on the boundleſs ambition, and invidious policy of the Romans. They even conveyed aſſurances of ſupport to the Achæans, to the pretended Philip, an impoſtor, who, about this time, laid claim to the throne of Macedonia; and they encouraged with hopes of aſſiſtance the ſubjects of that kingdom, who were at this time in arms to recover the independence of their monarchy.

The mere change of the commander, and better diſcipline in the Roman army, however, ſoon altered the ſtate and proſpects of the war. The firſt object of Scipio was to cut off the communications of the Carthaginians with the country, and to intercept their ſupply of proviſions and other articles neceſſary to withſtand a ſiege.

Carthage

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Carthage was ſituated at the bottom of a ſpacious bay, covered on the weſt by the promontory of Apollo, on the eaſt by that of Hermes, or Mercury, at the diſtance of about fifteen leagues from each other. The city ſtood on a peninſula joined to the main land by an iſthmus about three miles in breadth, and covering a baſon or harbour, in which their docks and their ſhipping were ſecured from ſtorms and hoſtile attacks. The Byrſa, or citadel, commanded the iſthmus, and preſented at this only entrance to the town by land, a wall thirty feet thick and ſixty feet high. The whole circumference of the place was above twenty miles [15].

The beſiegers, by their ſhipping, had acceſs to that ſide of the town on which the walls were waſhed by the ſea; but were ſhut out from the harbour by a chain which was ſtretched acroſs the entrance. Haſdrubal had taken poſt on the baſon over againſt the town, and by theſe means ſtill preſerved the communication of the city with the country. Scipio, to diſlodge him from this poſt, made a feint at a diſtant part of the fortifications to ſcale the walls, actually gained the battlements, and gave an alarm which obliged the Carthaginian general to throw himſelf into the city. Scipio, ſatisfied with having obtained this end, took poſſeſſion of the poſt which the other had abandoned; and being now maſter of the iſthmus, and the whole continental ſide of the harbour, advanced to the walls of the Byrſa. In his camp he covered himſelf as uſual with double lines; one facing the fortifications of the enemy, conſiſting of a curtain twelve feet high, with towers at proper intervals, of which one in the centre was high enough to overlook the ramparts, and to afford a view of the enemy's works. The other line ſecured his rear from ſurprize on the ſide of the country; and both effectually guarded the iſthmus, and obſtructed all acceſs to the town by land.

[15] Oroſius, lib. iv. c. 22. Liv. Epitome, lib. li.

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The beſieged, however, ſtill received ſome ſupply of proviſions by ſea; their victuallers took the benefit of every wind that blew freſh and right into the harbour, to paſs through the enemy's fleet, who durſt not unmoor to purſue them; and Scipio, to cut off this reſource, projected a mole from the main land to the point of the peninſula acroſs the entrance of the harbour. He began to throw in his materials on a foundation of ninety feet, with an intention to contract the mound as it roſe to twenty-four feet at the top. The work, when firſt obſerved from Carthage, was conſidered as a vain undertaking; but when it appeared to advance with a ſenſible progreſs, gave a ſerious alarm.

The Carthaginians, to provide againſt the evils which they began to foreſee from this obſtruction at the entrance of their harbour, undertook a work more difficult, and more vaſt than even that of the beſiegers, to cut acroſs the peninſula within their walls, and to open a new paſſage to the ſea; and this they had actually accompliſhed by the time that the other paſſage was ſhut. Notwithſtanding the late ſurrender of all their ſhipping and ſtores, they had at the ſame time, by incredible efforts, aſſembled or conſtructed a navy of ſixty gallies. With this force they were ready to appear in the bay, while the Roman ſhips lay unmanned and unrigged, ſecure againſt any danger from an enemy whom they ſuppoſed ſhut up by impenetrable bars; and in theſe circumſtances, if they had availed themſelves of the ſurprize with which they might have attacked their enemy, muſt have done great execution on the Roman fleet. But having ſpent no leſs than two days in clearing their new paſſage after it was known to be open, and in preparing for action, they gave the enemy likewiſe full time to prepare. On the third they engaged, fought the whole day without gaining any advantage; and, in their retreat at night, ſuffered greatly from the enemy, who preſſed on their rear.

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While the beſiegers endeavoured to obſtruct this new communication with the ſea, the beſieged made a deſperate attempt on their works by land. A numerous body of men, devoting their lives for the defence of their country, without any arms, and provided only with matches, croſſed the harbour, and, expoſing themſelves to certain death, ſet fire to the engines and towers of the beſiegers; and, while they were ſurrounded and put to the ſword, willingly periſhed in the execution of their purpoſe.

In ſuch operations the ſummer elapſed; and Scipio, with the loſs of his engines, and a renewal of all the difficulties which he had formerly to encounter at ſea, conteuting himſelf with a blockade for the winter, diſcontinued the ſiege.

His command being prolonged for another year, he reſumed his attack in the ſpring; and, finding the place greatly reduced by deſpair and famine, he forced his way by one of the docks, where he obſerved that the battlements were low and unguarded. His arrival in the ſtreets did not put him in poſſeſſion of the town. The inhabitants, during ſix days, diſputed every houſe and every paſſage, and ſucceſſively ſet fire to the buildings whenever they were obliged to abandon them. Above fifty thouſand perſons of different ſexes, who had taken refuge in the citadel, at laſt accepted of quarter, and were led captive from thence in two ſeparate diviſions, one of twenty-five thouſand women, and another of thirty thouſand men.

Nine hundred deſerters, who had left the Roman army during the ſiege, having been refuſed the quarter which was granted to the others, took poſt in a temple which ſtood on an eminence, with a reſolution to die with ſwords in their hands, and with the greateſt effuſion of blood to their enemies. To theſe Haſdrubal, followed by his wife and his children, joined himſelf; but not having the

courage

courage to perſiſt in the ſame purpoſe with theſe deſerters, he left the temple, and accepted of quarter. His wife, in the mean time, with more ferocity or magnanimity than her huſband, laid violent hands on her children, and, together with their dead bodies, threw herſelf into the flame of a burning ruin. The deſerters too, impatient of the dreadful expectations which they felt, in order to haſten their own fate, ſet fire to the temple in which they had ſought a temporary cover, and periſhed in the flames.

The city continued to burn during ſeventeen days; and all this time the ſoldiers were allowed to ſeize whatever they could ſave from the flames, or wreſt from the hands of the dying inhabitants, who were ſtill dangerous to thoſe who approached them. Scipio, in beholding this melancholy ſcene, is ſaid to have repeated from Homer two lines containing a prophecy of the fall of Troy. "To "whom do you now apply this prediction?" ſaid Polybius, who happened to be near him; "To my own country," he ſaid, "for "her too I dread in her turn the reverſes of human fate [17]."

Scipio's letter to the Senate is ſaid to have contained no more than theſe words: "Carthage is taken. The army waits for your further "orders." The tidings were received at Rome with uncommon demonſtrations of joy. The victors, recollecting all the paſſages of their former wars, the alarms that had been given by Hannibal, and the irreconcileable antipathy of the two nations, gave orders to raze the fortifications of Carthage, and even to deſtroy the materials of which they were built.

A commiſſion was granted by the Senate to ten of its members to take poſſeſſion of territories which were thus deprived of their ſovereign, to model the form of this new province, and to prepare it for the reception of a Roman governor. And thus Carthage, the only

[17] For the hiſtory of the deſtruction of Carthage, ſee the authors above cited, p. 240.

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inſtance in which the human genius ever appeared greatly diſtinguiſhed in Africa; the model of magnificence, the repoſitory of wealth, and one of the principal ſtates of the antient world, was no more. The Romans, incited by national animoſity, and an exceſs of jealouſy, formed a deſign more cruel towards their rival than at firſt view it appeared to be, and in the execution of it became actors in a ſcene of horror far beyond their original intention. By the milder law and practice of modern nations, we are happily exempted from the danger of ever ſeeing ſuch horrid examples repeated, at leaſt in any part of the weſtern world.

While the event of this mighty ſiege was ſtill in dependence, the Romans had other wars to maintain on the ſide of Macedonia and Greece, where the natural progreſs of their policy, ſuited to the meaſures which they had taken with other nations, now ended in the open and avowed uſurpation of a ſovereignty which they had long diſguiſed under the ſpecious titles of alliance and protection.

Macedonia being ill fitted to retain the republican form into which it had been caſt by the Romans, after ſome years of diſtraction, and an attempt at laſt in favour of a pretended ſon of the late king, to recover its independence and its monarchy, underwent a ſecond conqueſt.

Andriſcus, an African of uncertain extraction, being obſerved to reſemble the royal family of Macedonia, had the courage, under the name of Philip, to perſonate a ſon of that unfortunate monarch, and to make pretenſions to the crown. With this object in view he went into Syria to ſolicit the aid of Demetrius, but was, by this prince, taken into cuſtody, and tranſported in chains to Rome. The Romans paid little regard to ſo contemptible an enemy, and even allowed him to eſcape. After this adventure, the ſame impoſtor appeared a ſecond time in Macedonia, and, with better fortune than he had in the firſt attempt, drew to his ſtandard many natives of that country

and

and of Thrace. In his firſt encounter he even defeated Juventius the Roman Prætor, and was acknowledged king; but ſoon after fell a prey to Metellus, and furniſhed the Romans with an obvious pretence for reducing the kingdom of Macedonia to the ordinary form of a province.

The ſtates of the Achæan league, at the ſame time, being already on the decline, haſtened, by the temerity and diſtraction of their own councils, the career of their fortunes to the ſame termination.

The Romans, even while they ſuffered this famous republic to retain the ſhew of its independence, had treated its members in many particulars as ſubjects. At the cloſe of the war with Perſeus, they had cited to appear at Rome, or taken into cuſtody as criminals of ſtate, many citizens of Achaia, who had, in that conteſt, appeared to be diſaffected to the Roman cauſe. Of theſe they had detained about a thouſand in different priſons of Italy, until, after a period of ſeventeen years, about three hundred of them, who ſurvived their confinement, were ſet at liberty, as having already ſuffered enough; or as being no longer in condition to give any umbrage to Rome [17]. Polybius being of this number acquired, during his ſtay in Italy, that knowledge of Roman affairs which appears ſo conſpicuous in the remains of his hiſtory. When at liberty, he attached himſelf to Scipio, the ſon of Emilius, and being well verſed in the active ſcenes which had recently paſt in his own country, and being entirely occupied with reflections on matters of ſtate and of war, no doubt contributed by his inſtructions in preparing this young man for the eminent ſervices which he afterwards performed.

The Romans, while they detained ſo many Greek priſoners in Italy, in a great meaſure aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs in Greece, diſpoſed of every diſtinction, whether of fortune or power,

[17] Pauſanias in Achaicis.

and

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and confined theſe advantages to the advocates of their own cauſe, and to the tools of their own ambition [18]. They received appeals from the judgments of the Achæan council, and encouraged its members, contrary to the expreſs conditions of their league, to ſend ſeparate embaſſies to Rome. The ſteps which followed are but imperfectly marked in the fragments of hiſtory which relate to this period. It appears that the Spartans, having been forced into the Achæan confederacy, continued refractory in moſt of its councils. By ſome of their complaints at Rome, they obtained a deputation, as uſual, from the Senate to hear parties on the ſpot, and to adjuſt their differences. The Achæan council, incenſed at this inſult which was offered to their authority, without waiting the arrival of the Roman deputies, proceeded to enforce their own decrees againſt the republic of Sparta, marched an army into Laconia, and defeated with ſome ſlaughter, at the gates of Lacedemon, the inhabitants of that city who ventured to oppoſe them. The Roman commiſſioners arriving after theſe hoſtilities had commenced, ſummoned the parties to aſſemble at Corinth, and, in name of the Senate, gave ſentence, that Lacedemon, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, and Orchomenos, not having been original members of the Achæan confederacy, ſhould now be diſjoined from it; and that all the cities which had been reſcued from the dominion of Philip, ſhould be left in full poſſeſſion of their freedom and independency.

Multitudes from all the different ſtates of the league being on this occaſion aſſembled at Corinth, a great riot enſued. The Roman deputies were inſulted and obliged to leave the place; and in this manner commenced a war in which the Romans, becauſe they hoped to eſtabliſh their ſovereignty in Greece without any convulſion, and had full employment for their forces in Africa, Spain, and Mace-

[18] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 103.

donia,

donia, engaged with great reluctance. They renewed their commiſſion, and named other deputies to terminate the diſputes in Achaia; but the ſtates of the Achæan league, imputing their conduct in this particular to fear, and to the ill ſtate of their affairs in Africa, while Carthage was likely to repel their attack, thought that they had found an opportunity to exclude for ever from their councils the overbearing influence of this arrogant nation [19]. They were encouraged with hopes of ſupport from Thebes, Eubœa, and other diſtricts of Greece, where the people were averſe to the dominion of the Romans; and they therefore aſſembled an army to aſſert their common rights, and to enforce their authority over the ſeveral members of their own confederacy.

Unfortunately for their cauſe, Metellus had then prevailed in Macedonia, and was at leiſure to turn his forces againſt them. He accordingly moved towards the Peloponneſus, ſtill giving the Achæans an option to avert the calamities of war, by ſubmitting to the mandates of the Roman Senate. Theſe, he ſaid, were no more, than that they ſhould deſiſt from their pretenſions on Sparta, and the other cantons who applied for the protection of Rome.

But the Achæans thought it ſafer to reſiſt, than to be diſarmed under theſe ſtale pretences; they took the field, paſſed through the iſthmus of Corinth, and, being joined by the Thebans, marched to Thermopylæ with a view to defend this entry into Greece. In this, however, they were diſappointed, being either prevented from ſeizing the paſs, or driven from thence by Metellus. They were afterwards intercepted in their retreat through Phocis, where they loſt their leader Critolaus, with a great part of his army [20]. Diæus, who ſucceeded him as head of the confederacy, aſſembled a new force, conſiſting of fourteen thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, took poſt on

[19] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 144.

[20] Oroſius, lib. v. c. 3. Pauſanias in Achaicis.

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the iſthmus of Corinth, and ſent four thouſand men for the defence of Megara, a place which ſtill made a part in the expiring confederacy of independent Greeks.

Metellus, who after his victory had made himſelf maſter of Thebes, advanced to Megara, diſlodged the Achæans from thence, and continued his march to the iſthmus. Here he was ſuperſeded by Mummius, the Conſul of the preſent year, who, with the new levies from Rome, made up an army of twenty-three thouſand foot and three thouſand five hundred horſe. The enemy, having gained an advantage over his advanced guard, were encouraged to hazard a battle under the walls of Corinth, and were defeated. The greater part fled into the town, but afterwards in the night withdrew from that place. Their general Diæus fled from the field of battle to Migalopolis, whither he had ſent his family; having killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, he himſelf took poiſon, and died.

Such are the imperfect accounts which remain of the laſt efforts made by the Greeks to preſerve a freedom, in the exerciſe of which they had acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a part. As they never were ſurpaſſed by any race of men in the vigour with which they ſupported their republican eſtabliſhments, ſo they appeared to retain their ingenuity and their ſkill in many arts, after they had loſt the military and political ſpirit which conſtitutes the ſtrength and ſecurity of nations; and in this latter period, which preceded their extinction, as the Achæan league was diſſolved on having incurred the reſentment of the Romans, ſo the unhappy remnant of the Spartan republic periſhed in having accepted their protection. The enmity and the friendſhip of the Romans being equally fatal, theſe and every other ſtate or republic of Greece, from this time forward, ceaſed to be numbered among nations, having fallen a prey to a power, whoſe force nothing could equal but the ability and the cunning with which it was exerted.

CHAP. I.

Such, at leaſt, is the comment which we are tempted, by the conduct of the Romans, on the preſent occaſion, to make on that policy, with which, about fifty years before this date, Flamininus, to detach the Grecian cities from Philip, proclaimed, with ſo much oſtentation at the iſthmus of Corinth, general independence, and the free exerciſe of their own laws to all the republics of Greece. That People, when they meant to ingratiate themſelves, ſurpaſſed every ſtate in generoſity to their allies, they gained intire confidence, and taught nations, who were otherwiſe in condition to maintain their own independence, to rely for protection on that very power from which they had moſt to fear for their liberties; and in the end, under ſome pretence of ingratitude or affront, ſtript of every right thoſe very ſtates who had moſt plentifully ſhared in their bounty. In this policy there were ſome appearances of a concerted deſign, which was at one time liberal and generous beyond example, at another time cruel and implacable in the oppoſite extreme, equally calculated to gain or to terrify, in the caſes to which either ſpecies of policy was ſuited. It is however probable, that they were led by the changing ſtate of their intereſts, and followed the conjuncture without any previous deſign. In this ſort of conduct the paſſions are wonderfully ready to act in ſupport of the judgment; and we may venture to admit, that the Romans ſometimes felt the generoſity which they profeſſed to employ, and of which the belief was ſo favourable to the ſucceſs of their affairs. In a different conjuncture, in which they were no longer equally obliged to manage the temper of their allies, they became more impatient of contradiction, and gave way to their reſentment on any the ſlighteſt occaſions, or to their ambition, without controul. Their maxim, to ſpare the ſubmiſſive, and to reduce the proud [21], whether founded in ſentiment or cunning, was a prin-

[21] Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

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ciple productive of the extremes of generosity and arrogance observed in their conduct, it led them by degrees to assume a superiority in every transaction, and as their power increased, rendered this power proportionally dangerous to other nations.

On the third day after the action which happened in the isthmus of Corinth, the victorious general entered the city; and considering that the inhabitants had a principal part in the late insult offered to the Roman commissioners, determined to strike a general terror into all the members of the league by the severities to be executed against this people. Mummius, though, with the rest of his countrymen of this age, ill qualified to distinguish the elegant workmanship of the Grecian artists [22], of which great collections had been made at Corinth, ordered all the statues and pictures to be set apart for his triumph; and, with this reserve, gave the town, abounding in all the accommodations and ornaments of a wealthy metropolis, to be pillaged by the soldiers. He razed the walls, and reduced the city to ashes.

Thus Corinth perished in the same year with Carthage. The fortifications of Thebes, and of some other towns disaffected to the Romans, were at the same time demolished; and the arrangements to be made in the country of Greece were committed to deputies from the Roman Senate. By their order, the Achæan league was dissolved, and all its conventions annulled. The states which had composed it were deprived of their sovereignty, subjected to pay a tribute, and placed under the government of a person annually sent from Rome with the title of the Prætor of Achaia [23].

The Romans now appeared openly, perhaps for the first time, in the capacity of conquerors. The acquisition of revenue in Mace-

[22] He delivered them to the masters of ships, with his famous threat, that if any of their curiosities were lost, they should be obliged to replace them.

[23] Pausanias, lib. vii. c. 16. Polyb. Excerptæ de Virtutibus & Vitiis.

donia, which, about twenty years before this date, had firſt taught them to exempt themſelves from taxation, excited from thenceforward an inſatiable thirſt of dominion; and their future progreſs is marked by the detail of wars which they maintained on their frontier, not in defence of the empire, but for the enlargement of poſſeſſions already too great.

In Spain where they ſtill met with reſiſtance, they had acted in all the different periods of their wars, either on the offenſive or defenſive, according as the State was, or was not, at leiſure from the preſſure of their enemies, or according as the generals ſhe employed were ambitious or pacific.

On the concluſion of the peace with Philip, the Roman territory in Spain had been divided into two provinces, and furniſhed the ſtations of two ſeparate commanders annually ſent from Rome. On the renewal of the war in Macedonia, and during the continuance of it, theſe provinces were again united under one government. But upon the defeat of Perſeus, and the reduction of Macedonia, they were ſeparated for ever.

From that time the ambition of the Romans ſeems to have operated in Spain with the ſame effect as in other parts on the boundaries of their empire. They preſſed upon the natives, not merely to ſecure their own territory from inroad and depredation, but to gain new acceſſions of dominion and wealth. They advanced to the Tagus, endeavoured to penetrate the mountains beyond the ſources of that river; and on that ſide involved themſelves in a continual ſtruggle of many years duration, with the Luſitanians, Gallicians, and Celtiberi.

In theſe wars the Roman officers were actuated, by their avarice as well as by their ambition, and were glad of occaſions to quarrel with an enemy, amongſt whom the produce of rich mines of ſilver and of gold were known to abound, and where plentiful ſpoils were ſo likely to reward their ſervices.

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The theatre of the war in Spain was not ſo conſpicuous, nor the conduct of generals ſo ſtrictly obſerved, as they were in Africa, Aſia, or Greece; and ſuch as were employed in that ſervice, therefore, the more to haſten their conqueſts, ventured upon acts of treachery or breach of faith with the cantons around them, which the Senate did not commonly avow; and they alſo ventured upon acts of extortion and peculation in their own governments, which gave occaſion to the firſt complaints of this ſort that were brought to Rome.

The Proconſul Lucullus, having accepted of the ſurrender of a town, and being received into it in conſequence of a capitulation, nevertheleſs put the inhabitants to the ſword and carried off their effects. Galba, commanding in Luſitania, or the weſtern province of Spain, ſoon afterwards circumvented, by a like act of perfidy and cruelty, ſome of the inhabitants whom he could not otherwiſe reduce. Theſe examples probably retarded, inſtead of forwarding, the progreſs of the Roman arms, and confirmed that obſtinate valour with which the natives of Spain diſputed every poſt in defence of their country; and with which they maintained the conteſt againſt a ſucceſſion of Roman Generals, Prætors, or Conſuls, who were employed to ſubdue them. This conteſt they continued or renewed, at ſhort intervals, with various ſucceſs, from the firſt expedition of the Scipios to the laſt of Auguſtus.

At the beginning of the laſt war with Carthage, the Luſitanians, incenſed by the act of treachery which was committed by the Roman general Galba, re-aſſembled in numerous parties under Viriathus, who had himſelf eſcaped from the maſſacre on that occaſion, and who entertained an implacable reſentment to the authors of it. This leader, according to the Roman hiſtorians, had been originally a herdſman, afterwards a chief of banditti, and laſt of all the commander of an army which had often defeated the legions of Rome, and threatened their expulſion from Spain. He ſeems to have known how to employ the impetuous valour of a rude people againſt troops not leſs

valiant

valiant than his own countrymen, though more depending on diſcipline; and to have poſſeſſed what the Spaniards retained, even down to the days of Cæſar, the faculty of turning the want of order to account againſt an enemy ſo much accuſtomed to order, as, in a great meaſure, to rely upon it in moſt of their operations. With him an apparent rout and diſperſion of his followers was the ordinary prelude to a violent attack; and he commonly endeavoured, by pretended flights and diſorderly movements, to draw the enemy into raſh purſuits or precipitant marches, and ſeized every advantage which they gave him with irreſiſtible addreſs and valour. He continued above ten years to baffle all the attempts which the Romans made to reduce Luſitania. He had projected a league and defenſive confederacy with the other free nations of Spain, when he was aſſaſſinated, as he lay aſleep on the ground, by two of his own followers, ſuppoſed to be in concert with the Roman general.

The Romans, upon this event, found the weſtern and northern parts of Spain open to their inroads. In little more than a year afterwards a Roman army under Brutus paſſed the Duero [23], and penetrated quite to the coaſt of Gallicia, from which they reported, with more than the embelliſhments and exaggerations of travellers, that the ſun was ſeen from this diſtant region, when he ſet in the evening, to ſink and to extinguiſh himſelf with a mighty noiſe in the Weſtern Ocean.

The natives of this country, however, did not think themſelves ſubdued by being thus over-run. They retired, with their cattle and effects, into places of ſtrength; and, when required to pay contributions, replied, That their anceſtors had left them ſwords to defend their poſſeſſions, but not any gold to redeem them.

Such were the occupations of the Roman arms in the weſtern diviſion of Spain, while they were equally engaged in the eaſtern pro-

[23] Durius.

vince,

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vince, under Cato the Elder, Tiberius Gracchus, and others, who endeavoured to ſecure what the State had already acquired, or to extend its limits. Theſe generals obtained their ſeveral triumphs, and joined to the Roman poſſeſſions on the coaſt conſiderable acquiſitions in the inland part of the country. Their progreſs, however, on this ſide had been greatly retarded by the obſtinate valour of the Numantians and other cantons of the Celtiberi, who had maintainted the conteſt during fifty years, and at laſt had formed a general confederacy of all the interior nations of Spain, to be conducted by Viriathus, when their meaſures were broken by the death of that formidable leader.

Numantia was the principal ſtrong hold, or, as we may conceive it, the capital of a ſmall nation. Their lodgement, or townſhip, was contained within a circumference of about three miles, ſituated among the mountains of Celtiberia, or Old Caſtile, and at the confluence of the Durius with another river, both of which having ſteep banks, rendered the place, on two of its ſides, of very difficult acceſs. It was fortified on the third ſide with a rampart and ditch.

The people could muſter no more than eight or ten thouſand men; but theſe were greatly diſtinguiſhed by their valour, reputed ſuperior in horſemanſhip to every other nation of Spain, and equal to the Romans in the uſe of the ſhield and the ſtabbing ſword. They had already gained many victories over the Roman armies which had been employed to reduce them. They had obliged Pompey, one of the Roman generals, contrary to the practice of his country, to accept of a treaty, while the advantage of fortune was againſt him. They obliged the Conſul Mancinus to ſave his army by a capitulation [24]. Neither of thoſe treaties indeed were ratified by the Roman Senate. To expiate the breach of the laſt, the Conſul Mancinus, who concluded it, together with Tiberius Gracchus his Queſ-

[24] Eutropius, lib. iv. c. 8.

tor,

for, were ordered to be delivered up to the hands of the enemy, and to ſuffer in their own perſons for the failure of engagements which they could not fulfil. Tiberius Gracchus appealed to the people, was ſaved by their favour, and from this time is ſuppoſed to have received that bias which he followed in the ſubſequent part of his political conduct. Mancinus acquieſced in the ſentence of the Senate, was preſented naked and in fetters at the gates of Numantia, as a ſacrifice to the reſentment of that nation, for the breach of a treaty which the Romans determined not to obſerve. But the victim was nobly rejected, and the Numantians inſiſted on the conditions they had ſtipulated, ſaying, that a public breach of faith could not be expiated by the ſuffering of a private man [25].

Theſe tranſactions paſſed about ten years after the deſtruction of Carthage, and the Romans, mortified with the length and ill-ſucceſs of the war with Numantia, had recourſe again to the ſervices of Scipio.

They had formerly diſpenſed, in his favour, with the law that required a certain age as a qualification for the office of Conſul; and now, in order to employ him a ſecond time, they were obliged to ſuſpend another law, which prohibited the re-election of the ſame perſon into that office.

Upon the arrival of Scipio in Spain, it is ſaid that he found the Roman army, diſcouraged by repeated defeats, withdrawn into fortified ſtations at a diſtance from the enemy, deteſting the hardſhips of a military camp, indulging themſelves in all the vices of a diſorderly town, and ſubject to panics on the ſlighteſt alarm. It is ſaid that the cries, the aſpect, the painted viſage, and the long hair of the Spaniard were become objects of terror [26].

Among the reformations which Scipio made to reſtore the vigour of the army, he cleared the camp of its unneceſſary followers, amongſt whom

[25] Appian de Bell. Hiſpan. p. 302.

[26] Florus.

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whom are mentioned women, merchants, and fortune-tellers; he reſtricted the quantity of baggage, reduced the furniture of the kitchen to the ſpit and the pan; and the tables of officers to plain food, roaſted or boiled. He prohibited the uſe of bedſteads in camp, and ſet the example himſelf of ſleeping on a ſtraw mat; likewiſe reſtrained the infantry from the uſe of horſes on the march, and obliged them to carry their own baggage.

Though poſſeſſed of ſuperior numbers, he declined a battle, and avoided every rout on which the enemy were prepared to receive him; took advantage of a ſuperior addreſs in managing his reſources, and damped the ardour of a fierce people by ſlow operations; he laid waſte the country around them, and by degrees obliged them to retire within their own ramparts, and to conſume what was raiſed or provided within the circuit of their walls.

Scipio had been joined on his march to Numantia by Jugurtha, the grandſon of Maſſiniſſa, who, on this ſervice, made his firſt acquaintance with the Romans, and brought a reinforcement of twelve elephants, with a conſiderable body of horſe, of archers and ſlingers. At its arrival the army amounted to ſixty thouſand men. But Scipio did not attempt to ſtorm the town; he took a number of poſts which he ſucceſſively fortified, and, by joining them together, completed a double line of circumvallation, equal in ſtrength to the walls which were oppoſed to him. He had his curtains, his towers, his places of arms correſponding to thoſe of the place; and he eſtabliſhed an order of ſervice and a ſet of ſignals, in caſe of alarm by day or by night, which reſembled more the precautions of an army on its defence, than the operations of a ſiege. His intention was to reduce the Numantians by famine, an operation of time, during which, from ſo warlike a nation, he might be expoſed to ſurpriſe, or to the effects of deſpair.

The

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The place beſieged being at the confluence of rivers navigable with ſmall veſſels, which deſcended with great rapidity on the ſtream, or which could, with the favour of proper winds, even remount in the ſight of the enemy. The people, for a while, procured ſome ſupplies by water. Numbers of them ſwimming with great addreſs, and diving at proper places, to avoid being ſeen by the beſiegers, ſtill paſſed through the lines, and preſerved a communication with the country, until the rivers alſo were barred acroſs their channels by timbers, that were armed with ſword-blades and ſpikes of iron.

The Numantians were ſtill in hopes of ſuccour from their allies. Five aged warriors undertook, each with his ſon for a ſecond, to paſs through the lines of the enemy, and to ſue for relief from the neighbouring nations. They ſucceeded by night in the firſt part of their attempt, cut down the Roman guard, threw the camp into ſome confuſion, and eſcaped before the occaſion of the alarm was known. But their cauſe was become deſperate, and too likely to involve in certain ruin any friend who embraced it. Their ſuit, nevertheleſs, was attended to at Lutia, the head of a ſmall canton, forty miles from Numantia.

The young men of this place took their reſolution in favour of the injured Numantians; but Scipio had notice of their intention time enough to prevent its effect. He haſtened to the place, and, having accompliſhed this march of forty miles in eight hours, ſurpriſed the inhabitants, had four hundred young men delivered up to him, and ordered their right arms to be ſtruck off. By this dreadful act of ſeverity, he ſecured himſelf from any danger on that quarter, and impreſſed the other ſtates of that neighbourhood with terror.

The Numantians, in the mean time, were preſſed with famine, and having no hopes of relief, ſent a deputation to try the clemency of their enemy. "What was once a happy ſtate," they ſaid, "content with its own poſſeſſions, and ſecure in the valour of its

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" citizens, is now reduced to great diſtreſs, for no other crime than " that of having maintained their freedom, and of having defended " their wives and children.

" For you," they continued, addreſſing themſelves to Scipio, " who " yourſelf are ſaid to poſſeſs ſo many virtues, it would become you to " eſpouſe the cauſe of this injured nation, and procure to them terms " which they could with honour prefer to their preſent diſtreſſes. " Their expectations are moderate, for they have felt the reverſes of " fortune. It is now in your power to receive their ſubmiſſion under " any tolerable conditions, or to ſee them periſh in ſome act of de- " ſpair, which may prove fatal to many of their enemies, as well as " to themſelves."

Scipio replied, That he could not grant them any terms; that they muſt ſurrender at diſcretion.

Upon the return of this anſwer they reſumed their former obſtinacy, and held out until they had conſumed every article of proviſion within their walls; endeavoured to turn their ſhields and other utenſils of leather into food, devoured the dead bodies, and even preyed on each other.

The end of this piteous ſcene is variouſly reported. By ſome it is ſaid, that, in the laſt ſtage of deſpair, the Numantians ſallied forth to purchaſe death by the ſlaughter of their enemies; that, in the execution of this purpoſe, they for ſome time expoſed themſelves with the moſt frantic rage, till the greater part being ſlain, a few returned into the town, ſet fire to the houſes, and, with their wives and children, periſhed in the flames [z].

By others it is ſaid, that they agreed to ſurrender on a certain day, but that when this day came they begged for another; alleging, that many of their people, yet fond of liberty, had determined to die,

[z] Oroſius, lib. v. c. 7. Florus, lib. ii. c. 13.

and wiſhed for one day more, that they might the more deliberately execute their purpoſe. Such was the averſion to ſurrender at diſcretion, which the fear of captivity, and that of its ordinary conſequences among antient nations, had inſpired. The few of this high-minded people who ſurvived the effects of deſpair, falling into the enemy's hands, were ſtripped of their arms. Fifty were reſerved, as a ſpecimen of the whole, to adorn the victor's triumph. The remainder were ſold for ſlaves, and the walls of their ſtrong hold were levelled with the ground. The priſoners, even after they had laid down their arms and ſubmitted to mercy, retained the ferocity of their looks, and caſt on their victors ſuch glances of indignation and rage, as ſtill kept the animoſity of enemies awake, and prevented the returns of pity. As theſe particulars ſtrongly mark the defects which ſtill ſubſiſted in the ſuppoſed law of war among antient nations, the reader will probably bear with the ſhock that is given to his feelings of compaſſion, for the ſake of the picture which it is neceſſary to give of the manners of the times.

If we judge of Numantia from the reſiſtance it made to the Roman arms, it having been one of their moſt difficult conqueſts, we muſt conſider it as a ſtate of conſiderable power. Its reduction gave immediate reſpite from war in Spain. Scipio and Brutus returned nearly together from their provinces in that country, and had their ſeparate triumphs in the ſame year.

Theſe operations againſt Numantia, Carthage, Macedonia, and Greece, were accompanied with a revolt of the ſlaves in Sicily, and with a number of other wars leſs conſiderable in Illyricum, Thrace, and Gaul. Of theſe the revolt of the ſlaves merits the greater attention, on account of the view it gives of the ſtate of the countries now under the immediate juriſdiction of Rome. The iſland of Sicily having been the firſt acquiſition which the Romans made beyond the limits of Italy, had been for ſome time in a ſtate

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of domeſtic tranquillity, and undiſturbed by any foreign enemy. Its lands were become the property of Roman citizens, who here, as on their eſtates in Italy, cultivated plantations to ſupply with corn, wine, and oil, the markets and granaries of Rome. The labour was performed by ſlaves. Theſe were led in chains to the fields, or confined in vaults and fortified workhouſes at the ſeveral taſks they were employed to perform. As the proprietors of land had many reaſons to prefer the labour of ſlaves to that of freemen, who were diſtracted by their political engagements, and ſubject to be called upon or preſſed into the military ſervice, the number of ſlaves continually increaſed. They were, for the moſt part, priſoners of war; and ſome of them being even of high rank, unuſed to ſubmiſſion, and animated with fierce paſſions of indignation and ſcorn, were ready, upon every favourable opportunity, to take arms againſt their maſters, and often to ſhake the ſtate itſelf with a ſtorm which was not foreſeen until it actually burſt.

About ten years after the deſtruction of Carthage, and four years before that of Numantia, this injured claſs of men were incited to revolt in Sicily by Eunus, a Syrian ſlave; who, at firſt, under pretence of religion, and by the fame of miracles he was ſuppoſed to perform, tempted many to break from their bondage; traverſed the country, broke open the vaults and priſons in which his fellow-ſufferers were confined, and actually aſſembled an army of ſeventy thouſand men. With this force, in four ſucceſſive campaigns, he made a proſperous war on the Roman Prætors, and often ſtormed the entrenchments of the Roman camp.

This leader, however, being ill-qualified to improve his victories, and having no concerted plan for the government or ſubſiſtence of his followers, in a country that was gradually ruined by their own devaſtations, was at length, by the caution and ſuperior conduct of Perperna, or Publius Rutilius, gradually circumſcribed in his depredations,

dations, defeated, and obliged to take refuge in Enna, a fortified place, where about twenty thouſand of his followers were put to the ſword, and the remainder, as an example to deter ſlaves from the commiſſion of a ſimilar offence, were nailed to the croſs near the moſt frequented highways, and in the moſt conſpicuous parts of the iſland.

While the Roman armies were thus employed in the provinces, or on the frontier of their extenſive conqueſts, Italy itſelf had long enjoyed a perfect ſecurity, the lands were cultivated, and the country ſtocked with people, whether aliens or citizens, freemen or ſlaves. From about three hundred thouſand [28], which, in this period, were the ordinary return of the Cenſus, the citizens ſoon after augmented to above four hundred thouſand [29]; and Scipio, under whoſe inſpection as Cenſor this return was made, hearing the Crier repeat the prayer which was uſual at the cloſing of the rolls, "That the republic "might increaſe in the numbers of its people, and in the extent of "its territory;" bid him pray that it might be preſerved, for it was already great enough. It is probable that, in the view of this ſagacious obſerver, the marks of corruption already began to appear in the capital; and a tree, which ſtill continued for a century to make ſuch vigorous ſhoots from its branches, already bore ſome marks of decay in its trunk.

The offices of State, and the government of provinces, to which thoſe who had filled them ſucceeded, began to be coveted from avarice, as well as from ambition. Complaints of peculation and extortion, which were received about this time from Spain and Macedonia, pointed out the neceſſity of reſtraining ſuch oppreſſions, and ſuggeſted ſome penal laws, which were often, and in vain, amended and revived.

An action was inſtituted in favour of the provinces, againſt governors, or their attendants, who ſhould be accuſed of levying money

[28] Three hundred and twenty thouſand.

[29] Four hundred and twenty-eight thouſand three hundred and forty-two.

without

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without the authority of the State, and an ordinary jurisdiction was granted to one of the Prætors, to hear complaints on this subject. The penalty at first was no more than restitution, and a pecuniary fine; it was gradually extended to degradation, and exile.

N° 604. Lex Calpurnia de Repetundis. Quæstiones perpetuæ.

These reformations are dated in the time of the last war with Carthage, and are ascribed to the motion of Culpurnius Piso, then one of the Tribunes. Before this time all jurisdiction in criminal matters belonged to the Tribunal of the People, and was exercised by themselves in their collective capacity, or occasionally delegated to a special commission. Few crimes were yet defined by statute, and ordinary courts of justice for the trial of them were not yet established. In these circumstances criminals of state had an opportunity not only to defend themselves after a prosecution was commenced, but likewise to employ intrigue, or exert their credit with the People, to prevent or evade a trial.

To supply these defects, a list of statutory crimes now began to be made, and an ordinary jurisdiction was established. Besides extortion in the provinces, which had been defined by the law of Culpurnius [30], murder, breach of faith, robbery, assault, poisoning, incest, adultery, bribery, false judgment, fraud, perjury, &c. were successively joined to the list; and an ordinary jurisdiction for the trial of such crimes was vested in a jury of Senators, over whom the Prætor, with the title of Quæsitor, presided.

The number of Prætors, corresponding to this and other growing exigencies of the state, was now augmented to six; and these officers, though destined, as well as the Consuls, to the command of armies and the government of provinces, began, during the term of their magistracy, to have full occupation in the city. On this account it was not till after the expiration of the year for which they had been

[30] Parricidium, vis publica, latrocinium, injuria, veneficium, incestus, adulterium, captæ pecuniæ, corrupti judicii, falsi, perjurium.

elected,

elected, that they drew lots for a province. A like policy was ſoon after adopted in the deſtination of Conſuls, and all the other officers of State, who, being ſuppoſed to have ſufficient occupation in Italy and Rome during the year of their appointment, were not deſtined to any foreign ſervice till that year was expired.

With theſe eſtabliſhments, calculated to ſecure the functions of office, the uſe of the ballot was introduced, firſt in elections, and afterwards in collecting opinions of judges in the courts of juſtice [31]: a dangerous form of proceeding in conſtitutions tending to popular licence, and where juſtice is more likely to ſuffer from the unawed paſſions of the lower people, than from any improper influence of ſuperior rank; and where the authority of the wife, and the ſenſe of public ſhame, were ſo much required, as principal ſupports of government.

An occaſion for the commiſſion of new crimes is frequently taken from the precautions which are employed againſt the old. From the facility with which criminal accuſations now began to be received, a new ſpecies of crime accordingly aroſe. Calumny and vexatious proſecutions commenced by diſappointed competitors againſt perſons in public truſt, became ſo frequent as to require the interpoſition of laws. On this account it was enacted, upon the motion of Memmius, that all perſons in office, or appointed to command in the provinces, might decline anſwering a criminal charge until the expiration of their term, or until their return from the ſervice to which they were deſtined [32]; and perſons of any denomination might have an action of calumny againſt the author of a falſe or groundleſs proſecution. Whoever was convicted of this offence was to be branded in the face with the initials of his crime.

[31] Lex Gabinia Tabellaria.

[32] Lex Memmia de reis poſtulandis. Lex Caſſia Tabellaria.

By

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By theſe eſtabliſhments the city of Rome, long reſembling a mere military ſtation, made ſome progreſs in completing the ſyſtem and application of her laws. Literary productions, in ſome of their forms, particularly in the form of dramatic compoſitions, as hath been already obſerved, began to be known. The repreſentation of fables were firſt introduced under pretence of religion, and practiſed as ſacred rites to avert the plague or ſome public calamity. This entertainment was fondly received by the People, and therefore frequently preſented to them by the Ediles, who had the charge of ſuch matters. Literature, however, in ſome of its leſs popular forms, was checked, as a ſource of corruption. In the year of Rome five hundred and ninety-two, that is, about eight years after the reduction of Macedonia, the Roman Senate, upon a report from M. Pomponius, the Prætor, that the city was frequented by philoſophers and rhetoricians, reſolved that this officer, agreeably to his duty to the republic, ſhould take care to remove all ſuch perſons in the manner his own judgment ſhould direct[33]; and, in about ſix years after this date, an embaſſy having come from Athens, compoſed of ſcholars and rhetoricians, who drew the attention of the youth by the diſplay of their talents, an uncommon diſpatch was given to their buſineſs, that they might not have any pretence for remaining too long in the city.

U. C. 592.

A propoſal which was made during this period, to erect a theatre for the accommodation of the ſpectators at their public ſhews, was rejected with great indignation, as an attempt to corrupt the manners of the People. The materials which had been collected for this work were publicly ſold, and an edict, at the ſame time, was publiſhed, that no one ſhould ever reſume this deſign, or attempt to place any bench or ſeat for the accommodation of the ſpectators at any theatrical entertainment in the city, or within a mile of its walls[34].

[33] A. Gellius, lib. xv. c. 11.

[34] Val. Maxim. lib. ii. c. 4.

It

It was thought an act of effeminacy, it ſeems, for the Roman People to be ſeated; and it is undoubtedly wiſe, in matters of ſmall moment, however innocent, to forbid what is conſidered as an evil, and, in remitting eſtabliſhed ſeverities, to let the opinion of innocence at leaſt precede the indulgence.

The ſumptuary laws already mentioned, reſpecting entertainments and houſehold expences, were, under the name of Didius, the perſon who propoſed the renewal of them, revived [35]; and, with ſome alterations, extended to all the Roman citizens diſperſed over Italy.

Such was the antidote which the policy of that age provided, in the capital of a great empire, againſt luxury and the oſtentation of wealth; diſtempers incident to proſperity itſelf, and not to be cured by partial remedies. They were by the Romans (who knew better how to accompliſh the celebrated problem of Themiſtocles, *in making a ſmall ſtate a great one*, than they knew how to explain the effects of its greatneſs) commonly imputed to ſome particular circumſtance, or accidental event. To the ſpoils of Tarentum, they ſaid, and of Aſia [36], to the deſtruction of our principal rivals the Carthaginians; to the mighty ſhow of ſtatues, pictures, and coſtly furniture, which were brought by Mummius from Corinth, we owe this admiration of finery, and ſo prevailing a paſſion for private as well as for public wealth.

In this manner they explained the effects of a progreſs which they themſelves had made in the acquiſition of ſo many provinces; in the growing ſecurity and riches of a mighty city, from which all foreign alarms were far removed; and to which the wealth of a great empire, either in the form of private fortune or of public treaſure, began to flow with a continued and increaſing ſtream [37].

[35] Lex Didia. [36] Aſia primum devicta luxuriam miſit in Italiam. Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 11. [37] Liv. lib. xxxix. c. 6. Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 1.

CHAP. II.

Extent of the Roman Empire.——Political Character of its Head.——Facility with which it continued to advance.——Change of Character, political as well as moral.——Character of the People or Commons.——Dangerous Humours likely to break out.——Appearance of Tiberius Gracchus.——His project to revive the Law of Licinius.——Intercession of the Tribune Octavius.——The Republic divided.——Disputes in the Comitia.——Deposition of the Tribune Octavius.——Commissioners appointed for the Division of Lands. Tiberius Gracchus sues to be re-elected Tribune.——His Death.——Immediate Consequences.——Proceedings of Carbo.——Embassy of Scipio.——Foreign Affairs.——Violence of the Commissioners.——Domestic Affairs.

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IN the manner that has been summarily stated in the preceding Chapters, the Romans completed their political establishment, and made their first and their greatest advances to empire, without departing from the policy by which they had been preserved in the infancy of their power. They were become sovereigns of Macedonia, Greece, Italy, part of Africa, Lusitania, and Spain; yet, even in this pitch of greatness, made no distinction between the civil and military departments, nor gave to any citizen an exemption from the public service. They did not despise any enemy, neither in the measures they took, nor in the exertions they made to resist him: and as the fatal effects which they and all the other nations of the antient world were long accustomed to expect from defeats, were no less than servitude or death, they did not submit to any enemy, in consequence of any event, nor under the pressure of any calamity whatever.

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Other nations were accuſtomed to riſe on victories, and to ſink under defeats; to become inſolent or mean with the tide of their fortunes. The Romans alone were moderate in proſperity, and arrogant when their enemies expected to force their ſubmiſſion.

Other nations, when in diſtreſs, could weigh their ſufferings againſt the conceſſions which they were required to make; and, among the evils to which they were expoſed, preferred what appeared to be the leaſt. The Romans alone ſpurned the advances of a victorious enemy; were not to be moved by ſufferings; and, though they cautiouſly avoided difficulties that were likely to ſurpaſs their ſtrength, did not allow it to be ſuppoſed that they were governed by fear in any caſe whatever. They willingly treated with the vanquiſhed, and were ready to grant the moſt liberal terms when the conceſſion could not be imputed to weakneſs or fear. By ſuch free and unforced conceſſions, indeed, they eſtabliſhed a reputation for generoſity, which contributed, no leſs than their valour, to ſecure the dominion they acquired.

With the ſame inſinuating titles of allies or protectors, by which they had, in the infant ſtate of their policy, brought all the cantons of Latium to follow their ſtandard; they continued to take the aſcendant over nations whom they could not have otherwiſe ſubdued. But as they were liberal in their friendſhips, ſo, after repeated provocations ſeemed to juſtify a different conduct, they were terrible in their reſentments, and took ample compenſation for the favours they had formerly beſtowed.

By their famous maxim in war, already mentioned, That *the ſubmiſſive were to be ſpared*, and *the proud to be humbled*, it became neceſſary for them, in every quarrel, to conquer or to periſh; and, when theſe were the alternatives propoſed by them, other nations were intitled to conſider them as common enemies. No State has a right to make the ſubmiſſion of mankind a neceſſary condition to its own preſervation;

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preſervation; nor are many States qualified to ſupport ſuch pretenſions. Some part of this political character, however, is neceſſary to the ſafety, as well as to the advancement, of nations. No free State or Republic is ſafe under any other government or defence than that of its own citizens. No nation is ſafe that permits any ally to ſuffer by having eſpouſed its cauſe, or that allows itſelf to be driven, by defeats or misfortunes, into a ſurrender of any material part of its rights.

The meaſure of the Roman conqueſts, in the beginning of the ſeventh century of Rome, though great, was yet far from being full; and the People had not hitherto relaxed the induſtry, nor cooled in the ardour with which proſperous nations advance, but which they frequently remit in the height of their attainments and of their power.

The conſtitution of the commonwealth ſtill afforded a plentiful nurſery of men for both the civil and military departments; and this People accordingly continued for ſome time to advance with a quick pace in the career of their conqueſts. They ſubdued mighty kingdoms with as great, or greater facility, than that with which they had formerly conquered villages and ſingle fields.

But the enlargement of their territory, and the ſucceſs of their arms abroad, became the ſources of a ruinous corruption at home. The wealth of provinces began to flow into the city, and filled the coffers of private citizens, as well as thoſe of the commonwealth. The offices of State and the command of armies were become lucrative as well as honourable, and were coveted on the former account. In the State itſelf the governing and the governed felt ſeparate intereſts, and were at variance, from motives of avarice, as well as ambition; and, inſtead of the parties who formerly ſtrove for diſtinction, and for the palm of merit in the ſervice of the commonwealth, factions aroſe, who contended for the greateſt ſhare of its ſpoils, and who ſacrificed the public to their party-attachments and animoſities.

Two

Two hundred and thirty years had elapſed ſince the animoſities of Patrician and Plebeian were extinguiſhed by the equal participation of public honours. This diſtinction itſelf was in a great meaſure obliterated, and gave way to a new one, which, under the denominations of Nobles and Commons, or Illuſtrious and Obſcure, without involving any legal diſparity of privileges, gave riſe to an ariſtocracy, which was partly hereditary, founded in the repeated ſucceſſion to honours in the ſame family; and partly perſonal, founded in the habits of high ſtation, and in the advantages of education, ſuch as never fail to diſtinguiſh the conditions of men in every great and proſperous ſtate.

Theſe circumſtances conferred a power on the Nobles, which, though leſs invidious, was not leſs real than that which had been poſſeſſed by the ancient Patricians. The exerciſe of this power was lodged with the Senate, a body which, though by the emulation of its members too much diſpoſed to war, and ambitious of conqueſt, was probably never ſurpaſſed in magnanimity, ability, or in ſteadineſs, by any council of ſtate whatever.

The People had ſubmitted to the Senate, as poſſeſſed of an authority which was founded in the prevailing opinion of their ſuperior worth; and even the moſt aſpiring of the Commons allowed themſelves to be governed by an order of men, amongſt whom they themſelves, by proper efforts and ſuitable merit, might hope to aſcend. The examples of preferment, and the riſe of individuals, from the loweſt to the higheſt ranks of the commonwealth, though for the moſt part received with ſome degree of jealouſy by thoſe who were already in poſſeſſion of the higher condition, were nevertheleſs frequent, and extinguiſhed all appearance of an excluſive pretenſion to the honours of the State in any order or claſs of the People.

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The Knights, or the Equeſtrian order, being perſons poſſeſſed of eſtates or effects of a certain valuation [1], formed between the Senate and the People an intermediate rank, who, in conſequence of their having a capital, and being leſs engaged than the Senators in affairs of State, became traders, contractors, farmers of the revenue, and conſtituted a ſpecies of moneyed intereſt in the city, and in the provinces.

Such, during the latter part of the period of which the events have been already related, was the diſtribution of rank in this commonwealth. But circumſtances which appear to be fixed in the political ſtate of nations, are often no more than a paſſage in the ſhifting of ſcenes, or a tranſition from that which a people have been, to what they are about to become. The Nobles began to avail themſelves of the high authority and advantages of their ſtation, and to accumulate property as well as honours. The country began to be occupied with their plantations and their ſlaves. The number of great landed eſtates, and the multiplication of ſlaves, kept pace together. This manner of ſtocking plantations was neceſſary or expedient in the circumſtances of the Romans: for if the Roman citizen, who poſſeſſed ſo much conſequence in his military and political capacity, had been willing to become a hireling and a ſervant, yet it was not the intereſt of maſters to entruſt their affairs to perſons who were liable to be preſſed into the legions, or who were ſo often called away to the comitia and aſſemblies of the People.

Citizens contended for offices in the State as the road to lucrative appointments abroad; and when they had obtained this end, and had reigned for a while in ſome province, they brought back from their governments a profuſion of wealth ill acquired, and the habit of arbitrary and uncontrouled command. When diſappointed in the purſuits of fortune abroad, they became the leaders of dangerous fac-

[1] 400,000 Roman money, or about 3,000 l.

tions

tions at home; or when ſuddenly poſſeſſed of great wealth, they became the agents of corruption to diſſeminate idleneſs, and the love of ruinous amuſements, in the minds of the People.

The ſecluſion of the Equeſtrian order from the purſuit of political emolument or honour, and the opportunities they had, by contracts and by farming the revenue, to improve their fortunes in a different way, confirmed them in the habits of trade, and the attention to lucrative conſiderations.

The city was gradually crowded with a populace, who, tempted with the cheap or gratuitous diſtribution of corn, by the frequency of public ſhews, by the conſequence they enjoyed as members of the popular aſſemblies, or perhaps diſlodged from the country by the engroſſers of land, and the preference which was given to the labour of ſlaves over that of freemen, flocked from the colonies and municipal towns to reſide at Rome. There they were corrupted by idleneſs and indigence, and the order itſelf was continually debaſed by the frequent acceſſion of emancipated ſlaves.

The Romans, who were become ſo jealous of their prerogative as citizens, had no other way of diſpoſing of a ſlave, who had obtained his freedom, than by placing him on the rolls of the People; and from this quarter accordingly the numbers of the People were chiefly recruited. The emancipated ſlave took the name of his maſter, became a client, and a retainer of his family; and at funerals and other ſolemnities, where the pomp was diſtinguiſhed by the number of attendants, made a part of the retinue. This claſs of men accordingly received continual additions, from the vanity or weakneſs of thoſe who choſe to change their ſlaves into dependent citizens; and numbers who had been conducted to Rome as captives, or who had been purchaſed in Aſia or Greece, at a price proportioned to the pleaſurable arts they poſſeſſed, became an acceſſion to that turbulent populace, who, in the quality of Roman citizens, tyrannized in their turn:

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turn over the maſters of the world, and wrecked on the conquerors of ſo many nations the evils which they themſelves had ſo freely inflicted on mankind [2].

Citizens of this extraction could not for ages arrive at any places of truſt, in which they could, by their perſonal defects, injure the commonwealth; but they increaſed, by their numbers and their vices, the weight of that dreg, which, in great and proſperous cities, ever ſinks, by the tendency of vice and miſconduct, to the loweſt condition. They became a part of that faction who are ever actuated by envy to their ſuperiors, by mercenary views, or by abject fear; who are ever ready to eſpouſe the cauſe of any leader againſt the reſtraints of public order; diſpoſed to vilify the more reſpectable ranks of men; and by their indifference on the ſubjects of juſtice or honour, to fruſtrate every principle that may be employed for the government of mankind, beſides fear and compulſion.

Although citizens of this deſcription were yet far from being the majority at Rome, yet it is probable that they were in numbers ſufficient to contaminate the whole body of the People; and, if enrolled promiſcuouſly in all the tribes, might have had great weight in turning the ſcale of political councils. This effect, however, was happily prevented by the wiſe precaution which the Cenſors had taken to confine all citizens of mean or ſlaviſh extraction to four of the Tribes. Theſe were called the Tribes of the City, and formed but a ſmall proportion of the whole [3].

Notwithſtanding this precaution, we muſt ſuppoſe them to have been very improper parties in the participation of ſovereignty, and likely enough to diſturb the place of aſſembly with diſorders and tumults.

[2] Velleius, lib. ii. c. 4.

[3] Liv. lib. ix. c. 46. When this precaution was taken by Fabius Maximus, the Tribes amounted to thirty-one. See the ſucceſſive additions by which the Tribes were brought up to this number, Liv. lib. vi. c. 5. lib. vii. c. 15. lib. viii. c. 17. lib. ix. c. 20.

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While the State was advancing to the ſovereignty of Italy, and while the territories ſucceſſively acquired were cleared for the reception of Roman citizens, by the reduction and captivity of the natives, there was an outlet for the redundancy of this growing populace, and its overflowings were accordingly diſperſed over Italy, from Rhegium to Aquileia, in about ſeventy colonies. But the country being now completely ſettled, and the property of its inhabitants eſtabliſhed, it was no longer poſſible to provide for the indigent citizens in this manner; and the practice of ſettling new colonies, which had been ſo uſeful in planting, and ſecuring the conqueſts which were made in Italy, had not yet been extended beyond this country, nor employed as the means of ſecuring any of the provinces lately acquired. Mere colonization, indeed, would have been an improper and inadequate meaſure for this purpoſe; and in time of the republic never was, in any conſiderable degree, extended beyond ſea. The provinces were placed under military government, and were to be retained in ſubmiſſion by bodies of regular troops. Roman citizens had little inclination to remove their habitations beyond the limits of Italy; and if they had, would have been unable, in the mere capacity of civil corporations and pacific ſettlements, to carry into execution the exactions of a government which they themſelves now become inhabitants and proprietors of land in thoſe provinces, would have ſoon been intereſted to oppoſe: for theſe reaſons, although the Roman territory was greatly extended, the reſources of the poorer citizens were diminiſhed. The former diſcharge for many dangerous humours that were found to ariſe among them, was in ſome meaſure ſhut up, and theſe humours began to regorge on the State.

While the inferior people at Rome ſunk in their characters, or were debaſed by the circumſtances we have mentioned, the ſuperior ranks, by their application to affairs of State, by their education, by the ideas of high birth and family-diſtinction, by the ſuperiority of fortune,

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began to rise in their estimation, in their pretensions, and in their power; and they entertained some degree of contempt for persons, whom the laws still required them to admit as their fellow-citizens and equals.

In this disposition of parties so dangerous in a commonwealth, and amidst materials so likely to catch the flame, some sparks were thrown that soon kindled up anew all the popular animosities which seemed to have been so long extinguished. We have been carried, in the preceding narration, by the series of events, somewhat beyond the date of transactions that come now to be related. While Scipio was employed in the siege of Numantia, and while the Roman officers in Sicily were yet unable to reduce the revolted slaves, Tiberius Gracchus, born of a Plebeian family, but ennobled by the honours of his father, by his descent on the side of his mother from the first Scipio Africanus, and by his alliance with the second Scipio, who had married his sister, being now Tribune of the People, and possessed of all the accomplishments required in a popular leader, great ardour, resolution, and eloquence, formed a project in itself extremely alarming, and in its consequences dangerous to the peace of the republic.

Like other young men of high pretensions at Rome, Tiberius Gracchus had begun his military service at the usual age, had served with reputation under his brother-in-law, Scipio, at the siege of Carthage, afterwards as Quæstor, under Mancinus in Spain, where the credit of his father, well known in that province, pointed him out to the natives as the only person with whom they would negociate in the treaty that ensued. The disgrace he incurred in this transaction gave him a distaste to the military service, and to foreign affairs. When he was called to account for it, the severity he experienced from the Senate, and the protection he obtained from the People,

People, filled his breaſt with an animoſity to the one, and a prepoſſeſſion in favour of the other [5].

Actuated by theſe diſpoſitions, or by an idea not uncommon to enthuſiaſtic minds, that *the unequal diſtribution of property, ſo favourable to the rich, is an injury to the poor*; he now propoſed in part to remedy or to mitigate this ſuppoſed evil, by reviving the celebrated law of Licinius, by which Roman citizens had been reſtrained from accumulating eſtates in land above the value of five hundred jugera [6], or from having more than one hundred of the larger cattle, and five hundred of the leſſer.

In his travels through Italy, he ſaid, he had obſerved that the property of land was beginning to be engroſſed by a few of the nobles, and that the country was entirely occupied by ſlaves to the excluſion of freemen: that the race of Roman citizens would ſoon be extinct [7], if proper ſettlements were not provided to enable the poor to ſupport their families, and to educate their children; and he alleged, that if eſtates in land were reduced to the meaſure preſcribed by law, the ſurplus left would then be ſufficient for this purpoſe.

Being determined however, as much as poſſible, to prevent the oppoſition of the nobles, and to reconcile the intereſt of both parties to his ſcheme, he propoſed to make ſome abatements in the rigour of the Licinian law, allowing every family, holding five hundred jugera in right of the father, to hold half as much in the right of every unemancipated ſon; and propoſed, that every perſon who ſhould ſuffer any diminution of his property in conſequence of the intended reform, ſhould have compenſation made to him; and that the ſum neceſſary for this purpoſe ſhould be iſſued from the treaſury.

[5] Cicero de Claris Oratoribus, c. 27.

[6] Little more than half as many acres.

[7] Plutarch. in Tib. Gracch.

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In this manner he ſet out with an appearance of moderation, acting in concert with ſome leading men in the State and members of the Senate, ſuch as Appius Claudius, whoſe daughter he had married, a Senator of the family of Craſſus, who was then at the head of the prieſthood, and Mutius Scævola, the Conſul.

To complete the intended reformation, and to prevent for the future the accumulation of eſtates in land, the ſale or commerce of land was from thenceforward to be prohibited; and three commiſſioners were to be annually named, to enſure the execution and regular obſervance of this law.

This project, however plauſible, it is probable, was extremely unſeaſonable, and ill ſuited to the ſtate of the commonwealth. The law of Licinius had paſſed in the year of Rome three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, no more than fourteen years after the city was reſtored from its deſtruction by the Gauls, and about two hundred and fifty years before this date; and though properly ſuited to a ſmall republic, and even neceſſary to preſerve a democracy, was, in that condition of the People, received with difficulty, and was ſoon treſpaſſed upon even by the perſon himſelf on whoſe ſuggeſtion it had been moved and obtained: that it was become obſolete, and gone into diſuſe, appeared from the abuſes which were now complained of, and to which its renewal was propoſed as a remedy. It was become in a great meaſure impracticable, and even dangerous in the preſent ſtate of the republic. The diſtinctions of poor and rich are as neceſſary in States of conſiderable extent, as labour and good government. The poor are deſtined to labour, and the rich, by the advantages of education, independence, and leiſure, are qualified for ſuperior ſtations. The empire was now greatly extended, and owed its ſafety and the order of its government to a reſpectable ariſtocracy, founded on the poſſeſſion of fortune, as well as perſonal qualities and public honours. The rich were not, without

ſome

ſome violent convulſion, to be ſtript of eſtates which they themſelves had bought, or which they had inherited from their anceſtors. The poor were not qualified at once to be raiſed to a ſtate of equality with perſons inured to a better condition. The project ſeemed to be as ruinous to government as it was to the ſecurity of property, and tended to place the members of the commonwealth, by one raſh and precipitate ſtep, in ſituations in which they were not at all qualified to act.

For theſe reaſons, as well as from motives of private intereſt affecting the majority of the nobles, the project of Tiberius was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Senate; and from motives of envy, intereſt, or miſtaken zeal for juſtice, as warmly ſupported by the oppoſite party. At the ſeveral aſſemblies of the People which were called to deliberate on this ſubject, Tiberius, exalting the characters of freemen contraſted with ſlaves, diſplayed the copious and pathetic eloquence in which he excelled. All the free inhabitants of Italy were Romans, or nearly allied to this people. He obſerved how much, being ſupplanted by the ſlaves of the rich, they were diminiſhed in their numbers. He inveighed againſt the practice of employing ſlaves, a claſs of men that bring perpetual danger, without any addition of ſtrength to the public, and who are ever ready to break forth in deſperate inſurrections, as they had then actually done in Sicily, where they ſtill occupied the Roman arms in a tedious and ruinous war [8].

In declaiming on the mortifications and hardſhips of the indigent citizen, he had recourſe to the arguments commonly advanced to explode the inequalities of mankind. "Every wild beaſt," he ſaid, "in this happy land has a cover or place of retreat. But many "valiant and reſpectable citizens, who have expoſed their lives, and "who have ſhed their blood in the ſervice of their country, have not

[8] Appian. de Bell. Civ.

"a home

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" a home to which they may retire. They wander with their wives " and their children, ſtript of every poſſeſſion, but that of the air and " the light. To ſuch men the common military exhortation, *to fight* " *for the tombs of their fathers, and for the altars of their houſehold* " *gods*, is a mockery and a lie. They have no altars; they have " no monuments. They fight and they die to augment the eſtates, " and to pamper the luxury of a few wealthy citizens, who have " engroſſed all the riches of the commonwealth. As citizens of " Rome, they are intitled *the maſters of the world*, but poſſeſs not " a foot of earth on which they may reſt [9]."

He aſked, " whether it were not reaſonable to apply what was " public to public uſes? whether a freeman were not preferable to " a ſlave, a brave man to a coward, and a fellow-citizen to a ſtranger? " He expatiated on the fortune, and ſtated the future proſpects of the " republic. Much," he ſaid, " ſhe had acquired, and had yet more " to acquire: that the People, by their deciſion in the preſent queſ- " tion were to determine, whether they were, by multiplying their " numbers, to encreaſe their ſtrength, and be in a condition to con- " quer what yet remained of the world? or, by ſuffering the re- " ſources of the whole People to get into the hands of a few, they " were to permit their numbers to decline, and to become unable, " againſt nations envious and jealous of their power, even to main- " tain the ground they already had gained?

" He exhorted the preſent proprietors of land, whom the law of " diviſion might affect, not to withhold, for the ſake of a trifling " intereſt to themſelves, ſo great an advantage from their country. " He bade them conſider whether they would not, by the ſecure " poſſeſſion of five hundred jugera, and of half as much to each of " their children, be ſufficiently rewarded for the conceſſions now

[9] Plutarch. in Vit. Tib. Gracch.

" required in behalf of the public; put them in mind that riches " were merely comparative; and that, in reſpect to this advantage, " they were ſtill to remain in the firſt rank of their fellow-" citizens [10]."

By theſe and ſimilar arguments he endeavoured to obtain the conſent of one party, and to inflame the zeal of the other. But when he came to propoſe, that the law ſhould be read, he found that his opponents had availed themſelves of their uſual defence; had procured Mr Octavius, one of his own colleagues, to interpoſe with his negative, and to forbid any farther proceeding in the buſineſs. Here, according to the forms of the conſtitution, this matter ſhould have dropped. The Tribunes were inſtituted to defend their own party, not to attack their opponents; and to prevent, not to promote innovations. Every ſingle Tribune had a negative on the whole. But Tiberius, thus ſuddenly ſtopped in his career, became the more impetuous and confirmed in his purpoſe. Having adjourned the aſſembly to another day, he prepared a motion more violent than the former, in which he eraſed all the clauſes by which he had endeavoured to ſoften the hardſhips likely to fall on the rich. He propoſed, that, without expecting any compenſation, they ſhould abſolutely cede the ſurplus of their poſſeſſions, as being obtained by fraud and injuſtice.

In this time of ſuſpence, the controverſy began to divide the colonies and free cities of Italy, and was warmly agitated wherever the citizens had extended their property. The rich and the poor took oppoſite ſides. They collected their arguments, and they muſtered their ſtrength. The firſt had recourſe to the topics which are commonly employed on the ſide of preſcription, urging that, in ſome caſes, they had poſſeſſed their eſtates from time immemorial;

[10] Appian. de Bell. Civ.

and

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and that the lands they poſſeſſed were become valuable, only in conſequence of the induſtry and labour which they themſelves had employed to improve them: that, in other caſes, they had actually bought their eſtates: that the public faith, under which they were ſuffered to purchaſe, was now engaged to protect and ſecure their poſſeſſion: that, in reliance on this faith, they had erected, on theſe lands, the ſepulchres of their fathers; they had pledged them for the dowries of their wives and the portions of their children, and mortgaged them as ſecurity for the debts they had contracted: that a law regulating or limiting the farther encreaſe or accumulation of property might be ſuffered; but that a law, having a retroſpect, and operating in violation of the rights, and to the ruin of ſo many families, was altogether unjuſt, and even impracticable in the execution.

The poor, on the contrary, pleaded their own indigence and their merits; urged that they were no longer in a capacity to fill the ſtation of Roman citizens or of freemen, nor in a condition to ſettle families or to rear children, the future hopes of the commonwealth: that no private perſon could plead immemorial poſſeſſion of lands which had been acquired for the public. They enumerated the wars which they themſelves, or their anceſtors, had maintained in the conqueſt of thoſe lands. They concluded, that every citizen was entitled to his ſhare of the public conqueſts; and that the arguments which were urged to ſupport the poſſeſſions of the nobles, only tended to ſhew how preſumptuous and inſolent ſuch uſurpations, if ſuffered to remain, were likely to become.

This mode of reaſoning appears plauſible; but it is dangerous to adopt by halves even reaſon itſelf. If it were reaſonable that every Roman citizen ſhould have an equal ſhare of the conquered lands, it was ſtill more reaſonable, that the original proprietors, from whom thoſe lands had been unjuſtly taken, ſhould have them reſtored. If, in this, the maxims of reaſon and juſtice had been obſerved, Rome would

would have ſtill been a ſmall community, and might have acted with ſafety on the principles of equality which are ſuited to a ſmall republic. But the Romans, becoming ſovereigns of a great and extenſive territory, muſt adopt the diſparities, and ſubmit to the ſubordinations, which mankind univerſally have found natural, and even neceſſary, to their government in ſuch ſituations.

Multitudes of people from all parts of Italy, ſome earneſtly deſirous to have the law enacted, others to have it ſet aſide, crowded to Rome to attend the deciſion of the queſtion; and Gracchus, without dropping his intention, as uſual, upon the negative of his colleague, only bethought himſelf how he might ſurmount, or remove this obſtruction.

Having hitherto lived in perſonal intimacy with Octavius, he tried to gain him in private; and having failed in this attempt, he entered into expoſtulations with him, in preſence of the public aſſembly; deſired to know, whether he feared to have his own eſtate impaired by the effects of the law; for if ſo, he offered to indemnify him fully in whatever he might ſuffer by the execution of it: and being ſtill unable to ſhake his colleague, who was ſupported by the countenance of the Senate and the higher ranks of men in the State, he determined to try the force of his Tribunitian powers to compel him, laid the State itſelf under a general interdict, ſealed up the doors of the treaſury, ſuſpended the proceedings in the courts of the Prætors, and put a ſtop to all the functions of office in the city.

All the nobility and ſuperior claſs of the People went into mourning. Tiberius, in his turn, endeavoured to alarm the paſſions of his party; and believing, or pretending to believe, that he himſelf was in danger of being aſſaſſinated, had a number of perſons with arms to defend his perſon.

While the city was in this ſtate of ſuſpence and confuſion, the Tribes were again aſſembled, and Tiberius, in defiance of the negative of

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his colleague, was proceeding to call the votes, when many of the People, alarmed by this intended violation of the ſacred law, crowded in before the Tribe that was moving to ballot, and ſeized the urns. A great tumult was likely to ariſe. The popular party, being moſt numerous, were crowding around their leader, when two Senators, Manlius and Fulvius, both of conſular dignity, fell at his feet, embraced his knees, and beſeeched him not to proceed. Overcome with the reſpect that was due to perſons of this rank, and with the ſenſe of ſome impending calamity, he aſked, What they would have him to do? "The caſe," they ſaid, "is too arduous for us to de-"cide; refer it to the Senate, and await their decree."

Proceedings were accordingly ſuſpended until the Senate had met, and declared a reſolution not to confirm the law. Gracchus reſumed the ſubject with the People, being determined either to remove, or to ſlight the negative of his colleague. He propoſed, that either the refractory Tribune, or himſelf, ſhould be immediately ſtript of his dignity. He deſired that Octavius ſhould put the queſtion firſt, Whether Tiberius Gracchus ſhould be degraded? This being declined as irregular and vain, he declared his intention to move in the aſſembly, on the following day, That Octavius ſhould be diveſted of the character of Tribune.

Hitherto all parties had proceeded agreeably to the laws and conſtitution of the commonwealth; but this motion, to degrade a Tribune, by whatever authority, was equally ſubverſive of both. The perſon and dignity of Tribunes, in order that they might be ſecure from violence, whether offered by any private perſon, public magiſtrate, or even by the People themſelves, were guarded by the moſt ſacred vows. Their perſons, therefore, during the continuance of their office, were ſacred; ſo long their character was indelible, and, without their own conſent, they could not be removed by any power whatever.

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The assembly, however, being met in consequence of this alarming adjournment, Tiberius renewed his prayer to Octavius to withdraw his negative; but not prevailing in this request, the Tribes were directed to proceed. The votes of seventeen were already given to *degrade*. In taking those of the eighteenth, which would have made a majority, the Tribunes made a pause, while Tiberius embraced his colleague, and, with a voice to be heard by the multitude of the People, beseeched him to spare himself the indignity, and others the regret, of so severe, though necessary, a measure. Octavius shook: but, observing the Senators who were present, recovered his resolution, and bid Tiberius proceed as he thought proper. The votes of the majority were accordingly declared, and Octavius, reduced to a private station, was dragged from the Tribunes bench, and exposed to the rage of the populace. Attempts were made on his life, and a faithful slave, that endeavoured to save him, was dangerously wounded; but a number of the more respectable citizens interposed, and Tiberius himself was active in favouring his escape.

Lex Sempronia.

This obstacle being removed, the act so long depending, for making a more equal division of lands, was passed; and three commissioners, Tiberius Gracchus, Appius Claudius, his father-in-law, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, then a youth serving under Publius Scipio at the siege of Numantia, were named to carry the law into execution.

This act, as it concerned the interest of almost every inhabitant of Italy, immediately raised a great ferment in every part of the country. Persons holding considerable estates in land were alarmed for their property. The poor were elated with the hopes of becoming suddenly rich. If there was a middling class not to be greatly affected in their own situation, they still trembled for the effects of a contest between such parties. The Senate endeavoured

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to delay the execution of the law, withheld the uſual aids and appointments given to the commiſſioners of the People in the ordinary adminiſtration of public truſts, and waited for a fit opportunity to ſuppreſs entirely this hazardous project. Parties looked on each other with a gloomy and ſuſpicious ſilence. A perſon, who had been active in procuring the Agrarian Law, having died in this critical juncture, his death was alleged to be the effect of poiſon adminiſtered by the oppoſite party. Numbers of the people, to countenance a report to this purpoſe, went into mourning; even Gracchus, affecting to believe a like deſign to be forming againſt himſelf, appeared, with his children and their mother, as ſuppliants in the ſtreets, and implored the protection of the People. Still more to intereſt their paſſions in his ſafety, he publiſhed a liſt of the acts which he then had in view, all tending to gratify the People, or to mortify the Senate. Attalus, king of Pergamus, having, about this time, bequeathed his dominions and his treaſure to the Romans, Gracchus procured an act to transfer the adminiſtration of this inheritance from the Senate to the People; and to diſtribute the money found in the treaſury of Pergamus to the poorer citizens, the better to enable them to cultivate and to ſtock the lands which were now to be given them. He obtained another act to circumſcribe the power of the Senate, by joining the Equeſtrian order with the Senators in the nomination to juries, or in forming the occaſional tribunals of juſtice.

Theſe, with the preceding attempts to aboliſh or to weaken the ariſtocratical part of the government, were juſtly alarming to every perſon who was anxious for the preſervation of the State. As the policy of this Tribune tended to ſubſtitute popular tumults for ſober councils and a regular magiſtracy, it gave an immediate proſpect of anarchy, which threatened to produce ſome violent uſurpation. The ſacred office which he ſo much abuſed, had ſerved, on occaſions, to check the caprice of the People, as well as to reſtrain the abuſe of the executive

executive power. The late violation it had ſuffered, was likely to render it entirely unfit for the firſt of theſe purpoſes, and to make the Tribune an inſtrument to execute the momentary will of the People, or to make the continuance of his truſt depend upon his willingneſs to ſerve this purpoſe. Tiberius heard himſelf arraigned in the Forum, and in every public aſſembly, for the violation of the ſacred law. " If any of your colleagues," ſaid Titus Annius (whom he proſecuted for a ſpeech in the Senate), " ſhould interpoſe in my behalf, would " you have him alſo degraded?"

The People in general began to be ſenſible of the enormity they themſelves had committed, and Tiberius found himſelf under a neceſſity of pleading for the meaſure he had taken, after it had been carried into execution. The perſon of the Tribune, he obſerved, was ſacred; becauſe it was conſecrated by the People, whom the Tribunes repreſented: but if the Tribune, inconſiſtent with his character, ſhould injure where he was appointed to protect, ſhould weaken a claim he was appointed to enforce, and withhold from the People that right of deciſion which he was appointed to guard, the Tribune, not the People, was to blame for the conſequences.

" Other crimes," he ſaid, " may be enormous, yet may not deſtroy " the eſſence of the Tribunitian character. An attempt to demoliſh " the Capitol, or to burn the fleets of the republic, might excite an " univerſal and juſt indignation, without rendering the perſon of the " Tribune who ſhould be accuſed of them leſs ſacred. But an at- " tempt to take away the power by which his own office ſubſiſts, and " which is centred in himſelf only for the better exertion of that " power, is a voluntary and criminal abdication of the truſt. What " is the Tribune but the officer of the People? Strange! that this " officer may, by virtue of authority derived from the People, drag " even the Conſul himſelf to priſon, and yet that the People them-

" ſelves

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" ſelves cannot depoſe their own officer, when he is about to annul
" the authority by which he himſelf is appointed.

" Was ever authority more ſacred than that of king? It in-
" volved in itſelf the prerogatives of every magiſtrate, and was like-
" wiſe conſecrated by holding the prieſthood of the immortal gods.
" Yet did not the People baniſh Tarquin? and thus, for the offence
" of one man, aboliſh the primitive government, under the auſpices
" of which the foundations of this city were laid.

" What more ſacred at Rome than the perſons of the Veſtal Vir-
" gins, who have the cuſtody of the holy fire? Yet are they not for
" ſlight offences ſometimes buried alive? Impiety to the gods being
" ſuppoſed to cancel a title which reverence to the gods had conferred,
" muſt not injuries to the People ſuppreſs an authority which a re-
" gard to the People has conſtituted?

" That perſon muſt fall, who himſelf removes the baſe on which
" he is ſupported. A majority of the Tribes creates a Tribune;
" Cannot the whole depoſe? What more ſacred than the things
" which are dedicated at the ſhrines of the immortal gods? yet theſe
" the People may employ or remove at pleaſure. Why not transfer
" the Tribunate, as a conſecrated title, from one perſon to another?
" May not the whole People, by their ſovereign authority, do what
" every perſon in this ſacred office is permitted to do, when he re-
" ſigns or abdicates his power by a ſimple expreſſion of his will."

Theſe ſpecious arguments tended to introduce the plea of neceſſity where there was no foundation for it, and to ſet the ſovereign power, in every ſpecies of government, looſe from the rules which itſelf had enacted. Such arguments accordingly had no effect where the intereſt of the parties did not concur to enforce them. Tiberius ſaw his credit on the decline. He was publicly menaced with impeachment, and had given ſufficient provocation to make him apprehend that,

that, upon the expiration of his office, ſome violence might be offered to himſelf[11]. His perſon was guarded only by the ſacred character of the Tribune. The firſt ſtep he ſhould make in the new character he was to aſſume, as commiſſioner for the diviſion of lands, was likely to terminate his life. He reſolved, if poſſible, to take ſhelter in the Tribunate another year, and, to procure this favour from the People, gave farther expectations of popular acts; of one to ſhorten the term of military ſervice, and of another to grant an appeal to the People from the courts of juſtice lately eſtabliſhed.

The Senate, and every citizen who profeſſed a regard to the conſtitution, were alarmed. This attempt, they ſaid, to perpetuate the Tribunitian power in the ſame perſon, tends directly to tyranny. The uſurper, with the lawleſs multitude that ſupports him, muſt ſoon expel from the public aſſemblies every citizen who is inclined to moderation; and, together with the property of our lands, to which they already aſpire, make themſelves maſter of the State. Their leader, it ſeems, like every other tyrant, already thinks that his ſafety depends upon the continuance of his power.

In this feveriſh ſtate of ſuſpence and anxiety, great efforts were made to determine the elections. The time of chooſing the Tribunes was now faſt approaching: Roman citizens, diſperſed on their lands throughout Italy, were engaged in the harveſt, and could not repair to the city. On the day of election the aſſembly was ill attended, eſpecially by thoſe who were likely to favour Tiberius. He being rejected by the firſt Tribes that moved to the ballot, his friends endeavoured to amuſe the aſſembly with forms, and to protract the debates, till obſerving that the field did not fill, nor the appearance change for the better, they moved to adjourn to the following day.

In this receſs Tiberius put on mourning, went forth to the ſtreets with his children, and, in behalf of hapleſs infants, that might al-

[11] Oroſius, lib. v. c. 8.

ready

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ready be conſidered as orphans, on the eve of loſing their parent in the cauſe of freedom, implored the protection of the People; gave out that the party of the rich, to hinder his being re-elected, had determined to force their way into his houſe in the night, and to murder him. Numbers were affected by theſe diſmal repreſentations: a multitude crowded to his doors, and watched all night in the ſtreets.

On the arrival of morning and the approach of the aſſembly, the declining appearance of his affairs ſuggeſted preſages; and the ſuperſtition of the times has furniſhed hiſtory with the omens, by which himſelf and his friends were greatly diſmayed. He, nevertheleſs, with a crowd of his partizans, took his way to the Capitol, where the People had been appointed to aſſemble. His attendants multiplied, and numbers from the aſſembly deſcended the ſteps to meet him. Upon his entry a ſhout was raiſed, and his party appeared ſufficiently ſtrong, if not to prevail in their choice, perhaps by their violence to deter every citizen of a different mind from attending the election.

A choſen body took poſt round the perſon of Tiberius, with direction to ſuffer no ſtranger to approach him. A ſignal was agreed upon, in caſe it were neceſſary to employ force. Mean time the Senators, on their part, were haſtily aſſembled in the Temple of Faith, in anxious deliberations on the meaſures to be followed.

When the firſt tribe delivered their votes, a confuſion aroſe among the People. Numbers from the more diſtant parts of the aſſembly began to preſs forward to the centre. Among others, Fulvius Flaccus, a Senator yet attached to Tiberius, being too far off to be heard, beckoned with his hand that he would ſpeak with the Tribunes. Having made his way through the multitude, he informed Tiberius, that a reſolution was taken in the Senate to reſiſt him by force; and that a party of Senators, with their clients and ſlaves, was arming againſt his life. All who were near enough to hear this information,

took the alarm, ſnatched the ſtaves from the officers that attended the Tribunes, and tucked up their robes as for immediate violence. The alarm ſpread through the aſſembly, and many called out to know the cauſe, but no diſtinct account could be heard. Tiberius, having in vain attempted to ſpeak, made a ſign, by waving his hand round his head, that his life was in danger. This ſign, together with the hoſtile and menacing appearances that gave riſe to it, being inſtantly reported in the Senate, and interpreted as a hint given to the People, that it was neceſſary he ſhould be crowned, or that he ſhould aſſume the ſovereignty, the Senate immediately reſolved, in a form that was uſual on alarming occaſions, that the Conſul ſhould provide for the ſafety of the State. This reſolution was ſuppoſed to confer a dictatorial power, and was generally given when immediate execution or ſummary proceedings were deemed to be neceſſary, without even ſufficient time for the formalities obſerved in naming a Dictator. The Conſul Mucius Scævola, who had been in concert with Tiberius in drawing up the firſt frame of his law, but who probably had left him in the extremes to which he afterwards proceeded; on the preſent occaſion, however, declined to employ force againſt a Tribune of the People, or to diſturb the Tribes in the midſt of their legal aſſembly. "If they ſhall come," he ſaid, "to any violent or illegal "determination, I will employ the whole force of my authority to "prevent its effects."

In this expreſſion of the Conſul there did not appear to the audience a proper diſpoſition for the preſent occaſion. The laws were violated: A deſperate party was prepared for any extremes: All ſober citizens, and even many of the Tribunes, had fled from the tumult: The prieſts of Jupiter had ſhut the gates of their temple: The laws, it was ſaid, ought to govern; but the laws cannot be pleaded by thoſe who have ſet them aſide, and they are no longer of any avail, unleſs they are reſtored by ſome exertion of vigour, fit to

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counteract the violence that has been offered to them. "The Con-
"ſul," ſaid Scipio Naſica, "deſerts the republic; let thoſe who wiſh
"to preſerve it, follow me." The Senators inſtantly aroſe, and moving in a body, which encreaſed as they went, by the concourſe of their clients, they ſeized the ſhafts of the faſces, or tore up the benches in their way, and, with their robes wound up, in place of ſhields, on their left arm, broke into the midſt of the aſſembly of the People.

Tiberius, ſurrounded by a numerous multitude, found his party unable to reſiſt the awe with which they were ſtruck by the preſence of the Senate and Nobles. The few who reſiſted were beat to the ground. He himſelf, while he fled, being ſeized by the robe, ſlipped it from his ſhoulders and continued to fly; but he ſtumbled in the crowd, and, while he attempted to recover himſelf, was ſlain with repeated blows. His body, as being that of a tyrant, together with the killed of his party, amounting to about three hundred, as accomplices in a treaſonable deſign againſt the republic, were denied the honours of burial, and thrown into the river. Some of the moſt active of his partiſans that eſcaped, were afterwards cited to appear, and were outlawed or condemned.

Thus, in the heats of this unhappy diſpute, both the Senate and the People had been carried to acts of violence that inſulted the laws and conſtitution of their country. This conſtitution was by no means too ſtrict and formal to contend with ſuch evils; for, beſides admitting a general latitude of conduct ſcarcely known under any other political eſtabliſhment, it had provided expedients for great and dangerous occaſions, which were ſufficient to extricate the commonwealth from greater extremities than thoſe to which it had been reduced in the courſe of this unfortunate conteſt.

The People, when reſtrained from their object by the negative of one of their Tribunes, had only to wait for the expiration of his office,

office, when, by a new election, they might ſo model the college as to be ſecure of its unanimous conſent in the particular meaſures to which they were then inclined. The precipitant violation of the ſacred law, a precedent which, if followed, muſt have rendered the Tribunes mere inſtruments of popular violence, not bars to reſtrain oppreſſion, filled the minds of the People with remorſe and horror, and gave to the Senate and Nobles a dreadful apprehenſion of what they were to expect from a party capable of ſuch a profane and violent extreme.

The policy of Tiberius Gracchus on the other hand, the laws he had obtained, his own re-election to ſecure the execution, and the ſequel of his plan, ſeemed to threaten the republic with diſtraction and anarchy, likely to end in his own uſurpation, or in that of ſome more artful demagogue. But even under theſe gloomy expectations the Senate could, by naming a Dictator, or by the commiſſion which they actually gave to the Conſul, have recourſe to a legal preventive, and might have repelled the impending evil by meaſures equally deciſive and powerful, though more legal than thoſe they employed. But the Conſul, it ſeems, was ſuſpected of connivance with the oppoſite party, had received his own commiſſion coldly, and could not be entruſted with the choice of a Dictator.

In theſe extremities, the violent reſolution that was taken by the Senate appears to have been neceſſary; and probably for the preſent ſaved the republic; preſerved it indeed, not in a ſound, but in a ſickly ſtate, and in a fever, which, with ſome intermiſſions, at every return of ſimilar diſorders, threatened it with the diſſolution and ruin of its whole conſtitution.

The diſorders that ariſe in free States which are beginning to corrupt, generally furniſh very difficult queſtions in the caſuiſtry of politicans. Even the ſtruggles of virtuous citizens, becauſe they do not prevent, are ſometimes ſuppoſed to haſten, the ruin of their

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country. The violence of the Senate, on this occaſion, was by many conſidered with averſion and horror. The ſubverſion of government, that was likely to have followed the policy of Gracchus, becauſe it did not take place, was overlooked; and the reſtitution of order, effected by the Senate, appeared to be a tyranny eſtabliſhed in blood. The Senators themſelves were ſtruck with ſome degree of remorſe, and, what is dangerous in politics, took a middle courſe between the extremes. They were cautious not to inflame animoſities, by any immoderate uſe of their late victory, nor by any immediate oppoſition to the execution of the popular law. They wiſhed to atone for the violences lately committed againſt the perſon of its author; they permitted Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo, two of the moſt daring leaders of the popular faction, to be elected commiſſioners for the execution of the Agrarian law, in the room of Tiberius and Appius Claudius, of whom the latter alſo died about this time; and, in order to ſtifle animoſities and reſentments, conſented that, under pretence of an embaſſy to Pergamus, Scipio Naſica ſhould be removed from Rome. In conſequence of this commiſſion, this illuſtrious citizen, the lineal deſcendant of one of the Scipios who periſhed in Spain in the time of the ſecond Punic war, himſelf an ornament to the republic, died in a ſpecies of exile, though under an honourable title.

In the midſt of ſuch agitations, foreign affairs were likely to be much overlooked. They proceeded, however, under the conduct of the officers to whom they were entruſted, with the uſual ſucceſs; and the Senate, having the reports made nearly about the ſame time, of the pacification of Luſitania, the deſtruction of Numantia, and the reduction and puniſhment of the ſlaves in Sicily, named commiſſioners to act in conjunction with the generals commanding in thoſe ſeveral ſervices, in order to ſettle their provinces.

Brutus

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Brutus and Scipio had their ſeveral triumphs; one with the title of Galaicus, for having reduced the Gallicians; the other, ſtill preferring the title of Africanus to that of Numantinus, which was offered to him for the ſack of Numantia.

The arrival of this reſpectable citizen was anxiouſly looked for by all parties, more to know what judgment he might paſs on the late operations at Rome, than on account of the triumph he obtained over enemies once formidable to his country. He was the near relation of Gracchus, and might, under pretence of revenging the death of that demagogue, have put himſelf at the head of a formidable party. He was himſelf perſonally reſpected and beloved by numbers of the citizens, who had carried arms under his command, who were recently arrived in Italy crowned with victory, and who might poſſibly, under pretence of vindicating the rights of the People, employ their arms againſt the republic. But the time of ſuch criminal views on the commonwealth was not yet arrived. Scipio already, upon hearing the fate of Gracchus, had expreſſed, in ſome words that eſcaped him, his approbation of the Senate's conduct. "So may every perſon periſh," he ſaid, "who ſhall dare to commit "ſuch crimes"[12]. Soon after his arrival from Spain, Papirius Carbo, the Tribune, called upon him aloud, in the aſſembly of the People, to declare what he thought of the death of Gracchus. "I muſt "think," he ſaid, "that if Gracchus meant to overturn the govern-"ment of his country, his death was fully merited." This declaration the multitude interrupted with murmurs of averſion and rage. Upon which Scipio, raiſing his tone, expreſſed the contempt under which it ſeems that the populace of Rome had already fallen. "I "have been accuſtomed," he ſaid, "to the ſhout of warlike enemies, "and cannot be affected by your daſtardly cries." Then alluding

[12] Plutarch. in Vit. Tiberii Gracchi.

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to the number of enfranchiſed ſlaves that were enrolled with the Tribes of the city, upon a ſecond cry of diſpleaſure, he continued, "Peace, ye aliens and ſtep-children of Italy". You are now free, "but many of you I have brought to this place in fetters, and ſold "at the halbert for ſlaves." Some were abaſhed by the truth, and all by the boldneſs of this contemptuous reproach, and ſhewed that popular aſſemblies, though veſted with ſupreme authority, may be ſometimes inſulted, as well as courted, with ſucceſs.

The part which Scipio took on this occaſion was the more remarkable, that he himſelf was to be reckoned among the poorer citizens, and might have been a gainer by the rigorous execution of the Licinian law. His whole inheritance, according to Pliny, amounted to thirty-two pounds, or three hundred and twenty ounces of ſilver, which might be now valued at about two hundred and eighty pounds ſterling.

Papirius Carbo ſpent the year of his Tribunate in fomenting the animoſity of the People againſt the Senate, and in promoting dangerous innovations. He obtained a law, by which the votes of the People, in queſtions of legiſlation as well as election [14], and the opinions of the judges in determining cauſes, were to be taken by ballot.

Lex Papiria. Tabellaria Tertia.

He was leſs ſucceſsful in the motion he made for a law to enable the ſame perſon to be repeatedly choſen into the office of Tribune. He was ſupported in this motion by Caius Gracchus; oppoſed by Scipio, Lælius, and the whole authority of the Senate [15], who dreaded the perpetuating in any one perſon a power, which the ſacredneſs of the character, and the attachment of the populace, rendered almoſt ſovereign and irreſiſtible.

While the intereſts of party were exerted in theſe ſeveral queſtions at home, the State was laying the foundation of new quarrels abroad,

[13] Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 4.
[14] Cic. de Legibus, lib. iii.
[15] Cic. de Amicitia.

and opening a ſcene of depredation and conqueſt in what was then the wealthieſt part of the known world. Soon after the death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, Ariſtonicus, his natural brother, being the illegitimate ſon of Eumenes, made pretenſions to the throne of Pergamus, and was ſupported by a powerful party among the people. The Romans did not fail to maintain their right: Craſſus, one of the Conſuls of the preceding year, had been ſent with an army into Aſia for that purpoſe, U. C. 622 but in his firſt encounter with Ariſtonicus was defeated and taken. He was afterwards killed while a captive in the hands of the enemy; having intentionally provoked one of his guards to lay violent hands on him, and thus ended a life which he thought was diſhonoured by his preceding defeat.

The following year, the Conſul Perperna being ſent on this ſervice, and having, with better fortune than Craſſus, defeated and taken Ariſtonicus, got poſſeſſion of the treaſure and kingdom of Attalus, but died in his command at Pergamus. From this time the Romans took a more particular concern than formerly in the affairs of Aſia. They employed Scipio Emilianus, with Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, on a commiſſion of obſervation to that country. We are told that the equipage of Scipio upon this occaſion conſiſted of ſeven ſlaves; and this, as a mark or characteriſtic of the times, is perhaps more intereſting than any thing elſe we could be told of the embaſſy. The object of the commiſſion appears to have related to Egypt as well as to Aſia [16], though there was not any power in either that ſeemed to be in condition to alarm the Romans. Ptolemy Euergates had ſucceeded to the throne of Egypt, but was expelled by the people of Alexandria. Antiochus, king of Syria, had been recently engaged in a very unſucceſsful war with the Parthians; and it had

[16] Valerius Maximus, lib. iv. c. 3.

not

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not yet appeared how far it concerned the Romans to obſerve the king of Pontus, or to conſider of the meaſures to be taken againſt him for the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions in Aſia.

In whatever degree the Roman embaſſy found worthy objects of attention in the ſtate of the Aſiatic powers, matters were haſtening in Italy to a ſtate of great diſtraction and ferment, on account of the violence with which the Agrarian law was put in execution by Papirius Carbo, Fulvius Flaccus, and Caius Gracchus, the commiſſioners appointed for this purpoſe. As the law authoriſed them to call upon all perſons poſſeſſed of public lands to evacuate them, and ſubmit to a legal diviſion; they, under this pretence, brought into queſtion all the rights of property throughout Italy, and took from one and gave to another as ſuited their pleaſure; ſome ſuffered the diminution of their eſtates with ſilent rage; others complained that they were violently removed from lands which they had cultivated, to barren and inhoſpitable ſituations; even they who were ſuppoſed to be favoured, complained of the lots they received. Many were aggrieved, none were ſatisfied.

Moved by the repreſentations which were made of theſe abuſes, Scipio, at his return from Aſia, made an harangue in the Senate, by which he drew upon himſelf an invective from Fulvius, one of the commiſſioners. He did not propoſe to repeal the law, but that the execution of it ſhould be taken out of the hands of ſo pernicious a faction, and committed to the Conſul Sempronius Tuditanus, who remained in the adminiſtration of affairs in Italy, while his colleague Aquilius had gone to Aſia to finiſh the tranſaction in the conduct of which Perperna died.

It is mentioned that Scipio, in this ſpeech to the Senate, complained of inſults and threats to his own perſon, which induced all the members, with a great body of the more reſpectable citizens, to attend him in proceſſion to his own houſe. Next morning he was found

U. C. 621.

dead in his bed [17]; and, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions of violence tranſmitted by different authors, nothing certain appears upon record; and no inqueſt was ever made to diſcover the truth of theſe reports. This illuſtrious citizen, notwithſtanding his ſervices, had incurred ſo much the diſpleaſure of the People, that he had not the honours of a public funeral. If he had not died at this critical time, the Senate, it was ſuppoſed, meant to have named him Dictator, for the purpoſe of purging the State of the evils with which it was now oppreſſed.

The occaſion, however, was not ſufficient to make the Senate perſiſt in their intention to name a Dictator; nor is there any thing material recorded as having happened during a few of the following years. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus, and Quintus Pompeius, were Cenſors; both of Plebeian extraction; of which this is recorded as the firſt example. Metellus, at the Cenſus, made a memorable ſpeech, in which he recommended marriage, the eſtabliſhment of families, and the rearing of children. This ſpeech being preſerved, will recur to our notice again, being read by Auguſtus in the Senate, as a leſſon equally applicable to the age in which he lived.

The people who were fit to carry arms, as appeared at their enrolment, amounted to three hundred and ſeventeen thouſand eight hundred and twenty-three. But what is moſt memorable in the tranſactions of this muſter, was the diſgrace of Caius Attinius Labeo, who, being ſtruck off the rolls of the Senate by Metellus, afterwards became Tribune of the People; and, by the difficulty with which the effect of his unjuſt revenge came to be prevented, ſhowed the folly of making the will of any officer ſacred, in order to reſtrain the commiſſion of wrongs.

Metellus, in returning from the country, about noon, while the market-place was thin of people, found himſelf ſuddenly appre-

[17] Cic. de Amicitia.

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hended by this vindictive Tribune, and ordered to be thrown immediately from the Tarpeian Rock. The people aſſembled in crowds, were ſenſible of the Tribune's breach of the ſacred truſt repoſed in him; and, accoſting Metellus by the name of Father, lamented his fate: but, unleſs another Tribune could be found to interpoſe in his favour, there was no other power in the commonwealth that could, without ſuppoſed profanation, interrupt a Tribune even in the commiſſion of a crime. Metellus ſtruggled to obtain a delay, was overpowered and dragged through the ſtreets, while the violence he ſuffered made the blood to ſpring from his noſtrils. A Tribune was with difficulty found in time to ſave his life; but Attinius having, with a lighted fire and other forms of conſecration, devoted his eſtate to ſacred uſes, it is alleged that he never recovered it [18].

Such was the weak ſtate to which the government was reduced by the late popular encroachments, that this outrageous abuſe of power was never puniſhed; and ſuch the moderation of this great man's family, that though he himſelf lived fifteen years in high credit after this accident, ſaw his family raiſed to the higheſt dignities, and was carried to his grave by four ſons, of whom one had been Cenſor, two had triumphed, three had been Conſuls, and the fourth, then Prætor, was candidate for the Conſulate, which he obtained in the following year; yet no one of this powerful family choſe to encreaſe the diſturbances of the commonwealth, by attempting to revenge the outrage which their father had ſuffered [19].

Lex Attinia.

Caius Attinius is mentioned as being the perſon who obtained the admiſſion of the Tribunes, in right of their office, as members of the Senate [20].

[18] Plin. lib. vii. c. 44. Cicero, in pleading to have his houſe reſtored to him, though devoted to ſacred uſes, ſtates the form of conſecration in the caſe of Metellus, but denies the effect of it. Pro domo ſua, c. 47.

[19] Plin. lib. vii. c. 44.

[20] A. Gellius, lib. xiv. c. 8.

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The Conſul Sempronius, though authoriſed by the Senate to reſtrain the violence of the commiſſioners who were employed in the execution of the Agrarian law, declined that hazardous buſineſs, and choſe rather to encounter the enemy in the province of Iſtria, where he made ſome conqueſts and obtained a triumph.

In the ſame turbulent times lived Pacuvius, the tragic poet, and Lucilius, inventor of the ſatire. The latter, if we ſuppoſe him to be the ſame whoſe name is found in the liſt of Queſtors, was a perſon of rank, and moved in the line of political preferment.

Hiſtorians mention a dreadful eruption of Mount Etna, the effect of ſubterraneous fires, which ſhaking the foundations of Sicily and the neighbouring iſlands, gave exploſions of flame, not only from the crater of the mountain, but likewiſe from below the waters of the ſea, and forced ſudden and great inundations over the iſlands of Liparé and the neighbouring coaſts.

CHAP. III.

State of the Italian Allies, and the Views which now began to be conceived by them.——Appearance of Caius Gracchus.——Reſolution to purge the City of Aliens.——Conſulate and factious Motions of Fulvius Flaccus.——Conſpiracy of Frigellæ ſuppreſſed.——Caius Gracchus returns to Rome.——Offers himſelf Candidate for the Tribunate.——Addreſs of Cornelia.——Tribunate and Acts of Caius Gracchus.——Re-election.——Propoſal to admit the Inhabitants of Italy on the Rolls of Roman Citizens.——Popular Acts of Gracchus and Livius.——The Senate begin to prevail.——Death of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius.

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THE eruption of Mount Etna, and the other particulars relating to the natural hiſtory of Italy, with the mention of which we concluded our laſt Chapter, were conſidered as prodigies, and as the preſages of evils which were yet to afflict the republic. At this time indeed the State of Italy ſeemed to have received the ſeeds of much trouble, and to contain ample materials of civil com-
U. C. 627. buſtion. The citizens, for whom no proviſion had been made at their return from military ſervice, or who thought themſelves partially dealt with in the colonies, the leaders of tumult and faction in the city, were now taught to conſider the land-property of Italy as their joint inheritance. They were, in imagination, diſtributing their lots, and ſelecting their ſhares.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of the Municipia, or free towns, and their diſtricts, who, not being citizens, ſerved the State as allies, had reaſon to dread the rapacity of ſuch needy and powerful maſters. They themſelves likewiſe began to repine under the inequality of their

their condition. They obſerved, that while they were ſcarcely allowed to retain the poſſeſſions of their anceſtors, Rome, aided by their arms, had gained that extenſive dominion, and obtained that territory, about which the poor and the rich were now likely to quarrel among themſelves. "The Italian allies," they ſaid, "muſt bleed "in this conteſt, no leſs than they had done in the foreign or more "diſtant wars of the commonwealth." They had been made, by the profeſſions of Tiberius Gracchus, to entertain hopes that every diſtinction in Italy would ſoon be removed, that every freeman in the country would be enrolled as a citizen of Rome, and be admitted to all the powers and pretenſions implied in that deſignation. The conſideration of this ſubject, therefore, could not be long delayed; and the Roman Senate, already ſtruggling with attacks of their fellow-citizens, had an immediate ſtorm to apprehend from the allies.

The revolutions of the State had been ſo frequent, and its progreſs from ſmall beginnings to a great empire had been ſo rapid, that the changes to which men are expoſed, and the exertions of which they are capable, no where appear ſo conſpicuous, or are ſo diſtinctly marked.

In the firſt ages the political importance of a Roman citizen appears not to have been felt or underſtood. Conquered enemies were removed to Rome, and their captivity conſiſted in being forced to be Romans, to which they ſubmitted with great reluctance. It is not to be doubted that every foreigner was welcome to take his place as a Roman citizen in the aſſembly of the People; that many were admitted into the Senate [1], and ſome even on the throne [2]. It is likely alſo, that the firſt colonies conſidered themſelves as detached from the city of Rome, and as forming cantons apart; for we find

[1] The Claudian family were aliens. and an alien from Tarquinii.

[2] Tarquinius Priſcus was of Greek extraction,

BOOK II.

them, like the other States of Italy, occaſionally at war with the Romans.

But when the ſovereignty of Italy came to be eſtabliſhed at Rome, and was there actually exerciſed by the collective body of the People, the inhabitants of the colonies, it is probable, laid claim to their votes in elections, and preſented themſelves to be inrolled in the Tribes. They felt their conſequence and their ſuperiority over the Municipia, or free towns in their neigbourhood, to whom, as a mark of diſtinction and an act of munificence, ſome remains of independence had been left. Even in this ſtate, the rolls of the People had been very negligently compiled, or preſerved. The Kings, the Conſuls, the Cenſors, who were the officers, in different ages of the State, entruſted with the muſters, admitted on the rolls ſuch as preſented themſelves, or ſuch as they choſe to receive. One Conſul invited all the free inhabitants of Latium to poll in the aſſemblies of the People; another rejected them, and in time of elections forbid them the city. But notwithſtanding this prohibition, aliens that were brought to Rome on a foot of captivity, were ſuffered by degrees to mix with the citizens [3]. The inhabitants of the free towns, removing to Rome upon any creditable footing, found eaſy admiſſion on the rolls of ſome tribe. The towns complained they were depopulated. The Romans endeavoured to ſhut the gates of their city by repeated ſcrutinies, and the prohibition of ſurreptitious enrolments: but in vain. The practice ſtill continued, and the growing privilege, diſtinction, and eminence of a Roman citizen made that title become the great object of individuals, and of entire cantons. It had already been beſtowed upon diſtricts whoſe inhabitants were not diſtinguiſhed by any ſingular merit with the Roman State. In this reſpect all the allies were nearly equal; they had regularly compoſed

[3] This happened particularly in the caſe of the Campanians.

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at leaſt one half in every Roman army, and had borne an equal ſhare in all the dangers and troubles of the commonwealth; and, from having valued themſelves of old on their ſeparate titles and national diſtinctions, they began now to aſpire to a ſhare in the ſovereignty of the empire, and wiſhed to ſink for ever their provincial deſignations under the general title of Romans. CHAP. III.

Not only the great power that was enjoyed in the aſſembly of the People, and the ſerious privileges that were beſtowed by the Porcian law, but even the title of citizen in Italy, of legionary ſoldier in the field, and the permiſſion of wearing the Roman gown, were now ardently coveted as marks of dignity and honour. The city was frequented by perſons who hoped ſeparately to be admitted in the Tribes, and by numbers who crowded from the neighbouring cantons, on every remarkable day of aſſembly, ſtill flattering themſelves, that the expectations which Gracchus had raiſed on this important ſubject might ſoon be fulfilled.

In this ſtate of affairs, the Senate authorized Junius Pennus, one of the Tribunes, to move the People for an edict to prohibit, on days of election or public aſſembly, this concourſe of aliens, and requiring all the country towns in Italy to lay claim to their denizens, who had left their own corporations to act the part of citizens at Rome. U. C. 627. Conſuls; M. Emilius Lepidus, L. Aurelius Oreſtes.

On this occaſion, Caius Gracchus, the brother of the late unfortunate Tribune, ſtood forth, and made one of the firſt appearances, in which he ſhowed the extent of his talents, as well as the party he was likely to eſpouſe in the commonwealth. This young man, being about twenty years of age when the troubles raiſed by his elder brother had ſo much diſturbed the republic, and when they ended ſo fatally for himſelf, had retired upon that cataſtrophé from the public view, and made it uncertain whether the fate of Tiberius might not deter him, not only from embracing like dangerous

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counſels, but even from entering at all on the line of political affairs. His retirement, however, he ſpent in ſuch ſtudies as were then come into repute, on account of their importance, as a preparation for the buſineſs of the courts of juſtice, of the Senate, and of the popular aſſemblies; and the firſt appearance he made gave evidence of the talents he had acquired for theſe ſeveral departments. His parts ſeemed to be quicker, and his ſpirit more ardent, than that of his elder brother; and the people conceived hopes of having their pretenſions revived, and more ſucceſsfully conducted, than under their former leader. The cauſe of the country towns, in which he now engaged, was ſpecious, and tended to form a new, a numerous, and a formidable party in Italy, likely to join in every factious attempt which might throw the public into diſorder, and make way for the promiſcuous admiſſion of aliens on the rolls of the People. This cauſe, however, was fraught with ſo much confuſion to the State, and tended ſo much to leſſen the political conſequence of thoſe who were already citizens, that the argument in favour of the reſolution to purge the city of aliens prevailed, and an act to that purpoſe accordingly was paſſed [4] in the aſſembly of the People.

It deſerves to be recorded, that amidſt the inquiries ſet on foot in conſequence of this edict, or about this time, Perperna, the father of a late Conſul [5], was claimed by one of the Italian corporations, and found not to have been a citizen of Rome. His ſon, whom we have already mentioned, having vanquiſhed and taken Ariſtonicus, the pretended heir of Attalus, died in his command at Pergamus; and he is accordingly ſaid to have been a rare example of the caprice of fortune, in having been a Roman Conſul, though not a Roman citizen. This example may confirm what has been obſerved of the latitude which officers took in conducting the Cenſus.

[4] Sextus Pompeius Feſtus in voce Republica. Cicero in Bruto in Officiis, lib. iii.
[5] Valerius Maximus, lib. iii. c. 4.

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U. C. 628. M. Plautius Hipſius, M. Fulvius Flaccus.

The fires of ſedition which had ſometime preyed on the commonwealth were likely to break out with encreaſing force upon the promotion of Fulvius Flaccus to the dignity of firſt magiſtrate. This factious citizen had blown up the flame with Tiberius Gracchus, and having ſucceeded him in the commiſſion for executing the Agrarian law, never failed to carry the torch wherever matter of inflammation or general combuſtion could be found. By his merit with the popular party he had attained his preſent eminence, and was determined to preſerve it by continuing his ſervices. He began the functions of his office by propoſing a law to communicate the right of citizens to the allies or free inhabitants of Italy; a meaſure which tended to weaken the power of the Senate, and to encreaſe the number of citizens greatly beyond what could be aſſembled in one collective body. Having failed in this attempt, he ſubſtituted a propoſal in appearance more moderate, but equally dangerous, That whoever claimed the right of citizen, in caſe of being caſt by the Cenſors, who were the proper judges, might appeal to the People [a]. This would have conferred the power of naturalization on the popular leaders; and the danger of ſuch a meaſure called upon the Senate to exert its authority and influence in having this motion alſo rejected.

Leges Fulviæ.

When the Conſul appeared to be fairly entered on his career, and, by uniting the power of the ſupreme magiſtracy with that of a commiſſioner for dividing the property of lands, was likely to break through all the forms which had hitherto retarded the execution of the Agrarian law, he was with difficulty perſuaded to aſſemble the Senate, and to take his place. The whole body joined in repreſentations againſt theſe dangerous meaſures, and in a requeſt that he would withdraw his motions. To theſe applications he made no

[a] Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. i.

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reply[1]; but an occaſion ſoon offered, by which the Senate was enabled to divert him from his purpoſe. A deputation arrived from Marſeilles, then in alliance with Rome, to intreat the ſupport of the republic againſt the Salyii, a neighbouring nation, who had invaded their territories. The Senate gladly embraced this opportunity to find a foreign employment for the Conſul, decreed a ſpeedy aid to the city of Marſeilles, and appointed M. Fulvius Flaccus to that ſervice. Although this incident marred or interrupted for the preſent his political deſigns, yet he was induced, by the hopes of a triumph, to accept of the command which offered, and, by his abſence, to relieve the city for a while from the alarms which he had given. Caius Gracchus too was gone in the capacity of Proquæſtor to Sardinia; and the Senate, if they could by any pretences have kept thoſe unquiet ſpirits at a diſtance, had hopes of reſtoring the former order of the commonwealth.

In this interval ſome laws are ſaid to have paſſed reſpecting the office and conduct of the Cenſors. The particulars are not mentioned; but the object probably was, to render the magiſtrate more circumſpect in the admiſſion of thoſe who claimed to be numbered as citizens. Such was likely to be the policy of the Senate, in the abſence of demagogues, who, by propoſing to admit the allies on the rolls of the People, had awakened dangerous pretenſions in every corner of Italy. It ſoon appeared how ſeriouſly theſe pretenſions were adopted by the country towns; for the inhabitants already beſtirred themſelves, and were beginning to deviſe how they might extort by force what they were not likely to obtain with conſent of the original denizens of Rome. A ſuſpicion having ariſen of ſuch treaſonable concerts forming at Fregellæ, the Prætor Opimius had a ſpecial commiſſion to inquire into the matter, and to proceed as he ſhould

[1] Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 5.

find

find the occaſion required. Having ſummoned the chief magiſtrate of the place to appear before him, he received, upon a promiſe of doing no violence to his perſon, full information of the combinations that had been forming againſt the government of Rome. So inſtructed, he aſſembled ſuch a force as was neceſſary to ſupport him in aſſerting the authority of the State; and thinking it neceſſary to give a ſtriking example in a matter of ſo dangerous and infectious a nature, he ordered the place to be razed to the ground [8].

U. C. 629. C. Caſſius Longinus, C. Sextius Calvinus.

By this act of ſeverity, the deſigns of the allies were for a while ſuſpended, and might have been entirely ſuppreſſed, if the factions at Rome had not given them freſh encouragement and hopes of ſucceſs or impunity. This tranſaction was ſcarcely paſt, when Caius Gracchus appeared in the city to ſolicit the office of Tribune; and, by his preſence, revived the hopes of the allies. Having obſerved, that the Proconſul Aurelius Cotta, under whom he ſerved as Proquæſtor in Sardinia, inſtead of being recalled, was continued in his command, and furniſhed with reinforcements and ſupplies of every ſort as for a ſervice of long duration; and ſuſpecting, that this meaſure was pointed at himſelf, and proceeded from a deſign to keep him at a diſtance from the popular aſſemblies, he quitted his ſtation in Sardinia, and returned without leave. He was called to account by the Cenſors for deſerting his duty; but defended himſelf with ſuch ability and force, as greatly raiſed the expectations which had already been entertained by his party [9].

The law, he ſaid, required him only to carry arms ten years, he had actually carried them twelve years; although he might legally have quitted his ſtation of Quæſtor at the expiration of one year, yet he had remained in it three years. However willing the Cenſors may have been to remove this peſt from the commonwealth, they

[8] Liv. lib. lx. Velleius Obſequens. Cic. lib. ii. De Inventione; De Finibus, v. Ibid. Rhetorius, lib. iv.

[9] Plutarch. in C. Graccho.

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were too weak to attempt any cenſure in this ſtate of his cauſe, and in the preſent humour of the People. They endeavoured, in vain, to load him with a ſhare in the plot of Fregellæ; he ſtill exculpated himſelf: and, if he had poſſeſſed every virtue of a citizen, in proportion to his reſolution, application, eloquence, and even ſeverity of manners, he might have been a powerful ſupport to the State. In a ſpeech to the People, on his return from Sardinia, he concluded with the following remarkable words: "The purſe which I carried full to the "province, I have brought empty back. Others empty the wine "caſks which they carry from Italy, and bring them from the pro-"vinces repleniſhed with ſilver and gold [10]."

In declaring himſelf a candidate for the office of Tribune, Caius Gracchus profeſſed his intention to propoſe many popular laws. The Senate exerted all their influence to diſappoint his views; but ſuch were the expectations of the popular party throughout all Italy, that they crowded to the election in greater numbers than could find place in the public ſquare. They handed and reached out their ballots at the windows and over the battlements; and Gracchus, though elected, was, in conſequence of the oppoſition given to him, only fourth in the liſt [11].

Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who, ever ſince the death of her ſon Tiberius, lived in retirement in Campania, upon hearing of the career which her ſon, Caius, was likely to run, alarmed at the renewal of a ſcene which had already occaſioned her ſo much ſorrow, expoſtulated with him on the courſe he was taking; and, in an unaffected and paſſionate addreſs, ſpoke that ardent zeal for the republic, by which the citizens of Rome had been long diſtinguiſhed.

This high-minded woman, on whom the entire care of her family had devolved by the death of her huſband, whilſt the children

[10] A. Gellius, lib. xv. c. 12. [11] Plutarch, Appian, Oroſius, Eutrop. Obſequens.

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were yet in their infancy, or under age, took care, with unuſual attention, to have them educated for the rank they were to hold in the State, and did not fail even to excite their ambition. When Tiberius, after the diſgrace of Mancinus, appeared to withdraw from the road of preferments and honours, "How long," ſhe ſaid, "ſhall I be diſtinguiſhed "as the mother-in-law of Scipio, not as the mother of the Gracchi?" This latter diſtinction, however, ſhe came to poſſeſs; and it has remained with her name, but from circumſtances and events which this reſpectable perſonage by no means appeared to deſire. In one fragment of her letters to Caius, which is ſtill preſerved, "You will "tell me," ſhe ſaid, "that it is glorious to be revenged of our "enemies. No one thinks ſo more than I, if we can be revenged "without hurt to the republic; but if not, often may our enemies "eſcape. Long may they be ſafe, if the good of the commonwealth "requires their ſafety." In another letter, which appears to be written after his intention of ſuing for the Tribunate was declared, ſhe accoſts him to the following purpoſe: "I take the Gods to witneſs, "that, except the perſons who killed my ſon Tiberius, no one ever "gave me ſo much affliction as you do in this matter. You, from "whom I might have expected ſome conſolation in my age, and "who, ſurely, of all my children, ought to be moſt careful not to "diſtreſs me! I have not many years to live. Spare the republic "ſo long for my ſake. Shall I never ſee the madneſs of my family "at an end? When I am dead, you will think to honour me with "a parent's rites; but what honour can my memory receive from "you, by whom I am abandoned and diſhonoured while I live? "But, may the Gods forbid you ſhould perſiſt! if you do, I fear "the courſe you are taking leads to remorſe and diſtraction, which "will end only with your life [12]."

[12] Fragmenta Corn. Nepotis ab Andrea Scotto collecta, edita cum ſcriptis Corn. Nepotis.

Theſe

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These remonstrances do not appear to have had any effect. Caius, upon his accession to the Tribunate, proceeded to fulfil the expectations of his party. The Agrarian law, though still in force, had met with continued interruption and delay in the execution. It was even falling into neglect. Caius thought proper, as the first act of his magistracy, to move a renewal and confirmation of it, with express injunctions, that there should be an annual distribution of land to the poorer citizens [13]. To this he subjoined, in the first year of his office, a variety of regulations tending either to increase his popularity, or to distinguish his administration. Upon his motion, public granaries were erected, and a law was made, that the corn should be issued from thence monthly to the People, two parts in twelve under the prime or original cost [14].

Lex Sempronia agraria.

Lex frumentaria.

This act gave a check to industry, which is the best guardian of manners in populous cities, or wherever multitudes of men are crowded together.

Caius likewise obtained a decree, by which the estates of Attalus, king of Pergamus, lately bequeathed to the Romans, should be let in the manner of other lands under the inspection of the Censors; but the rents, instead of being made part of the public revenue, should be allotted for the maintenance of the poorer citizens [15].

Another, by which any person deposed from an office of magistracy by the People, was to be deemed for ever disqualified to serve the republic in any other capacity [16]. This act was intended to operate against Octavius, who, by the influence of Tiberius, had been degraded from the office of Tribune; and the act took its title from the name of the person against whom it was framed.

[13] Liv. lib. lx. Velleius, lib. ii. Hyginus de Limitibus. Appian, de veris illustribus.

[14] Semisse & triceni, for a half and a third, &c. Liv. Plutarch. Appian. ibid.

[15] Florus, lib. iii. c. 15. Cicer. in Verrem.

[16] Privilegium in Octavium.

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An act to regulate the conditions of the military ſervice [17], by which no one was obliged to enter before ſeventeen years of age, and by which Roman ſoldiers were to receive cloathing as well as pay [18]; poſſibly the firſt introduction of a uniform into the Roman legions: a circumſtance which, in modern times, is thought ſo eſſential to the character of troops, and the appearance of an army.

By the celebrated law of Porcius, which allowed of an appeal to the People, every citizen had a remedy againſt any oppreſſive ſentence or proceeding of the executive magiſtrate; but this did not appear to Gracchus a ſufficient reſtraint on the officers of State. He propoſed to have it enacted, that no perſon, under pain of a capital puniſhment, ſhould at all proceed againſt a citizen without a ſpecial commiſſion or warrant from the People to that effect. And he propoſed to give this law a retroſpect, in order to comprehend Popilius Lænas [19], who, being Conſul in the year after the troubles occaſioned by Tiberius Gracchus, had, under the authority of the Senate alone, proceeded to try and condemn ſuch as were acceſſary to that ſedition. Lænas perceived the ſtorm that was gathering againſt him, and choſe to avoid it by a voluntary exile. This act was indeed almoſt an entire abolition of government, and a bar to the exerciſe of ſuch ordinary powers as were neceſſary to the peace of the commonwealth. A popular faction could withhold every power, which, in their apprehenſion, might be employed againſt themſelves; and in their moſt pernicious deſigns had no interruption to fear from the Dictator named by the Senate and Conſuls, nor from the Conſul armed with the authority of the Senate for the ſuppreſſion of diſorders; a reſource to which the republic had frequently owed its preſervation. As we find no change in the proceedings of the State upon

[17] De militum commodis.

[18] Plutarch. in C. Graccho.—Lex Sempronia de libertate civium.

[19] Cicer. in Cluentio; pro Rabino; pro domo ſua.

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upon this new regulation, it is probable that the abſurdity of the law prevented its effect.

While Gracchus thus propoſed to make all the powers of the State depend for their exiſtence on the occaſional will of the People, he meant to render the aſſemblies of the People themſelves more democratical, by ſtripping the higher claſſes of the prerogative, precedence, or influence they poſſeſſed, in leading the public deciſions. The Centuries being hitherto called to vote in the order of their claſſes, thoſe of the firſt or higheſt claſs, by voting firſt, ſet an example which was often followed by the whole [25]. By the ſtatute of Gracchus, the Centuries were required, in every queſtion, to draw lots for the prerogative, and gave their votes in the order they had drawn.

Under this active Tribune, much public buſineſs, that uſed to paſs through the Senate, was engroſſed by the popular aſſemblies. Even in the form of theſe aſſemblies, all appearance of reſpect to the Senate was laid aſide. The Roſtra, or platform on which the preſiding magiſtrate ſtood, was placed in the middle of an area, of which one part was the market-place, ſurrounded with ſtalls and booths for merchandize, and the courts of juſtice; the other part, called the Comitium, was open to receive the People in their public aſſemblies; and on one ſide of it, fronting the Roſtra, or bench of the magiſtrates, ſtood the Curia, or Senate-houſe. The People, when any one was ſpeaking, ſtood partly in the market-place, and partly in the Comitium. The ſpeakers directed their voice to the Comitium, ſo as to be heard in the Senate. This diſpoſition, Gracchus reverſed; and directing his voice to the Forum, or market-place, ſeemed to diſplace the Senate, and deprive that body of their office as watchmen and guardians of the public order in matters that came before the popular aſſemblies [26].

[25] The firſt Century was called the Prerogativa.

[26] M. Varro de Re Ruſtica, lib. i. c. 2. Cic. de Amicitia. Plutarch. in Vit. Caii Gracchi.

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At the time that the Tribune Caius Gracchus engaged the minds of his contemporaries, and furniſhed hiſtory chiefly with theſe effects of his factious and turbulent ſpirit, it is obſerved, that he himſelf executed works of general utility; bridges, highways, and other public accommodations throughout Italy. And that the State having carried its arms, for the firſt time, over the Alps, happily terminated the war with the Salyii, a nation of Gaul, whoſe territory became the firſt province of Rome in that country. And that Caius Sextius, Conſul of the preceding year, was authoriſed to place a colony in the neighbourhood of the hot ſprings, which, from his name, were called the Aquæ Sextiæ, and are ſtill known by a corruption of the ſame appellation [22].

From Aſia, at the ſame time, it was reported, that Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, and ally of the Romans, was murdered, at the inſtigation of Mithridates, king of Pontus, whoſe ſiſter he had married; that he had left a ſon for whom Mithridates affected to ſecure the kingdom; but that the widowed queen having fallen into the hands of Nicomedes, king of Bythinia, this prince, in her right, had taken poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, while Mithridates, in name of his nephew, was haſtening to remove him from thence. On this ſubject a reſolution was declared in the aſſembly of the People at Rome, that both Nicomedes and Mithridates ſhould be required immediately to evacuate Cappadocia, and to withdraw their troops. This reſolution Caius Gracchus oppoſed with all his eloquence and his credit, charging his antagoniſts aloud with corruption, and a clandeſtine correſpondence with the agents, who, on different ſides, were now employed at Rome in ſoliciting this affair. "None of us," he ſaid, "ſtand forth in this place for nothing. Even I, who deſire you to "put money in your own coffers, and to conſult the intereſt of the "State, mean to be paid, not with money indeed, but with your fa-

[22] At Aix, in Provence.

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" vour and a good name. They who oppoſe this reſolution likewiſe
" covet, not honours from you, but money from Nicomedes; and
" they who ſupport it, expect to be paid by Mithridates, not by
" you. As for thoſe who are ſilent, they, I believe, underſtand
" the market beſt of all. They have heard the ſtory of the poet,
" who being vain that he had got a great ſum of money for rehearſing
" a tragedy, was told by another, that it was not wonderful he had
" got ſo much for talking, when I, ſaid the other, who it ſeems knew
" more than he was wiſhed to declare, have got ten times as much
" for holding my tongue. There is nothing that a king will buy
" at ſo great a price, on occaſion, as ſilence [23].

Such, at times, was the ſtyle in which this popular orator choſe to addreſs his audience. Individuals are won by flattery, the multitude by buffoonry and ſatire. From the tendency of this ſpeech, it appears to have been the opinion of Gracchus, not that the Romans ſhould ſequeſter the kingdom of Cappadocia for the heirs of Ariarathes, but that they ſhould ſeize it for themſelves. The queſtion, however, which now aroſe relating to the ſucceſſion to this kingdom, laid the foundation of a tedious and bloody war, of which the operations and events will occur in their place.

U. C. 639. C. Fannius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Gracchus, on the approach of the election of Conſuls, employed all his credit and influence to ſupport Caius Fannius, in oppoſition to Opimius, who, by his vigilance and activity in ſuppreſſing the treaſonable deſigns of the allies at Fregellæ, had incurred the diſpleaſure of the popular party; and Fannius being accordingly choſen, together with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gracchus proceeded to offer himſelf as a candidate to be re-elected into the office of Tribune. In this he followed the example of his brother Tiberius in a ſtep, which, being reckoned illegal as well as alarming, was that which haſtened his ruin. An attempt had been ſince made by Papi-

[23] A. Gellius, lib. ii. c. 10.

rius

rius Carbo to have the legality of ſuch re-elections acknowledged; but this having failed, Caius Gracchus, with great addreſs, inſerted in one of his popular edicts, a clauſe declaring it competent for the People to re-elect a Tribune, in caſe he ſhould need a continuation of his power in order to fulfil his public engagements. To avail himſelf of this clauſe, he now declared, that his views in behalf of the People were far from being accompliſhed. Under this pretence he obtained a preference to one of the new candidates, and greatly ſtrengthened the tribunitian power by the proſpect of its repeated renewals, and duration for an indefinite time.

Upon his re-election, Caius, continuing his adminiſtration upon the ſame plan of animoſity to the Senate, obtained a law to deprive that body of the ſhare which his brother had left them in the courts of juſtice; and ordaining, that the judges, for the future, ſhould be draughted from the Equeſtrian order alone, a claſs of men, who, being left out of the Senate, and of courſe not comprehended in the laws that prohibited commerce, had betaken themſelves, as has been obſerved [24], to lucrative profeſſions, were the farmers of the revenue, the contractors for the army, and, in general, the merchants who conducted the whole trade of the republic. Though they might be conſidered as neutral in the diſputes of the Senate and People, and therefore impartial where the other orders were biaſſed, there was no claſs of men more likely to proſtitute the character of judges for intereſt or actual hire. This revolution in the courts of juſtice accordingly may have contributed greatly to haſten the approaching corruption of manners, and the diſorders of the government.

Lex Sempronia Judiciaria.

The next ordinance prepared by Gracchus, or aſcribed to him, related to the nomination of officers to govern the provinces; and, if it had been ſtrictly obſerved, might have made ſome compenſation

Lex de Provinciis ordinandis.

[24] Page 278.

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for the former. The power of naming ſuch officers was committed to the Senate, and the arrangements were to be annually made before the election of Conſuls. This continued to be law, but was often over-ruled by the People [25].

In the ſame year, the boldeſt and moſt dangerous project that had ever been formed by any of the popular leaders, that for admitting the Italian allies upon the rolls of the Roman people, already attempted by Fulvius Flaccus, was again renewed by Caius Gracchus; and, upon the utmoſt exertion of the vigilance and authority of the Senate, with great difficulty prevented.

The rumour of this project having brought multitudes to Rome, the Senate thought it neceſſary to give the Conſuls in charge to clear the city, on the day that this important queſtion was expected to come on, of all ſtrangers, and not to ſuffer any aliens to remain within four miles of the walls. During the dependence of this queſtion, Gracchus flattered the poorer citizens with the proſpect of advantageous ſettlements, in certain new colonies, of ſix thouſand men each, which he propoſed to plant in the diſtricts of Campania and Tarentum, the moſt cultivated parts of Italy, and in colonies, which he likewiſe propoſed to ſend abroad into ſome of the richeſt provinces. Such ſettlements had been formerly made to occupy and ſecure recent conqueſt; they were now calculated to ſerve as baits to popular favour, and as a proviſion, made by the leaders of faction, for their own friends and adherents.

The Senate, attacked by ſuch popular arts, reſolved to retort on their adverſaries; and for this purpoſe inſtructed Marcus Livius, another of the Tribunes, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould, if poſſible, ſupplant Gracchus in the favour of the People. Livius, profeſſing to act in concert with the Senate, propoſed a number of acts: one to

[25] Florus, lib. iv. c. 13 Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth. N° 621. Cicero de Provinciis Conſularibus.

conciliate

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Lex Livia de Tergo Civium Latini Nominis.

conciliate the minds of the allies, by giving them, while they ſerved in the army, the ſame exemption from corporal puniſhment, which the Roman citizens had enjoyed.

Another for the eſtabliſhment of twelve different colonies, each of three thouſand citizens. But what, poſſibly, had the greateſt effect, becauſe it appeared to exceed in munificence all the edicts of Gracchus, was an exemption of all thoſe lands, which ſhould be diſtributed in terms of the late Sempronian Law, from all quit-rents and public burdens, which had hitherto, in general, been laid on all poſſeſſions that were held from the public [26]. It was propoſed to name ten commiſſioners to diſtribute lands thus unincumbered to the People; and three colonies are mentioned, Syllaceum, Tarentum, and Neptunia, as having been actually ſent abroad this year, and probably on theſe terms.

About the ſame time it was decreed, that the city of Carthage might be rebuilt for the reception of a colony of ſix thouſand Roman citizens. This decree bears the name, not of Sempronius or of Livius, but of Rubrius, another Tribune of the ſame year. Lex Rubria.

The Senate readily agreed to the ſettlement of theſe colonies, as likely to carry off a number of the more factious citizens, and to furniſh an opportunity likewiſe of removing from the city, for ſome time, the popular leaders themſelves, under pretence of employing them to conduct and to ſettle the families deſtined to form thoſe eſtabliſhments. Accordingly, Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius Flaccus, late Conſul, and now deeply engaged in all theſe factious meaſures, were deſtined to take charge of the new coloniſts, and to ſuperintend their ſettlement [27].

In the mean time, the Senate, in the election of Opimius to the Conſulſhip of the following year, carried an important object to the U. C. 632. Con. L. Opimius, Q. Fab. Maximus.

[26] Plutarch. Paulus Minutius de Legibus Romanis. [27] Plutarch. Appian. Oroſius.

reputation

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reputation and intereſt of their party, and conceived hopes of being able, by the authority of this magiſtrate, to combat the deſigns of Gracchus more effectually than they had hitherto done. He was accordingly retained in the adminiſtration of affairs in Italy, while his colleague, Fabius, was appointed to command in Gaul. Caius Gracchus, having the preſumption to offer himſelf a third time candidate for the office of Tribune, was rejected, and had the mortification to find, that the authority of the Senate began to prevail; and, as they had credit enough to procure his excluſion from any ſhare in the magiſtracy, ſo they might be able to fruſtrate or reverſe many of the acts he had obtained in favour of his party.

By the repulſe of Gracchus and his aſſociates, the ariſtocratical party came to have a majority, even in the college of Tribunes. Queſtions of legiſlation were now likely to be determined in the aſſembly of the Centuries; and this circumſtance alone, while the Senate was able to retain it, was equal to an entire revolution of the government. The Centuries, under the leading of an active Conſul, were likely to annul former reſolutions with the ſame deciſion and rapidity with which they had been paſſed. Much violence was expected, and the different parties, recollecting what had happened in the caſe of Tiberius Gracchus, took meaſures not to be ſurpriſed by their antagoniſts; for the moſt part came to the place of aſſembly in bands, even under arms, and endeavoured to poſſeſs the advantage of the ground as in the preſence of an enemy.

Minucius, one of the Tribunes, in conſequence of a reſolution of the Senate, pretending that he was moved by ſome unfavourable preſages, propoſed a repeal or amendment of ſome of the late popular acts; and particularly, to change the deſtination of the colony intended for Carthage, to ſome other place. This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Fulvius Flaccus, and by Caius Gracchus, who treated the report of preſages from Africa as a mere fiction, and the

whole deſign as proceeding from the inveterate hatred of the Nobles to the People. Before the aſſembly met, in which this queſtion was to be decided, theſe popular leaders attempted to ſeize the Capitol, but found themſelves prevented by the Conſul, who had already, with an armed force, ſecured that ſtation.

In the morning after they had received this diſappointment, the People being aſſembled, and the Conſul being employed in offering up the cuſtomary ſacrifices, Gracchus, with his party, came to their place in the Comitium. One of the attendants of the Conſul, who was carrying away the entrails of the victim, reproached Gracchus, as he paſſed, with ſedition, and bid him deſiſt from his machinations againſt the government of the commonwealth. On this provocation, one of the party of Gracchus ſtruck the Conſul's officer with his dagger, and killed him on the ſpot. The cry of murder ran through the multitude, and the aſſembly began to break up. Gracchus endeavoured to ſpeak, but could not be heard for the tumult; and all thoughts of buſineſs were laid aſide. The Conſul immediately ſummoned the Senate to meet; and having reported what had happened in the Comitium, and what appeared to him the firſt act of hoſtility in a war, which the popular faction had prepared againſt the State, he received the charge that was uſual on perilous occaſions, to provide, in the manner which his own prudence ſhould direct, for the ſafety of the commonwealth. Thus authoriſed, he commanded the Senators and the Knights to arm, and made proper diſpoſitions to ſecure the principal ſtreets. Being maſter of the Capitol and Forum, he adjourned the aſſembly of the People to the uſual place on the following day, and cited the perſons accuſed of the murder to anſwer for the crime which was laid to their charge.

In conſequence of this adjournment, and the Conſul's inſtructions, numbers in arms repaired to the Comitium at the hour of aſſembly, and were ready to execute ſuch orders as they might receive for the

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the public ſafety. Gracchus and Fulvius refuſed to anſwer the citation, and the Capitol being ſecured againſt them, they took poſt, with a numerous party in arms, on the Aventine Hill, which was oppoſite to the Capitol, and from which they equally looked down on the Forum and place of aſſembly. Being again cited to appear at the Tribunal of the Roman people, they ſent a young man, one of the ſons of Fulvius, to capitulate with the Conſul, and to ſettle the terms on which they were to ſurrender themſelves. Upon this meſſage they were told, in return, that they muſt anſwer at the bar of the aſſembly, as criminals, not pretend to negotiate with the republic, as equals; that no party, however numerous, was entitled to parley with the People of Rome: and to this anſwer the meſſenger was forbid, at his peril, to bring any reply. The party, however, ſtill hoped to gain time, or to divide their enemies; and they ventured to employ young Fulvius again to repeat their meſſage. He was ſeized by the Conſul's order. Gracchus and Fulvius, with their adherents, were declared public enemies; and a reward was offered to the perſon who ſhould kill or ſecure them. They were inſtantly attacked, and, after a little reſiſtance, forced from their ground. Gracchus fled by the wooden bridge to the oppoſite ſide of the river, and was there ſlain, either by his own hand, or by that of a faithful ſervant, who had undertaken the taſk of ſaving him in his laſt extremity from falling into the power of his enemies. Fulvius was dragged to execution from a bath where he attempted to conceal himſelf. The heads of both were carried to the Conſul, and exchanged for the promiſed reward.

In this fray the party of the Senate, being regularly armed and prepared for ſlaughter, cut off the adherents of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius in greater numbers than they had done thoſe of Tiberius; they killed about three thouſand two hundred and fifty in the ſtreets,

and confined great numbers who were afterwards ſtrangled in the priſons. The bodies of the ſlain, as the law ordained, in the caſe of treaſon, being denied the forms of a funeral, were caſt into the river, and their eſtates confiſcated [28].

The houſe of Fulvius was raſed to the ground, the area laid open for public uſes; and, from theſe beginnings, it appeared that the Romans, who, in the purſuit of their foreign conqueſts, had ſo liberally ſhed the blood of other nations, might become equally laviſh of their own.

[28] Appian. Plutarch. Oroſius, lib. v. c. 12. Florus, lib. iii. c. 15. Auctor de Viris Illuſtribus, c. 65.

CHAP. IV.

State of Order and Tranquillity which followed the Suppreſſion of the late Tumults.——Appearance of Caius Marius.——Foreign Wars.——Complaints againſt Jugurtha.——Appearance of the Cimbri.——War with Jugurtha.——Campaign and Treaty of Piſo.——Jugurtha came to Rome with a Safe-Conduct.——Obliged to retire from thence.——Campaign of Metellus.——Of Marius.——Jugurtha betrayed by Bocchus.——His Death, after the Triumph of Marius.——This General re-elected, in order to command againſt the Cimbri.

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THE popular party had, in the late tumults, carried their violence to ſuch extremes, as diſguſted and alarmed every perſon who had any deſire of domeſtic peace; and in their ill-adviſed recourſe to arms, but too well juſtified the meaſures which had been taken againſt them. By this exertion of vigour, the Senate, and ordinary magiſtrates, recovered their former authority; affairs returned to their uſual channel, and the moſt perfect order ſeemed to ariſe from the late confuſions. Queſtions of legiſlation were allowed to take their riſe in the Senate, and were not carried to the People, without the ſanction of the Senate's authority. The legiſlative power was exerciſed in the aſſembly of the Centuries, and the prohibitory or defenſive function of the Tribunes, or repreſentatives of the People, was ſuch, as to prevent the abuſes of the executive power in the hands of the ariſtocracy, without ſtopping the proceedings of government, or ſubſtituting a democratical uſurpation in its place. Even the judicative power, veſted in the Equeſtrian order, promiſed

to have a ſalutary effect, by keeping a balance between the different ranks and diſtinctions of men in the republic.

The ariſtocratical party, notwithſtanding the aſcendant they had recently gained, did not attempt to reſcind any of the regular inſtitutions of Gracchus; they were contented with inflicting puniſhments on thoſe who had been acceſſary to the late ſedition, and with re-eſtabliſhing ſuch of the Nobles as had ſuffered by the violence of the popular faction. Popilius Lænas, driven into exile by one of the edicts of Gracchus, or by the perſecution to which it expoſed him, was now recalled upon the motion of Calpurnius Piſo, one of the Tribunes [1].

U. C. 633. Publius Manlius, and C. Papirius Carbo.

As the ſtate of parties was in ſome meaſure reverſed, Papirius Carbo thought proper to withdraw from the popular ſide; and, by the credit of thoſe now in poſſeſſion of the government, was promoted to the ſtation of Conſul, and yielded the firſt fruits of his converſion by defending the cauſe of his predeceſſor Opimius, who, at the expiration of his Conſulate, was brought to trial for having put Roman citizens to death without the forms of law. Carbo, though himſelf connected with thoſe who ſuffered, now pleaded the juſtice and neceſſity of the late military executions; and, upon this plea, obtained the acquittal of his client.

This merit on the part of Carbo, however, did not ſo far cancel his former offences as to prevent his being tried and condemned in the following year, as an accomplice in the ſedition of Gracchus. He was ſuppoſed to have been acceſſary to the death of Scipio; and his cauſe not being warmly eſpouſed by any party, he fell a ſacrifice to the imputation of this heinous crime. It is ſaid, that, upon hearing his ſentence, he killed himſelf [2].

[1] Cicero in Bruto.

[2] Valerius Max. lib. iii. c. 7. Cicero in Bruto.

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Octavius, one of the Tribunes of the preſent year, moved an amendment of the law obtained by Gracchus, reſpecting the diſtribution of corn from the public granaries, probably to eaſe the treaſury in part of that burden; but the particulars are unknown.

Lex Octavia Frumentaria.

About this time the celebrated Caius Marius began to appear in the public aſſemblies of the People. He was a perſon of obſcure birth, and ruſtic manners, formed amidſt the occupations of a peaſant [3], and the hardſhips of a legionary ſoldier, but of a reſolute ſpirit, and inſatiable ambition. He was a native of Arpinum, and without any other apparent title than that of being a deniſon of Rome, laid claim to the honours of the State. He is remarkable for having ſuffered more repulſes in his firſt attempts to be elected into office, and for having ſucceeded more frequently afterwards than any other Roman citizen during the exiſtence of the commonwealth.

Marius, after being diſappointed in his firſt canvas for the office of Tribune, ſucceeded in the following year. The acts which were paſſed under his Tribunate, and which bear his name, do not carry any violent expreſſions of party-ſpirit, nor give intimation of that inſatiate ambition with which he afterwards diſtreſſed his country; the firſt related to the conduct of elections, and provided ſome remedy for an evil which was complained of in the manner of ſoliciting votes. The ſpace between the rails, by which the citizens paſſed to give in their ballots, was ſo broad as to admit, not only thoſe who came to vote, but the candidates likewiſe, with their adherents and friends, who came to importune and to overawe the People in the very act of delivering their votes. Marius propoſed to put an end to this practice, and to provide for the entire freedom of the People, by narrowing the entrance, ſo that only the voters could paſs. A party of the Nobles, with Aurelius Cotta the Conſul at their

Lex Maria de Suffragiis.

[3] Juvenal. Sat. viii. Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 11.

head, not knowing with what a reſolute ſpirit they were about to contend, being averſe to this reformation, prevailed on the Senate to withhold its authority, without which any regular queſtion on this ſubject could not be put to the People. But Marius, in the character of Tribune, threatened the Conſul with immediate impriſonment, if he did not move to recall this vote of the Senate. The matter being re-conſidered, Lucius Metellus, who was firſt on the Rolls, having given his voice for affirming the firſt decree, was ordered by Marius into cuſtody; and there being no Tribune to intercede for him, muſt have gone to priſon, if the diſpute had not terminated by the majority agreeing to have the matter carried to the People, as Marius propoſed, with the ſanction of the Senate's authority.

In another of the acts of Marius the republic was ſtill more indebted to his wiſdom and courage, in withſtanding an attempt of one of his colleagues to flatter the indigent citizens at the expence of the public treaſury, by repealing the recent regulation of Octavius, and lowering the terms on which corn was diſtributed from the granaries. This was an ordinary expedient of Tribunitian faction. Marius oppoſed it as of dangerous conſequence. And his conduct in this matter marked him out as one not to be awed by any party, and a perſon, who, into whatever party he ſhould be admitted, was deſtined to govern. The times indeed were likely to give more importance to his character as a ſoldier than as a citizen; and in that he was ſtill farther raiſed above the malice of thoſe who were inclined to revile or undervalue what were called his upſtart pretenſions [*].

From the time that the Romans firſt paſſed into the Tranſalpine Gaul, as auxiliaries to the republic of Marſeilles, they had kept on foot in that neighbourhood a military force; and, by planting colonies at convenient ſtations, ſhewed their intention of maintaining

[*] Plutarch. in Mario.

poſſeſſions

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poſſeſſions on that ſide of the Alps. Betultus, or Betultich, a prince of the country, who was ſuppoſed able to raiſe a force of two hundred thouſand men, attempted to expel theſe intruders, but was defeated, firſt by the Proconſul Fabius, afterwards by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and furniſhed theſe generals with the ſubjects of their reſpective triumphs. This prince himſelf became a captive to Domitius, and was carried to Rome, where he was led in proceſſion, diſtinguiſhed by his painted arms and his chariot of ſilver, the equipage in which it was ſaid he uſually led his army to battle[5].

U. C. 633. It appears that the Romans had employed elephants in the firſt wars they made in Gaul; for the victory of Domitius is attributed to the effect that was produced by theſe animals[6].

Quintus Marcius ſucceeded Domitius in the command of the forces which were employed in Gaul, and continued to gain ground on the natives, who appeared from different cantons ſucceſſively to reſiſt his arms. He planted a colony at Narbo, to ſtrengthen the frontier of the newly-acquired province on one ſide; and, as the Romans had hitherto always paſſed by ſea into that country, he endeavoured to open a paſſage by the Alps, in order to have a communication by land with Italy on the other. In the courſe of theſe operations the Stæni, an Alpine nation that oppoſed him, were entirely cut off.

About this time the Roman generals obtained their triumphs on different quarters, in the Baliares and in Dalmatia, as well as in Gaul; and the republic did not meet for ſome years with an enemy able to reſiſt her power, except on the ſide of Thrace and the Danube, where the Proconſul Cato was defeated; and where a reſiſtance was for ſome years kept up by the natives.

But of the foreign affairs which occupied the attention of the Romans, the moſt memorable was the conteſt of pretenders to the crown

[5] Velleius Pater. Ammianus Marcell. lib. xv. fne. Padianus in Verrinam Secundam. Val. Max. lib. v. c. 9. [6] Suetonius in Vita Neroni.

of

of Numidia, which, by the death of Micipſa, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Maſſiniſſa, came to be diſpoſed of about this time. The late king had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal. He had likewiſe adopted Jugurtha, the natural ſon of his brother Manaſtabal, whom he had employed at the head of his armies, thinking it safer to gain him by good offices, than to provoke him by a total excluſion from favour. He had formed a project, frequent among barbarous and deſpotic ſovereigns, but always ruinous, to divide his territories; and he hoped that, while he provided for his own ſons, he ſhould ſecure to them, from motives of gratitude, the protection and good offices of Jugurtha, whom he admitted to an equal ſhare with them in the partition of his kingdom. The conſequences of this miſtaken arrangement ſoon appeared in the diſtractions that followed, and which aroſe from the ambition of Jugurtha, to make himſelf maſter of the whole. For this purpoſe he formed a ſecret deſign againſt the lives of both the brothers, of whom the younger, Hiempſal, fell into his ſnare, and was aſſaſſinated. Adherbal, being more cautious, obliged his crafty enemy to declare himſelf openly, took the field againſt him with all the forces he could raiſe, but was defeated, and obliged to take refuge in the Roman province, and from thence thought proper to paſs into Italy, in order to lay his complaints before the Senate and People of Rome.

Maſſiniſſa, the grandfather of this injured prince, had given effectual aid to the Romans in their wars with Carthage; and, upon the final reduction of that republic, was rewarded with a conſiderable part of its ſpoils. From this time forward the Romans expected, and the king of Numidia paid to them, a deference like that of a vaſſal or tributary prince to his ſovereign lord. Upon the faith of this connection, Adherbal now carried his complaints to Rome; and Jugurtha, knowing how ready the Romans were, in the character of arbitrators, to conſider themſelves as the ſovereigns of other nations, thought

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thought proper to ſend deputies on his part, to counteract the repreſentations of his rival.

This crafty adventurer had ſerved under Scipio at the ſiege of Numantia, where he had an opportunity of obſerving the manners and diſcipline of the Romans, and accommodated himſelf to both. He was equally diſtinguiſhed by his implicit ſubmiſſion to command, as by his impetuous courage, and by the ability of his conduct in every ſervice. He had even then probably directed his views to the ſucceſſion of Numidia, and ſaw of what conſequence the Romans might prove in deciding his fortunes. He had ſtudied their character, and had already marked out the line he was to follow in conducting his affairs with that People. They appeared to be a number of ſovereigns aſſembled together, able in council and formidable in the field; but, in compariſon to the Africans in general, undeſigning and ſimple. With the pride of monarchs they began, he imagined, to feel the indigence of courtiers, and were to be moved by conſiderations of intereſt rather than force. His commiſſioners were now accordingly furniſhed with ample preſents, and with the means of gratifying the principal perſons at Rome in a manner that was ſuited to their reſpective ranks and to their influence in the commonwealth.

In the choice of this plan Jugurtha, like moſt politicians that refine too much, had formed a ſyſtem with great ingenuity, and ſpoke of it with a ſpecious wit; but had not taken into his account the whole circumſtances of the caſe in which he engaged. Rome, he ſuppoſed, was a city to be ſold. He forgot that, though many Romans could be bought, no treaſure was ſufficient to buy the republic; that to buy a few, made it neceſſary for him to buy many more; that as he raiſed expectations, the number of expectants increaſed without limit; that the more he gave, the more he was ſtill expected to give; that in a ſtate which was broke into parties, if he gained one by his gifts,

gifts, that alone was ſufficient to rouſe the other againſt him. And accordingly, after laviſhing his money to influence the councils of Rome, he was obliged to have recourſe to arms at laſt, and to contend with the forces of the republic, after he had exhauſted his treaſure in attempting to corrupt her virtue.

Although Jugurtha had many partizans at Rome, ſuch was the injuſtice of his cauſe, or the ſuſpicion of corruption in thoſe who eſpouſed it, that they durſt not openly avow their wiſhes. They endeavoured to ſuſpend the reſolutions which were in agitation againſt him, and had the matter referred to ten commiſſioners who ſhould go into Africa, and in preſence of the parties ſettle the differences which ſubſiſted between them. There indeed he practiſed his art on the Roman commiſſioners with better ſucceſs than he had experienced with the Senate and People. He prevailed upon them to divide the kingdom, and to favour him in the lot which ſhould be aſſigned to himſelf: knowing that force muſt ultimately decide every controverſy which ſhould ariſe on the ſubject, he made choice, not of the richeſt, but of the moſt warlike diviſion; and indeed had already determined that, as ſoon as the Romans left Africa, he ſhould make an end of the conteſt by the death of Adherbal; truſting that, by continuing to uſe the ſpecific which it was ſaid he had already applied, he might prevail on the Romans to overlook what they would not, on a previous requeſt, have permitted.

He accordingly, ſoon after the departure of the Roman commiſſioners, marched into the territories of Adherbal, ſhut him up in the town of Cirta; and, while the Romans ſent him repeated meſſages to deſiſt, ſtill continued the blockade, until the mercenaries of Adherbal, tired of the hardſhips they were made to endure, adviſed, and, by their appearing ready to deſert, forced him to commit himſelf to the mercy of Jugurtha, by whom he was immediately put to death.

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By theſe events, in about ſeven years from the death of Micipſa, Jugurtha had attained to the object of his higheſt deſires; but the arts which procured him a crown, likewiſe rendered his ſtate inſecure. He was diſappointed in his expectation to pacify the Romans. The money he dealt went into the coffers only of a few, but his crimes rouſed the indignation of the whole People. Practiſed ſtateſmen or politicians are ſeldom rouſed by mere feelings of indignation on the ſubject of private wrongs. They have, or pretend to have, reaſons of ſtate to ſuppreſs the conſideration of individuals. The greater part of the Roman Senate accordingly, whether acting on maxims of policy, or won by the preſents of Jugurtha, received the complaints which were lodged againſt him with indifference; but the aſſembly of the People, moved by the cries of perfidy and murder which were raiſed by the Tribunes, received the repreſentations of his conduct with indignation and rage. Theſe paſſions were inflamed by oppoſition to the Nobles, who were ſuppoſed to favour the murderer. Neither the moſt deliberate Stateſman nor the moſt determined partizan of Jugurtha durſt appear in his cauſe, nor propoſe to decline a war with that prince, although it was likely to be attended with conſiderable difficulties; and was to be undertaken at a time when a cloud hung over Italy on the ſide of Gaul, a quarter from which the Romans always expected, and often experienced, the moſt terrible ſtorms.

U. C. 640. About the time that Adherbal laid his complaints againſt Jugurtha before the Senate of Rome, a new enemy had appeared. The north of Europe, or of Aſia, had caſt off a ſwarm, which, migrating to the ſouth and to the weſt, was firſt deſcried by the Romans on the frontier of Illyricum, and preſently drew their attention to that ſide. The horde was ſaid to conſiſt of three hundred thouſand fighting men, conducting their families of women and children, and covering the plains with their cattle. The Conſul Papirius Carbo was ordered to take

take poſt in Illyricum, to obſerve the motions of this tremendous hoſt. He was alarmed with their ſeeming to point towards the diſtrict of Aquileia; and putting himſelf, with too little precaution, in their way, could not withſtand their numbers, and was overwhelmed as by a tempeſt.

This migrating nation the Romans have called by the name of Cimbri, without determining from whence they came. It is ſaid that their cavalry amounted to no more than fifteen thouſand; that it was their practice to deſpiſe horſes, as well as the other ſpoils of their enemies, which they generally deſtroyed: and from this circumſtance it may be argued, that they were not of Scythian extraction, nor ſprung from thoſe mighty plains in the northern parts of Aſia, where military force has from time immemorial conſiſted of cavalry, where horſes were valued above every other ſpecies of acquiſition or property; and that they muſt have been bred amongſt mountains and woods, where this animal is not equally uſeful. On their helmets, which were creſted with plumes of feathers, they carried the gaping jaws of wild beaſts. On their bodies they wore breaſt-plates of iron, had ſhields painted of a conſpicuous colour; and carried two miſſile javelins or darts, and a heavy ſword. They collected their fighting men, for the moſt part, into a ſolid ſquare, equally extending every way: in one of their battles it was reported that the ſides of this ſquare extended thirty ſtadia, or between three and four miles. The men of the foremoſt ranks were faſtened together with chains locked to their girdles, which made them impenetrable to every attack, and gave them the force of a torrent, in ſweeping obſtructions before them. Such were the accounts with which the Romans were alarmed on the approach of this tremendous enemy.

Although, by the defeat of Carbo, Italy lay open to their devaſtations, yet they turned away to the north and the weſtward, and keeping the Alps on their left, made their appearance again on the

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frontier of the Roman province in Narbonne Gaul, and from thence paſſed into Spain, where they continued to alarm Roman ſettlements, and kept Rome itſelf in ſuſpence, by the uncertainty of the tract they might afterwards chooſe to purſue.

U. C. 642. Pub. Cornelius, Scipio Naſica. L. Calpurnius, Piſo, Conſ.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when the popular cry and generous indignation of the Roman People forced the State into a war with Jugurtha. The Conſul Piſo was appointed to command in Numidia. The neceſſary levies and ſupplies for this ſervice were ordered, and Jugurtha could no longer doubt that the force of the Roman republic was to be employed againſt him; yet, in hopes to avert the ſtorm, he ſent his ſon, with two proper aſſiſtants, in the quality of ambaſſadors to Rome, chiefly truſting to the arts of inſinuation he had hitherto practiſed, and to the diſtribution of preſents and of money. Their arrival being reported to the Senate, a reſolution of this body paſſed, that unleſs they brought an offer from Jugurtha to ſurrender his perſon and his kingdom at diſcretion, they ſhould be required in ten days to depart from Italy.

This anſwer being delivered to the ſon of Jugurtha, he preſently withdrew, and was followed by a Roman army, which was prepared to embark for Africa. The war was conducted at firſt with great vivacity and ſucceſs: but Jugurtha, by offering great public conceſſions or private gratifications, prevailed on the Conſul to negotiate. It was agreed, that, upon receiving a proper hoſtage on the part of the Romans, the king himſelf ſhould repair to their camp, in order to conclude the treaty. In the articles that were made public, the king agreed to ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion, and to pay a large contribution in horſes, corn, elephants, and money; but in ſecret articles, which were drawn up at the ſame time, the Conſul engaged that the perſon of the king ſhould be ſafe, and that the kingdom of Numidia ſhould be ſecured to him.

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During theſe tranſactions the time of the expiration of Piſo's command drew near, and he himſelf was called into Italy to preſide at the approaching elections. His report of the treaty with Jugurtha was received with ſuſpicion, and the cry of corruption reſumed by the popular party. "Where is this captive?" ſaid the Tribune Memmius; "if he have ſurrendered himſelf, he will obey your commands; ſend for him; queſtion him in reſpect to what is paſt. If "he refuſes to come, we ſhall know what to think of a treaty which "brings impunity to Jugurtha, princely fortunes to a few private "perſons, ruin and infamy to the Roman republic." Upon this motion the Prætor Caſſius Longinus, a perſon of approved merit and unſhaken integrity, was haſtened into Africa, with poſitive inſtructions to bring the king of Numidia to Rome. By the ſafe conduct which Caſſius brought on the part of the republic, and by his own aſſurances of protection, Jugurtha was prevailed on to commit himſelf to the faith of the Romans. He laid aſide his kingly ſtate and attendants, ſet out for Italy, and determined to appear as a ſuppliant at Rome. Upon his arrival, being called into the public aſſembly, Memmius propoſed to interrogate him on the ſubject of his ſuppoſed ſecret tranſaction with certain members of the Senate; but here Bebius, another of the Tribunes, interpoſed his negative; and, notwithſtanding that the People exclaimed, and even menaced, this Tribune perſiſted. And before this bar to the farther examination of Jugurtha could be removed, an incident took place, which occaſioned his ſudden departure from Italy.

Maſſiva, the ſon of Guluſſa, being the grandſon and natural repreſentative of Maſſiniſſa, and the only perſon beſides Jugurtha who remained of the royal line of Numidia, had been perſuaded by Albinus, the Conſul elected for the enſuing year, to ſtate his pretenſions before the Roman Senate, and to lay claim to the crown. Jugurtha, though at Rome, and in the power of thoſe who were likely to reſent

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ſent his crimes, gave a ſpecimen of the bold and ſanguinary counſels to which he was inclined, employed againſt this competitor the ordinary arts of his court, and had him aſſaſſinated. The crime was traced to its author, but the ſafe conduct he had received could not be violated; and he was only commanded, without delay, to depart from Italy. On this occaſion he left Rome with that memorable ſaying; "Here is a city to be ſold, if any buyer could be found."

U. C. 643. M. Minucius Rufus & Poſtumius Albinus.

The Conſul Albinus ſoon followed Jugurtha, to take the command of the Roman army in Africa; and being eager to perform ſome notable action before the expiration of his year, which was faſt approaching, he urged the king of Numidia, with all the forces he could aſſemble in the province; but found that he had to do with an enemy who had the art to elude his impetuoſity, and from whoſe apparent conduct no judgment could be formed of his real deſigns. This artful warrior often advanced with a ſeeming intention to hazard a battle, when he was moſt reſolved to decline it; or he precipitantly fled, when he meant to return upon his enemy, and take advantage of any diſorder he might incur in a too eager purſuit. His offers of ſubmiſſion, or his threats, were equally fallacious; and he uſed, perhaps in common with other African princes, means to miſlead his enemy, which Europeans, antient as well as modern, have in general condemned. He made ſolemn capitulations and treaties with a view to break them, and conſidered breach of faith, like a feint or an ambuſh, as a ſtratagem licenced in war. The Europeans have always termed it perfidy to break the faith of a treaty, the Africans held it ſtupidity to be caught in the ſnare.

By the artifices of Jugurtha accordingly, or by the remiſſneſs of his antagoniſt, the war was protracted for another year, and the Conſul, as the time of the election drew near, was recalled, as uſual, to preſide in the choice of his ſucceſſor. At his arrival the city was in great agitation. The cry of corruption, which had been raiſed

againſt many of the Nobles, on account of their ſuppoſed correſpondence with Jugurtha, gave an advantage to the popular party, and they determined to improve it, by raiſing proſecutions to the ruin of perſons, either odious to the People, or obnoxious to the Equeſtrian order, who then had the power of judicature in their hands[7]. Three inquiſitors were accordingly named by ſpecial commiſſion to take cognizance of all complaints of corruption that ſhould be brought before them; and this commiſſion was inſtantly employed to haraſs the Nobility, and to revenge the blood which had been ſhed in the late popular tumults. Lucius Calpurnius, Piſo, Beſtia, C. Cato, Spurius Albinus, and L. Opimius, all of conſular dignity, fell a ſacrifice on this occaſion to the popular reſentment. The Tribune Mamilius, upon whoſe motion this tribunal had been erected, with his aſſociates, apprehending that, upon the expiration of their truſt, the heat of the proſecutions might abate, moved the People that they might be continued in their office; and, upon finding themſelves oppoſed by the influence of the Senate and all the ordinary powers of the State, they ſuſpended, by virtue of their tribunitian power, the election of Conſuls, and for a whole year kept the republic in a ſtate of abſolute anarchy.

In this interval Aulus Albinus, left by his brother, the late Conſul, in the command of the army in Africa, determined to improve the occaſion by ſome honourable action. He left his quarters in the winter, and marched far into the country, hoping that by force or ſurprize he might poſſeſs himſelf of the Numidian treaſures or magazines. Jugurtha encouraged him in this deſign, affected fear, retired with precipitation wherever the Romans preſented themſelves; and, to encreaſe the preſumption of their general, ſent frequent meſſages to implore his pity. He at the ſame time endeavoured to open

[7] Cicero de Claris Oratoribus. Saluſt. in Bell. Jugurth.

a cor-

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a correſpondence with the Thracians and other foreigners, then ſerving in the Roman camp. Some of theſe he corrupted; and, when he had drawn the Roman army into difficult ſituations, and prepared his plan for execution, he ſuddenly advanced in the night to the Roman ſtation; and the avenues being entruſted, as he expected, to the Thracians and Ligurians whom he had corrupted, and by whom he was ſuffered to paſs, he ſurpriſed the Romans in their camp, and drove them from thence in great confuſion to a neighbouring height, where they enjoyed, during night, ſome reſpite from the enemy; but without any reſource for ſubſiſtence, or hopes of recovering their baggage.

In the morning Jugurtha deſired to confer with the Prætor; and repreſenting how much the Romans, ſtripped of their proviſion and equipage, were then in his power, made a merit of offering them quarter, on condition that they would conclude a treaty of peace, and in ten days evacuate his kingdom.

Theſe terms were accordingly accepted: but the capitulation, when known at Rome, gave occaſion to much indignation and clamour. It was voted by the Senate not to be binding, and the Conſul Albinus, in order to repair the loſs of the Public, and to reſtore the credit of his own family, made haſty levies, with which he propoſed to renew the war in Numidia. But not having the conſent of the Tribunes to this meaſure, he was obliged to leave his forces behind him in Italy, and joined the army without being able to bring any reinforcement. He found it in no condition to face the enemy, and was contented to remain in the province till a ſucceſſor ſhould be named.

U. C. 644. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, M. Junius Silanus.

Reſentment of the diſgraces incurred in Africa, and fear of invaſion from the Cimbri, who, having traverſed Spain and Gaul, were ſtill on their march, appear to have calmed for a little time the animoſity of domeſtic factions at Rome. The conſular elections were ſuffered to

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to proceed, and the choice of the People fell on Quintus Cæcilius Metellus and M. Junius Silanus; the firſt was appointed to the command of the army in Numidia, the ſecond to obſerve the motions of the Cimbri on the frontiers of Gaul, and to turn them aſide, if poſſible, from the territory of Rome. About this time thoſe wandering nations had ſent a formal meſſage to the Romans, deſiring to have it underſtood on what lands they might ſettle [8], or rather, over what lands they might paſs in migration with their herds. This requeſt being refuſed by the Senate, they opened a paſſage by force, overcame in battle the Conſul Silanus, and, probably without intending to retain any conqueſt, continued to move wherever the aſpect of the country tempted their choice.

Metellus proceeded to Africa with a conſiderable reinforcement; and, having ſpent ſome time in reſtoring the diſcipline of the army, which had been greatly neglected, and in training his new levies to the duties and hardſhips of the ſervice, he directed his march to the enemy's country, and in his way had frequent meſſages from Jugurtha, with profeſſions of ſubmiſſion and of a pacific diſpoſition.

When the Roman army entered on the territory of Numidia, they accordingly found the country prepared to receive them in a friendly manner; the people in tranquillity, the gates of every city left open, and the markets ready to ſupply them with neceſſaries.

Theſe appearances, with the known character of Jugurtha, creating diſtruſt, only excited the vigilance of Metellus. They even provoked him to retort on the Numidian his own inſidious arts. He tampered with Bomilcar and the other meſſengers of Jugurtha to betray their maſter, and promiſed them great rewards if they would deliver him into the hands of the Romans either living or dead.

Jugurtha, not conſidering that his known character for falſehood muſt have deſtroyed the credit of all his profeſſions, even if he ſhould

[8] Florus, lib. iii. Liv. lib. lxv.

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at any time think proper to make them ſincere, and truſting to the effect of his ſubmiſſive meſſages in rendering the enemy ſecure, made a diſpoſition to profit by any errors they ſhould commit, and hoped to circumvent and deſtroy them on their march. For this purpoſe he waited for them on the deſcents of a high mountain, over which they were to paſs in their way to the Muthul, a river which helped to form the ſituation of which he was to avail himſelf. He accordingly lay concealed by its banks until the enemy actually fell into the ſnare he had laid for them. With the advantage of the ground and of numbers, he maintained, during the greater part of the day, a conteſt with troops who poſſeſſed, againſt his irregulars, a great ſuperiority of order, diſcipline, and courage; but not having found the Romans, as he expected, in any degree off their guard, he was, in the event of that day's action, obliged to fly with a few horſe to a remote part of his kingdom.

This victory obtained over Jugurtha, appeared to be an end of the war. His army was diſperſed, and he was left with a few horſemen, who attended his perſon, to find a place of retreat, and to chuſe a ſtation at which to aſſemble new forces, if he meant to continue the war.

The Numidians were inured to action. The frequent wars of that continent, the wild and unſettled ſtate of their own country, made the uſe of horſes and of arms familiar: but ſo void was the nation of military policy, and its people ſo ignorant of order, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for the king to fight two battles with the ſame army. If victorious, they withdrew with their plunder; if defeated, they ſuppoſed all military obligations at an end: and in either caſe, after an action, every one fled where he expected to be ſooneſt in ſafety.

Metellus, after the late engagement, finding no enemy in the field, was for ſome time uncertain to what part of the kingdom Jugurtha had directed

directed his flight. But having intelligence that he was in a new ſituation aſſembling an army, and likely to form one ſtill more numerous than any he had yet brought into the field, tired of purſuing an enemy on whom defeats had ſo little effect, he turned away to the richer and more cultivated parts of the kingdom. Here the plunder of the country might better repay his labour, and the enemy, if he ventured to defend his territory, might more ſenſibly feel his defeats. Jugurtha perceiving his intention, drew his forces towards the ſame quarter, and ſoon appeared in his rear.

While Metellus was endeavouring to force the city of Zama, Jugurtha pierced into his camp, and, though repulſed from thence, took a poſt, by which he made the ſituation of the Romans, between the town and his own army, ſo uneaſy, as to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege.

This the Numidian prince thought a proper opportunity to gain ſome credit to his pacific profeſſions. He made an offer accordingly to ſurrender at diſcretion, and actually delivered up great part of his arms and military ſtores; but this purpoſe, if ever ſincere, he retracted, and again had recourſe to arms.

U. C. 645. Servius Sulpicius Galba, Q. Hortenſius Nepos, Marcus Aurelius Scaurus.

The victory which had been obtained in Africa, flattered the vanity of the Roman People, and procured to Metellus, in the quality of Proconſul, a continuation of his former command. The troops he had poſted in Vacca being cut off by the inhabitants, he made haſty marches in the night, ſurpriſed the place, and, without having allowed the authors of that outrage more than two days to enjoy the fruits of their perfidy, amply revenged the wrong they had done to the Roman garriſon.

But the ſucceſs of Metellus did not haſten the ruin of Jugurtha ſo faſt as his own miſconduct, in the jealous and ſanguinary meaſures which he took to ſuppreſs plots and conſpiracies, either real or ſup-

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poſed to be formed againſt his life, by perſons the moſt in his confidence.

Bomilcar, ſtill carrying in his mind the offers which had been made by Metellus, and willing to have ſome merit with the Romans, into whoſe hands he and all the ſubjects of Jugurtha were likely ſoon to fall, formed a deſign againſt his maſter, and drew Nabdalſa, a principal officer in the Numidian armies, to take part in the plot. They were diſcovered in time to prevent the execution of their deſign, but they made Jugurtha from thenceforward conſider the camp of his own army as a place of danger to himſelf, rendered him diſtruſtful, timorous, and unquiet; frequently changing his company and his quarters, his guards and his bed. Under theſe apprehenſions, by which his mind was conſiderably diſordered and weakened, he endeavoured, by continual and rapid motions, to make it uncertain where he ſhould be found; and he experienced at laſt, that private aſſaſſination and breach of faith, although they appear to abridge the toils of ambition, are not expedient even in war; that they render human life itſelf, for the advantages of which war is undertaken, no longer eligible or worthy of being preſerved. Weary of his anxious ſtate, he ventured once more to face Metellus in the field, and being again defeated, fled to Thala, where he had left his children and the moſt valuable part of his treaſure. This city too, finding Metellus had followed him, he was obliged to abandon, and, with his children and his remaining effects, fled from Numidia, firſt to the country of the Getuli, barbarous nations, that lived among the mountains of Atlas ſouth of Numidia, and whom he endeavoured to arm in his cauſe. From thence he fled to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whoſe daughter he had married; and having perſuaded this prince to conſider his quarrel with the Romans as the common cauſe of all monarchies, who were likely in ſucceſſion to become the prey of

of this arrogant and inſatiable power, he prevailed on the Mauritanian to aſſemble his army, and to attempt the relief of Numidia.

Jugurtha, in conjunction with his new ally, directed his march to Cirta, and Metellus perceiving his intention, took poſt to cover that place. But while he was endeavouring, by threats or perſuaſions, to detach the king of Mauritania from Jugurtha, he received information from Rome that he was ſuperſeded in the command of the army; and from thenceforward protracted the war, under pretence of meſſages and negotiations, and poſſibly inclined to leave it with all its difficulties entire to his ſucceſſor.

Marius, having ſerved under Metellus, had with great difficulty, and not without ſome expreſſions of ſcorn on the part of his general, obtained leave to depart for Rome, where he meant to ſtand for the Conſulſhip. He accordingly appeared in the capacity of candidate for this honour, and by vaunting, inſtead of concealing, the obſcurity of his anceſtors; by inveighing againſt the whole order of Nobility, their dreſs, their city manners, their Greek learning, their family images, the ſtreſs they laid on the virtue of their forefathers to compenſate the want of it in themſelves; but more eſpecially by arraigning the dilatory conduct of Metellus, and by promiſing a ſpeedy iſſue to the war, if it ſhould be entruſted to himſelf; a promiſe, to which the force and ability he had ſhown in all the ſtations he had hitherto filled, procured him ſome credit; he ſo far won upon the People, that he was choſen Conſul, in oppoſition to the intereſt of the Nobles, and to the influence of all the leading men of the Senate. His promotion was in a particular manner galling to Metellus, whoſe reputation he had attacked, and to whoſe ſtation in Africa, by an expreſs order of the People, in contempt of the arrangement which had been made by the Senate, he was now to ſucceed.

U. C. 646. L. Caſſius Longinus, C. Marius.

Upon the nomination of Marius, the party who had oppoſed his preferment did not attempt to withhold the reinforcements which he aſked

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asked for the service in which he was to command. They even hoped to increase his difficulties by suffering him to increase the establishment of his province. The wealthier class of the People alone were yet admitted into the legions; and being averse to such distant services, were likely to conceive a dislike to the persons by whom they were forced to inlist. Marius in this capacity might lose some part of the popular favour which he now enjoyed, and become less formidable to his rivals in the State. But this crafty and daring politician, by slighting the laws which excluded the necessitous citizens from serving in the legions, found in this class of the People a numerous and willing supply. They crowded to his standard, and filled up his army without delay, and even without offence to those of a better condition, who were pleased with relief from this part of their public burdens.

This was a remarkable and dangerous innovation in the Roman State, and may be mentioned among the steps which hastened the ruin of the commonwealth. From this time forward the sword began to pass from the hands of those who were interested in the preservation of the republic, into the hands of others who were willing to make it a prey. The circumstances of the times were such, indeed, as to give warning of the change. The service of a legionary soldier was become too severe for the less indigent order of citizens, and now opened to the necessitous the principal road to profit, as well as honour. Marius, to facilitate his levies, was willing to gratify both; and thus gave beginning to the formation of armies who were ready to fight for or against the laws of their country, and who, in the sequel, substituted battles for the bloodless contests which hitherto had arisen from the divisions of party.

The new Consul, unrivalled in the favour of the People, obtained whatever he required; and, being completely provided for the service to which he was destined, embarked for Africa with a great reinforce-

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ment, and in a few days arrived at Utica. Upon his arrival, the operations of the war were reſumed, and carried into the wealthieſt provinces of Numidia, where he encouraged his army with the hopes of ſpoil. The new levies, though compoſed of perſons hitherto excluded from the military ſervice, were formed by the example of the legions already in the field, and who were now well appriſed of their own ſuperiority to the African armies. Bocchus and Jugurtha, upon the approach of this enemy, thought proper to ſeparate, and took different routs into places of ſafety in the more difficult and inacceſſible parts of the country.

This ſeparation was made at the ſuggeſtion of Jugurtha, who alleged that, upon their appearing to deſpair, and to diſcontinue all offenſive operations, the Roman general would become more ſecure, and more open to ſurpriſe. But Marius, without abating his vigilance, preſſed where the enemy gave way, over-ran the country, and took poſſeſſion of the towns they had left. To rival the glory which Metellus had gained in the reduction of Thala, he ventured on a like enterpriſe, in the face of ſimilar difficulties, by attacking Thaſpa, a place ſurrounded with deſarts, and in the midſt of a land deſtitute of water, and of every reſource for an army. Having ſucceeded in this deſign, he ventured, in his return, to attack another fortreſs, in which, it being ſuppoſed impregnable, the royal treaſures were lodged. This ſtrong hold was ſituated on a rock, which was every where, except at one path that was fortified with ramparts and towers, faced with ſteep and inacceſſible cliffs. The garriſon permitted the firſt approaches of the Romans with perfect ſecurity, and even deriſion. After ſome fruitleſs attacks, Marius with ſome imputation of folly in having made the attempt, was about to deſiſt from the enterpriſe, when a Ligurian, who had been uſed to pick ſnails on the cliffs over which this fortreſs was ſituated, found himſelf, in ſearch of his prey, and by the growing facility of the

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aſcent, led to a height from which he began to have hopes of reaching the ſummit. He accordingly ſurmounted all the difficulties in his way; and the garriſon being then intent on the oppoſite ſide of the fortreſs to which the attack was directed, he returned unobſerved. This intelligence he carried to Marius, who without delay ordered a detachment of choſen men, with an unuſual number of trumpets and inſtruments of alarm, to follow the direction of this guide. He himſelf, to divert the attention of the beſieged, and to be ready, on receiving the propoſed ſignal from within, to make a vigorous and deciſive aſſault, advanced to the walls. The Ligurian, with much difficulty, endeavoured to effect his intentions. The ſoldiers who followed him were obliged to untie their ſandals and their helmets, to fling their ſhields and their ſwords, and, at difficult parts of the rock, could not be perſuaded to advance until their guide had repeatedly paſſed and repaſſed in their ſight, or had found ſtumps and points of the ſtone at which they could faſten cords to aid their aſcent. The ſummit was to be gained at laſt by the branches of a tree which, being rooted in a cleft of the rock, grew up to the edge of the precipice. By the branches of this tree the whole party paſſed, and, climbing near to its top, landed at laſt on the ſummit. They inſtantly ſounded their trumpets and gave a ſudden alarm. The beſieged, who had been drawn to the walls to reſiſt the enemy who attacked them in front, were aſtoniſhed with this ſound in their rear, and ſoon after, greatly terrified with the confuſed flight from behind them of women, children, and men unarmed, and being at the ſame time vigorouſly attacked at their gates, were no longer able to reſiſt, ſuffered the Romans to force their way at this entrance, and in the end to become maſters of the fort.

While Marius was engaged in the ſiege of this place he was joined by the Quæſtor Sylla, who had been left in Italy to bring up the cavalry, which were not ready to embark at the departure of the Conſul.

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This young man was of a Patrician and noble family, but which had not, for ſome generations, borne any of the higher offices of State. He himſelf partook in the learning which then ſpread into Italy, from a communication with the Greeks, and had paſſed the early part of his life in town-diſſipation or in literary ſtudies, of which the laſt were conſidered at this time at Rome as a ſpecies of corruption almoſt equal to the firſt. He was yet a novice in war, but having an enterpriſing genius, ſoon became an object of reſpect to the ſoldiers, and of jealouſy to his general, with whom he now laid the foundation of a quarrel more fatal to the commonwealth than that which had ſubſiſted between the preſent and preceding commander in this ſervice.

The king of Numidia, ſtung by the ſenſe of what he had already loſt, and expecting no advantage from any further delays, determined, in conjunction with Bocchus, to make a vigorous effort, and to oblige Marius, who was then moving to his winter quarters, yet to hazard a battle for the preſervation of what he had acquired in the preceding campaign. The king of Mauritania had been inclined to remain neutral, or to enter on a ſeparate treaty with the Romans; but being promiſed a third part of the kingdom of Numidia, in caſe the Romans were expelled from thence, and the war ſhould be brought to a happy concluſion, he once more brought forward his army, and joined Jugurtha.

The proſperous ſtate of the Romans, undiſturbed for ſome time by the oppoſition of any enemy in the field, inſpired them with ſome degree of negligence or ſecurity, by which they were expoſed to ſurpriſe. About an hour before the ſetting of the ſun, their march was interrupted by the attack of numerous parties, who, without any ſettled order, occupied the fields through which they were to paſs, and ſeemed to intend, by aſſailing them on every ſide, to begin the night with a ſcene of confuſion, of which they might afterwards

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more effectually avail themſelves in the dark. In an action begun under theſe diſadvantages, it was ſuppoſed, that the Roman army might be entirely defeated, and in a country with which they were not acquainted, and in circumſtances for which they were not at all prepared, being unable to effect a retreat, ſurrender at diſcretion.

Jugurtha, with his uſual intrepidity and conduct, profited by every circumſtance which preſented itſelf in his favour. He brought the troops, of which his army was compoſed, whether Getulians or Numidians, horſe or foot, to haraſs the enemy in their different ways of fighting, and where they could eaſieſt make their attacks. Wherever a party was repulſed, he took care to replace it; and ſometimes affected to remit his ardour, or to fly with every appearance of panic, in order to tempt the Romans to break from their ranks. Marius, notwithſtanding, with great dexterity and preſence of mind, maintained the form of his march; and, before night, got poſſeſſion of ſome heights on which he could ſecure his army. He himſelf, with the infantry, choſe that which had the ſteepeſt aſcent, and ordered Sylla, with the cavalry, to take his poſt on a ſmaller eminence below. That his poſition might not be known to the enemy, he prohibited the lighting of fires, and the uſual ſounding of trumpets at the different watches of the night. The Numidians had halted on the plain where night overtook them, and were obſerved, at break of day, repoſing in great ſecurity, and without any ſeeming apprehenſion or danger from an enemy, who was ſuppoſed to be flying, and who, on the preceding day, had, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped from their hands. Marius reſolved to attack them in this ſituation, and gave orders, which were communicated through the army, that, at a general ſound of the trumpets, every man ſhould ſtand to his arms, and with a great ſhout, and beating on his ſhield, make an impetuous attack on the enemy. The deſign, accordingly, ſucceeded. The Numidians, who had often affected to fly, were driven

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into an actual rout. Great numbers fell in the flight, and many enſigns and trophies were taken.

After this victory, Marius, with his uſual precautions, and without remitting his vigilance, on a ſuppoſition that the enemy was diſperſed, directed his march to the towns on the coaſt, where he intended to fix his quarters for the winter. Jugurtha, well appriſed of his route, propoſed again to ſurpriſe him before he ſhould reach the end of his journey; and, for this purpoſe, avoided giving him any premature or unneceſſary cauſe of alarm. He prepared to attack the Roman army in the neighbourhood of Cirta, which was to be the end of their labours, and near to which he ſuppoſed that they would think themſelves ſecure from any further attempts of their enemy. In the execution of this deſign, he, with the greateſt ability, conducted his troops to the place of action, and there too made every effort of conduct and reſolution. But the match being unequal, he was obliged to give up the conteſt; and, with his ſword and his armour all bathed in blood, and almoſt alone, is ſaid to have left a field, in which, for the firſt time, he had taken no precautions for re-aſſembling his army, and on which his Numidians were accordingly routed, to rally no more!

U. C. 647. C. Attilius Serannus, Quintus Servilius Cæpio.

Upon theſe repeated defeats, Bocchus deſpaired of the fortunes of Jugurtha, and ſent a deputation to Marius, requeſting a conference with himſelf, or with ſome of his officers. He obtained an interview with Sylla and Manlius; but, upon their arrival, had taken no fixed reſolution, and was ſtill kept in ſuſpence, by the perſuaſion of thoſe of his court who favoured the intereſt of Jugurtha. Marius, being continued in his command, reſumed the operations of the war, and was about to attack the only place which yet remained in the hands of the enemy. When the king of Mauritania, alarmed by this circumſtance, took his reſolution to ſue for peace, he ſent a deputation of five choſen perſons, firſt to the

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quarters of Marius, and, with this general's permiſſion, ordered them to proceed from thence to Rome. Theſe deputies, being admitted into the Senate, made offers of friendſhip in the name of their maſter; and were informed, in return, that he muſt give proofs of his friendly diſpoſition to the Romans, before they could believe his profeſſions, or liſten to any terms of peace. When this anſwer was reported to Bocchus, he was not at a loſs to underſtand that the Romans wiſhed him to deliver up the king of Numidia into their hands; and ſeems to have conceived the deſign of purchaſing peace, even on theſe terms. Sylla being already perſonally known to him, he made choice of this officer, as the perſon with whom he would treat, and deſired he might be ſent to his quarters. The Roman Quæſtor accordingly ſet out with a ſmall party. On the way he was met by Volux, the ſon of the king of Mauritania, with a thouſand horſe: him he conſidered as of doubtful intention, whether come as a friend or an enemy; but coming with profeſſions of friendſhip from the king his father, and with orders to eſcort the Roman Quæſtor, they proceeded together. On the ſecond day after this junction, Volux came in haſte to the quarters of Sylla, and informed him, that the advanced party had diſcovered Jugurtha poſted on their route, with a conſiderable force, and earneſtly preſſed the Romans to endeavour to make their eſcape in the night.

Sylla could no longer command his ſuſpicions, and, ſenſible that he had imprudently, without hoſtage or other ſecurity, ventured too far on the faith of an African prince, proudly refuſed to alter his march; deſired that the Mauritanian prince, if he thought proper, ſhould depart; but informing him, at the ſame time, that the Roman people would know how to avenge the injury done to their officers, and would not fail to puniſh the perfidy of the king his father. Volux made proteſtations of his innocence; and as the Roman Quæſtor could not be prevailed on to ſave himſelf by flight,

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this prince inſiſted to remain, and to ſhare in his danger. They accordingly kept on their way, paſſed through the troops of Jugurtha, who, though diſpoſed to offer violence to the Romans, had yet ſome meaſures to obſerve with the king of Mauritania, whoſe ſon was in the company; and while, contrary to his uſual character, he remained undecided, the prey eſcaped him, and got out of his reach.

Jugurtha ſent perſons of confidence immediately to counteract the negotiations of Sylla at the court of Bocchus; and each of theſe parties ſolicited the king of Mauritania to betray the other. The Numidians endeavoured to perſuade him, that, with ſuch an hoſtage as Sylla in his hands, he might ſtill expect ſome honourable terms from the Romans; and Sylla, on the other part, repreſented, that, as the king of Mauritania had offended the Romans, by abetting the crimes of Jugurtha, he muſt now expiate his guilt by delivering him over to juſtice. It was the inclination of this prince to favour Jugurtha; but it was his intereſt, as well as his intention, to gain the Romans. While he was ſtill in ſuſpence, he gave equal encouragement to both parties; and, without being finally determined what he ſhould do, appointed the Roman Quæſtor and the king of Numidia to meet him without any eſcort, or number of men in arms, reſerving to the laſt moment the power of determining againſt the one or the other. He had placed a body of his own troops in ambuſh, and, ſoon after the parties were met, gave a ſignal, which his men underſtood to be for ſeizing Jugurtha. The Numidians, who attended their king, were ſlain; he himſelf was put in chains, and delivered up to the Roman Quæſtor. Sylla, with the exultation of a hunter, received this lion in his toils; and, though he lived to perform much greater actions, ſtill appears to have valued himſelf moſt on the ſucceſs of this commiſſion. He boaſted ſo much of his prize, that he became, from that moment, an object of jealouſy to Marius, and was conſidered as a perſon advancing too faſt in the ſame career

of

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of renown *. It was underſtood among the Romans, that the commander in chief, upon any ſervice, in any diviſion or province of the empire, enjoyed the triumph for victories gained, even in his abſence, by his lieutenants, or by thoſe who ſerved under his command; and Marius probably thought that Sylla took more to himſelf than was due upon this occaſion. The deſire of being the perſon who put the finiſhing hand to any ſervice, however accompliſhed, was not peculiar to theſe officers. It was an effect of the Roman policy in making the rewards of honour depend ſo much on events, without regard to the means which were employed to produce them. From this circumſtance, the citizens of this republic were as deſirous of having the reputation of ſucceſsful adventures affixed to their names, as courtiers in modern Europe are deſirous to have titles of nobility, or badges of their ſovereign's favour.

The war being thus at an end, Marius appointed a thankſgiving; and, while he was offering the cuſtomary ſacrifices, the news arrived from Rome that the People had diſpenſed with the law in his favour, and again had made choice of him for Conſul of the following year. This choice was determined by the great alarm which the Romans had taken on the approach of the barbarous nations, who, like a meteor, had, for ſome years, traverſed the regions of Europe, and, with uncertain direction, were ſaid to deſtroy wherever they moved. The Romans had repeatedly ſtood in their way, and had provoked a reſentment, which theſe barbarians were ſuppoſed, in haſte, to wreck upon Italy. They were at firſt heard of under the name only of Cimbri; but were now known to conſiſt of many nations, under the appellations of Ambrones, Teutones, Tectoſagi, and others; and had gained acceſſions of force by the junction of the Tigurini, and other Gauliſh nations, who, either by choice or compulſion, were made a part in this mighty hoſt, whoſe movements the Romans conſidered as chiefly directed againſt themſelves.

* Plutarch. in Mario & in Sylla.

Beſides

CHAP. IV.

U. C. 648. P. Rutilius Rufus, Cn. Mallius.

Beſides the armies commanded by the Conſuls Carbo and Silanus, who had fallen victims to this barbarous enemy, other conſiderable bodies, under Scaurus and Caſſius, had periſhed by their hands; and other misfortunes, from the ſame quarter, were coming apace. At the time that Marius had finiſhed the war with Jugurtha, Quintus Servius Cæpio, having the former year commanded in Gaul, where he deſtroyed or pillaged the city of Toloſa, and made a great booty, conſiſting, according to Juſtin, of one hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold, and one million five hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, was now, in his turn, to meet with this enemy; the Conſul Mallius or Manilius had orders to join him; and all the troops they could aſſemble were thought neceſſary to withſtand the Barbarians. Theſe generals united their forces on the Rhône, but without a proper diſpoſition to act in concert; they were accordingly defeated in battle; eighty thouſand Romans, amongſt whom were the two ſons of the Conſul Manilius, were killed in the action; forty thouſand attendants of the army were maſſacred in cold blood. Both camps were taken.

After this victory the lords of the Cimbri, being aſſembled in council, called before them Aurelius Scaurus, formerly a Roman Conſul, lately ſecond in command to one of the vanquiſhed armies, and now a priſoner. They queſtioned him with reſpect to the forces in Italy, and the route to be taken acroſs the Alps: To theſe queſtions he made anſwer, That it would be in vain for them to invade that country: that the Romans, on their own territory, were invincible. And, in return to theſe words, it is ſaid, that a Barbarian ſtruck the priſoner with his dagger to the heart. It is further ſaid of this barbarous council, that they came to a reſolution to ſpare no priſoners, to deſtroy the ſpoils of the ſlain, to caſt all the treaſures of gold and ſilver into the neareſt river, to deſtroy all horſes with their ſaddles and furniture, and to ſave no booty whatever; and it muſt be confeſſed, that

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that in this their reſolutions were guided by a policy well accommodated to the manner of life they choſe to maintain. Wealthy poſſeſſions frequently diſqualify even ſettled nations for the toils of war, but to migrating tribes, they would be certain impediments and the means of ruin [10].

Theſe accounts of the character of an enemy, and of the fate of Roman armies which ventured to encounter them, were received at Rome with amazement and terror. The citizens changed their dreſs, and aſſumed the military habit. Rutilius, the Conſul, who had remained in the adminiſtration of affairs in Italy, had inſtructions from the Senate to array every perſon that was fit to bear arms. No one who had attained the military age was exempted. It is mentioned, that the ſon of the Conſul himſelf was turned into the ranks of a legion. There was little time to train ſuch levies; and the uſual way was thought inſufficient. The fencing-maſters, employed to train gladiators for the public ſhews, were brought forth, and diſtributed to inſtruct the citizens in the uſe of their weapons [11]. But the expedient, on which the People chiefly relied for deliverance from the dangers which threatened them, was the nomination of Marius to command againſt this terrible enemy.

This officer, upon hearing of his re-election, ſet out for Italy, and, with his legions and their captives, entered Rome in triumph; a ſpectacle, of which Jugurtha, in chains, with his unfortunate children, were the principal figures. When the proceſſion was over, the captive king was led to a dungeon, under orders for his immediate execution. As he was about to be ſtripped of his ornaments and robes, the executioner, in haſte to pluck the pendants from his ears, tore away the fleſh, and thruſt him naked into a dungeon below ground. He deſcended into this place with a ſmile, ſaying, "What a cold

[10] Oroſius, lib. v. c. 16. Eutrop. lib. v.

[11] Valer. Max. lib. ii. c. 3.

"bath

" bath is here?" He pined about ſix days, and expired. A king and an able commander would, in ſuch a ſituation, have been an object of reſpect and of pity, if we did not recollect, that he was the murderer of Adherbal and Hiempſal, the innocent children of his benefactor. And if we did not receive ſome conſolation from being told, that his own childern, who were likewiſe innocent, were exempted from the lot of their father, and honourably entertained in Italy.

Marius, in this triumph, is ſaid to have brought into the treaſury three thouſand and ſeven pounds, or thirty thouſand and ſeventy ounces of gold, and fifty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ounces of ſilver; and in money, two hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand denarii [a]. He entered the Senate, contrary to cuſtom, in his triumphal robes, probably to inſult the Nobles, who uſed to deſpiſe him as a perſon of obſcure extraction, born in a country town, and of a mean family: but finding that this was conſidered as an act of petulance, and generally condemned, he withdrew and changed his dreſs.

The kingdom of Numidia was diſmembered; part was put into the poſſeſſion of Bocchus as a reward for his late ſervices; and part reſerved for the ſurviving heirs of Maſſiniſſa.

As the law reſpecting the Conſulate now ſtood, no one could be elected in abſence, nor re-elected into this office, till after an interval of ten years. Both clauſes were diſpenſed with in favour of Marius, under pretence of continuing him at the head of the army; but as he might ſtill have remained at the head of the army, and have rendered the ſame ſervices to the State in the quality of Proconſul, his re-election may be aſcribed to his own ambition, and to his jealouſy of other riſing men in the State. Being conſidered as

U. C. 649. Conſuls; C. Marius 2do, C. Flavius Fimbria.

[a] About 10,000l.

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head of the popular party, his elevation was an object of zeal to the Tribunes, and was intended to mortify thoſe who affected the diſtinctions of antient family. Contrary to the uſual form, and without caſting lots, he was preferred to his colleague in the appointment to command in Gaul. Having his choice of all the armies at that time in Italy, he took the new levies, lately aſſembled and diſciplined by Rutilius, in preference to the veterans, who had ſerved in Africa under Metellus and himſelf. It is probable that he was determined in this choice, more by his deſire to gratify the veterans, who wiſhed to be diſcharged, than by the conſideration of any ſuppoſed ſuperiority in the diſcipline to which the new levies had been trained [42].

Upon the arrival of Marius in his province it appeared, that the alarm taken for the ſafety of Italy was ſomewhat premature. The Barbarians in their battles only meant to maintain the reputation of their valour, or to keep open the tract of their migrations. They had found the lands, from about the higher parts of the Danube and the Rhine, through Gaul and acroſs the Pyrennees into Spain, and to the ocean, convenient for their purpoſe, and ſufficiently extenſive. They had yet meditated no war with the Romans, or any other nation; but did not decline the encounter where they met with reſiſtance. At preſent they continued their migrations to the weſtward, without any intention to croſs the Alps, or to viſit the nations who inhabited within thoſe mountains.

We have nothing recorded in hiſtory concerning the movements of theſe wandering nations, during the two ſubſequent years, except what is related of their adventure with Fulvius, a Roman Prætor, probably in Spain, who, in return for hoſtilities committed in his province, having made a feint to draw the attention of their warriors, ſurpriſed and ſacked their camp. Under the apprehenſion, however,

[42] Frontius de Stragemat. lib. iv. c. 2.

of

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of their return towards Gaul and Italy, Marius continued to be elected Conſul, and was repeatedly named to the command of the army that was deſtined to oppoſe them. His party at Rome had, at this time, beſides the exigency which juſtified their choice, many other advantages againſt their antagoniſts, and maintained the envious quarrel of the lower people againſt the nobility with great animoſity and zeal.

CHAP. V.

Review of the Circumſtances which revived the popular Party.——Farther Account of Laws and Regulations under their Adminiſtration.——State of the Empire.——Fourth Conſulate of Marius.——Continued Migrations of the barbarous Nations.——Defeated by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ.——By Marius and Catulus in Italy.

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THE Senate had, for ſome time after the ſuppreſſion of the troubles which were raiſed by Fulvius and the younger Gracchus, retained its authority, and reſtrained the Tribunes of the People within ordinary bounds; but by the ſuſpicions which aroſe againſt them, on the ſubject of their tranſactions with Jugurtha, and by the miſcarriages of the war in Numidia, they again loſt their advantage. It is difficult to aſcertain the real grounds of theſe ſuſpicions. Salluſt ſeems to admit them in their utmoſt extent, and repreſents the whole order of nobility as mercenary traders, diſpoſed to ſell what the republic entruſted to their honour. That the preſents of Jugurtha were ſometimes accepted, and produced ſome effect, is not to be doubted; but that the ariſtocracy of Rome, during its ſhort reign, was ſo much corrupted, is ſcarcely to be credited. Such a meaſure of corruption muſt have rendered the State a prey to every foreign power that was in condition to miſlead its councils, and is not conſiſtent with that ſuperiority which the Romans then generally poſſeſſed in their negotiations, as well as in their wars. The charge itſelf favours too much of that envy with which the lower claſs of the People at all times interpret the conduct of their ſuperiors, and which was greatly countenanced by the partizans of Cæſar, at the time when Salluſt wrote, in order to vilify and reduce the Senate. We cannot, however,

oppoſe

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oppoſe mere conjecture to the poſitive teſtimony of Salluſt, corroborated by ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances in the tranſactions of the times. Among theſe we may recollect the patronage which Jugurtha met with at Rome, contrary to the profeſſions of the Romans, in behalf of juſtice, and the uncommon number of Senators degraded, at that time, by authority of the Cenſors, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus [1], which has been already mentioned in its place.

Whatever may have been the real occaſion of the cry then ſubſiſting againſt the Nobles, we have ſeen that the popular party, availing themſelves of it, and giving it all manner of countenance, found means to recover great part of their loſt power. The Tribunes, having obtained the eſtabliſhment of a ſpecial commiſſion for the trial of all thoſe who had received bribes from Jugurtha, made the people conſider their own act in conſtituting a court of inquiry, as ſufficient to evince the reality of the crime. The proſecutions which continued to be carried on for two years, upon this ſuppoſition, ſerved more than the ſubject of any former diſpute to alienate the minds of men from each other, and from the public. Queſtions were more of a private than of a public nature, and occupied the worſt of the human paſſions, envy, malice, and revenge. One party learned to cheriſh falſehood, ſubornation, and perjury; the other lived in continual fear of having ſuch engines employed againſt themſelves.

The People, in their zeal to attack the Nobility under any pretence, made no diſtinction between errors and crimes; and, contrary to the noble ſpirit of their anceſtors, treated misfortune, incapacity, or treachery, with equal rigour. One Tribune had extended the uſe of the ſecret ballot to the trial of leſſer crimes [2]; another, upon this

[1] It is already mentioned, that thirty-two Senators were ſtruck off the rolls by theſe magiſtrates.

[2] Lex Caſſia Tabellaria.

occaſion,

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occaſion, took away all diſtinctions, and introduced it in the trial of capital crimes alſo [2]: ſo that the judge, without being accountable, indulged his ſecret malice or partial favour [3].

Laws were made to promote the intereſt, as well as to gratify the animoſity of the lower people. By the Agrarian law of Gracchus, certain limits were ſet to eſtates in land; but, in order to render the exceſs of lands, in the hands of any particular perſon, immediately uſeful to the People, it was permitted, by an amendment made during the low ſtate of the ariſtocratical party, that perſons in poſſeſſion of more than the legal meaſure of land, might retain their eſtates, but ſubject to a rent to be collected for the benefit of the poorer citizens; and thus it was propoſed, that without any trouble in taking poſſeſſion of lands, or removing from the city, the favourites of the party ſhould be accommodated, and reap the fruits of ſedition and idleneſs unimpaired [4].

U. C. 647. Lex Servilia de Judiciis.

It was propoſed, by the Conſul Servilius Cæpio, that the Senate, whoſe members were perſonally ſo much expoſed to proſecutions, ſhould have their ſhare likewiſe in compoſing the juries, a privilege of which, by the edict of Gracchus, they had been deprived [5]. In whatever degree this propoſal was adopted, it was again expreſsly repealed upon the motion of Servilius Glaucia. And Cæpio ſoon after experienced, in his own perſon, the animoſity of the popular faction, being tried for miſcarriage in his battle with the Cimbri. He was condemned by the judges, and afterwards, in virtue of a regulation obtained by Caſſius, one of the Tribunes, declared, in conſequence of that ſentence, diſqualified to hold a place in the Senate [6].

Beſides the tranſactions already mentioned, the following particulars, overlooked in the hurry of recording military operations and

[2] Lex Cælia Tabellaria.
[3] Cicer. de Legibus, lib. iii.
[4] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i.
[5] Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 9.
[6] Aſconius Pædianus in Corneliana Ciceronis.

events,

events, may ſerve ſtill farther to characterize the times. M. Junius Silanus was tried for miſconduct againſt the enemy; M. Emilius Scaurus, firſt on the roll of the Senate, was brought to trial for contempt of religion; but both acquitted. The ardour for theſe proſecutions and popular regulations, continued until the ſecond Conſulate of Marius, when M. Marcius Philippus, one of the Tribunes, moved to reſtore the law of Tiberius Gracchus reſpecting the diviſion of eſtates in land; and, in his ſpeech in ſupport of this motion, affirmed, that there were not two thouſand families in Rome poſſeſſed of any property in land whatever [6]. This motion, however, was withdrawn.

Among the crimes which the populace were now ſo eager to puniſh, fortunately that of peculation or extortion in the provinces was one. To facilitate complaints on this ſubject, not only perſons having an immediate intereſt in the caſe, but all to whom any money or effects injuriouſly taken might have otherwiſe come by inheritance, were intitled to proſecute for this offence; and any alien, who convicted a Roman citizen of this crime, ſo as to have him ſtruck off the rolls of the People, was himſelf to be inrolled inſtead of the citizen diſplaced [7].

Domitius, one of the Tribunes, attacked the ariſtocratical conſtitution even of the prieſthood, and endeavoured to transfer the right of election from the order itſelf to the People; but ſuperſtition, which continues to influence the bulk of mankind after reaſon has failed, here ſtood in his way. The cuſtom was againſt him; and, in ſuch matters, religion and cuſtom are the ſame. The People, therefore, it was confeſſed, could not interfere without profanation; but a certain part of the People might judge of the candidates, and inſtruct the college of prieſts whom they were to chuſe [8]. The ſame artifice,

Lex Domitia de Sacerdotiis.

[6] Cicer. de Officiis, lib. ii.
[7] Cicero in Balbiana.
[8] Aſconius in Corneliana Ciceronis.

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or verbal evaſion, had been already admitted in the form of electing the Pontifex Maximus, now choſen by ſeventeen of the Tribes who were drawn by lot [9].

During this period, a juſt alarm was taken on the ſubject of of private as well as public corruption. Liberty was conceived to imply a freedom from every reſtraint, and to juſtify licence and contempt of the laws. The aids which were given to the People to enable them to ſubſiſt in profuſion and idleneſs; the wealth that was paſſing to Rome in the hands of traders, contractors, and farmers of the revenue, as well as provincial officers, by whom the profits of a firſt appointment were laviſhed in public ſhews, fights of gladiators, and baiting of wild beaſts, to gain the People in their canvas for farther preferments; theſe ſeveral circumſtances tended, in the higheſt degree, to corrupt the People, and to render them unworthy of that ſovereignty which they actually poſſeſſed in the prevalence of the popular faction.

The ſeverities which were practiſed in certain caſes, the ſumptuary laws which were provided to reſtrain luxury, were but feeble aids to ſtop ſuch a ſource of diſorder. It is mentioned, as an inſtance of ſuch ſeverity, that ſome veſtals were queſtioned at this time for a breach of that ſacred obligation to chaſtity, under which they were held up as a pattern of manners to the Roman women; that three of them were condemned, and, together with Roman knights, the ſuppoſed partners in their crimes, ſuffered extreme puniſhment. A temple was on this occaſion erected to the goddeſs Venus under a new title, that of the Reformer [10]; and prayers were to be offered up in this temple, that it might pleaſe the goddeſs to guard the chaſtity of Roman women [11].

[9] Cicero de Lege Agraria.
[10] Venus Verticordia.
[11] Oroſius, lib. v. c. 15. Jul. Obſequens. Ovid. Faſt. lib. v.

Luxury

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The term luxury is ſomewhat ambiguous; it is put for ſenſuality or exceſs in what relates to the preſervation of animal life; and for the effect of vanity, in what relates to the decorations of rank and fortune. The luxury of the Romans, in the preſent age, was probably of the former kind, and ſumptuary laws were provided, not to reſtrain vanity, but to govern the appetites for mere debauch. About the time that Jugurtha was at Rome, the ſumptuary law of Fannius received an addition, by which Roman citizens were not only reſtricted in their ordinary expence, but the legal quantities and ſpecies of food were preſcribed to them. The whole expence of the table was reſtricted to thirty aſſes [12] a day, and the meat to be ſerved up, to three or four pounds, dried or ſalted. There was no reſtriction in the uſe of herbs or vegetables of any ſort [13]. According to A. Gellius, the law permitted, on certain days, an expence of an hundred aſſes; on wedding-days, two hundred. It is remarkable, that this law continued to have its effect on the tables of Roman citizens after Cicero was a man [14]. The Epicures of his time were obliged to make up, in the cookery of their vegetable diet, what was defective in that ſpecies of food.

About the time of the commencement of the Numidian war, the People, according to the Cenſus, amounted to four hundred and three thouſand four hundred and thirty-ſix citizens, fit to carry arms. At this time it was that the Cenſors, Quintus Cecilius Metellus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, expelled thirty-two members from the Senate.

While the Romans were intent on the war which ſubſiſted in Africa, they were aſſailed by enemies in ſome of the other provinces. In Spain, hoſtilities, at intervals, were ſtill renewed. In endeavouring to quell one of the revolts of the natives, the Roman

[12] About two ſhillings.

[13] Macrobius Satur. lib. ii. c. 17.

[14] Epiſt. ad Familiar. lib. vii. ad Gallum.

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Prætor was killed; in another encounter, the forces employed againſt them were cut off; and a freſh army was tranſported from Italy, to ſecure the Roman poſſeſſions.

Hoſtilities were likewiſe continued on the frontier of Macedonia, by the Scordiſci, Triballi, and other Thracian nations; and the Proconſul Rufus, by his victories in this quarter, obtained a triumph.

During this period, in the Conſulſhip of Attilius Serranus, and Q. Servilius Cæpio, the year after the firſt Conſulſhip of Marius, were born two illuſtrious citizens, M. Tullius Cicero, and Cneius Pompeius Strabo, afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Pompey the Great. And we are now to open the ſcene in which the perſons, on whom the fate of the Roman empire was to depend, made their ſeveral entries into life, or into public buſineſs, and began to paſs through an infancy or a youth of danger, to an old age of extreme trouble, which cloſed with the ſubverſion of that conſtitution to which they were born.

U. C. 650. Caius Marius 8tio, L. Aurelius Oreſtes.

Marius having, without any memorable event, paſſed the year of his ſecond Conſulſhip on the frontier of Narbonne Gaul, was, by the People, ſtill under the ſame apprehenſion of the Cimbric invaſion, re-elected into the ſame office, and deſtined for his former ſtation. This year likewiſe the Barbarians turned aſide from his province, and left the republic at leiſure to contend with enemies of leſs conſideration, who appeared in a different quarter. Athenio, a ſlave in Sicily, having murdered his maſter, and broken open the priſons or yards in which ſlaves were commonly confined at work, aſſembled a number together, and being clothed in a purple robe, with a crown and a ſceptre, affected a ſpecies of royalty, invited all the ſlaves of the iſland to aſſume their freedom under his protection. He acquired ſtrength ſufficient to cope with Servilius Caſca, the Roman Prætor, and actually forced him in his camp. He likewiſe defeated

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feated the ſucceeding Prætor, Licinius Lucullus [19]; and was, in the third year of the inſurrection, with great difficulty, reduced by the Conſul Aquilius. This revolt was at its height in this year of the third Conſulſhip of Marius, and it was quelled in the ſecond year after it, the rebels being ſurrounded in their ſtrong holds, and obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions [20]. The whole is mentioned now, that it may not recur hereafter to interrupt matters of more moment.

About the ſame time the Romans had been obliged to equip a naval armament under Marcus Antonius, known by the appellation of the Orator, againſt the Cilician pyrates, who had lately infeſted the ſeas. All that we know of this ſervice is, in general, that it was performed with ability and ſucceſs [21].

From Macedonia, Calpurnius Piſo reported, that the victory he had gained over the Thracians had enabled him to penetrate to the mountains of Rhodope and Caucaſus.

Such was the ſtate of the empire when Caius Marius returned from his province in Gaul, to preſide at the election of Conſuls. He was again, by the voice of the People, called upon to reſume his former truſt; but he affected, from modeſty, to decline the honour. His partizans were prepared for his acting this part, and were accordingly, by their importunities, to force him into an office which he ſo modeſtly ſeemed to decline. Among theſe, Apuleius Saturninus, at this time himſelf candidate for the office of Tribune, charged Marius with treachery to his country in propoſing to deſert the republic in times of ſo much danger; and with his reproaches prevailed ſo far as to render him paſſive to the will of his fellow-citizens, who wiſhed to re-place [22] him again in his former ſtation.

[19] Florus, lib. iii. c. 19. [20] Ibid. lib. iv. c. 19.
[21] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 6. Cicero de Orator. lib. i. [22] Plutarch. in Mario.

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U. C. 651. Caius Marius 4to. L. Lutatius Catulus.

In this fourth Conſulate, the courage and military ſkill of Marius came to be actually exerted in his province. The barbarous nations, after their return from Spain, began to appear in ſeparate bodies, each forming a numerous and formidable army. In one diviſion the Cimbri and Tectoſages had paſſed through the whole length of Gaul to the Rhine, and from thence proceeded by the Danube to Noricum or Auſtria, and were pointing towards Italy by the valley of Trent. The Conſul Lutatius Catulus was ſtationed near the deſcent of the Alps to obſerve the motions of this body.

In another diviſion, the Ambrones and the Teutones hung on the frontier of the Roman province in Gaul, between the Garonne and the Rhône, and gave out, that they meant, by the moſt ordinary route of the mountains, to join their allies in Italy.

Upon the approach of this formidable enemy, Marius took poſt on the Rhône at the confluence of that river with the Iſere, and fortified his camp in the moſt effectual manner. The Barbarians, reproaching him with cowardice for having taken theſe precautions, ſent, agreeably to their own notions of war, a formal challenge to meet them in battle; and having had for anſwer from Marius, That the Romans did not conſult their enemies to know when it was proper to fight, they were confirmed in the contempt which they already entertained of his army, ventured to leave them behind, and proceeded in ſeparate diviſions towards Italy. Marius followed; and, with rapid marches, overtook them as they paſſed over the country without any precaution; ſome of them near to the Roman colony of Sextius [23], and far removed from each other. Having found them under ſuch diſadvantage, and in ſuch confuſion as expoſed them to ſlaughter, with ſcarcely any power of reſiſtance, he put the greater part to the ſword. Thus part of the hordes, who had for many

[23] Now Aix, in Provence.

years

years been ſo formidable to the Romans, were now entirely cut off. Ninety thouſand priſoners, with Teutobochus, one of their kings were taken, and two hundred thouſand were ſaid to be ſlain in the field [24].

The news of this victory arriving at Rome, while it was known that another diviſion of the ſame enemy, not leſs formidable, was ſtill in the field, it was not to be doubted that the command and office of Conſul would be continued to Marius. The populace, incited by ſome of the factious Tribunes, joined, with the other uſual marks of their attachment to his perſon, that of diſreſpect and inſolence to thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be his opponents and rivals. Of theſe Metellus Numidicus, whom he had ſupplanted in the command of the army againſt Jugurtha, was the chief. This reſpectable citizen, being now in the office of Cenſor, one Equitius, an impoſtor of obſure or ſlaviſh extraction, offered himſelf to be enrolled as a citizen, under the popular deſignation and name of Caius Gracchus, the ſon of Tiberius. The Cenſor, doubting his title, called upon Sempronia, the ſiſter of Gracchus, to teſtify what ſhe knew of this pretended relation; and, upon her giving evidence againſt him, rejected his claim. The populace, ill-diſpoſed to Metellus, on account of his ſuppoſed difference with Marius, took this opportunity to inſult him in the diſcharge of his office; attacked his houſe, and obliged him to take refuge in the Capitol. Even there the Tribune Saturninus would have laid violent hands on his perſon, if he had not been protected by a body of the Roman Knights, who had aſſembled in arms to defend him. This tumult was ſuppreſſed, but not without bloodſhed.

While the popular faction were indulging in theſe marks of their diſlike to Metellus, they proceeded to beſtow the honours which they U. C. 653. Caius Marius ſec. M. Aquilius.

[24] Plutarch. in Mario. Oroſius, lib. v. c. 16. Florus, lib. iii. c. 3. Velleius. Eutropius.

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intended for Marius, and choſe him for a fifth time Conſul, in conjunction with M. Aquilius. His late ſplendid ſucceſſes againſt one diviſion of the wandering Barbarians juſtified this choice, and pointed him out as the fitteſt perſon to combat the other, which was ſtill expected from the ſide of Noricum to attempt the invaſion of Italy. Catulus, the late colleague of Marius, commanding the troops that were ſtationed on the Atheſis, to cover the acceſs to Italy from the valley of Trent, was deſtined to act in ſubordination to the Conſul, who had given orders to haſten the march of his victorious army from the Rhône.

Catulus had taken poſt above Verona, thrown a bridge over the Atheſis, and, in order to command the paſſage of that river, had fortified ſtations on both its banks. While he was in this poſture, and before the junction of Marius, the enemy arrived in his neighbourhood. The amazing works which they performed fully ſerved to confirm the report of their numbers. They obſtructed with mounds of timber and earth the channel of the river, ſo as to force it to change its courſe; and thus, inſtead of paſſing the river, they threw it behind them in their march. They continued to float ſuch quantities of wood on the ſtream above the bridge which Catulus had built, that the paſſage of the water being ſtopped, the bridge, with all the timber which was accumulated before it, was entirely carried off. The Roman army, on ſeeing ſuch evidence of the numbers and ſtrenth of their enemy, were ſeized with a panic. Many deſerted their colours, ſome fled even to Rome without halting. The Proconſul thought proper to order a retreat; and thus, by ſeeming to authoriſe what he could not prevent, he endeavoured to ſave in part the credit of his army.

The level country on the Po was in this manner laid open to the incurſions of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Italy were greatly alarmed: and the Roman People paſſed an act of attainder againſt

againſt all thoſe who had abandoned their colours. Marius, who continued at Rome while the legions advanced on their march from Gaul, ſuſpended the triumph which had been ordered him by the Senate, went to receive his army at the foot of the Alps, and to haſten its junction with Catulus.

Upon the junction of the two armies, thoſe who had lately fled recovered their courage, and the generals determined, without loſs of time, to hazard a battle. It is ſaid that the Barbarians of this diviſion were ſtill ignorant of the diſaſter which had befallen their allies on the other ſide of the Alps, and had ſent a defiance or a challenge to fight; but that being informed of this calamity when they were about to engage, they made their attack with leſs than their uſual ferocity and confidence. Catulus received them in front. Marius made a movement to aſſail them in flank; but as they were hid by the clouds of duſt which every where roſe from the plain, he miſſed his way, or could not engage till after the enemy had been repulſed by Catulus, and were already put to flight. The rout was extremely bloody; an hundred and fifty thouſand were ſaid to be ſlain; ſixty thouſand ſubmitted to be taken priſoners. The remainder of this mighty hoſt, even the women and children, periſhed by their own hands; and the race of barbarous nations who had migrated through Europe, perhaps for ages before they encountered with the Romans, now appear to have been entirely extirpated [25].

On receiving the news of this victory at Rome, the city reſounded with joy, and the People, in every ſacrifice they offered up, addreſſed themſelves to Marius as a God. He had been conſtantly attended in this war by Sylla, who, though already an object of his jealouſy, ſtill choſe to neglect the preferments of the city, and to ſerve in the camp.

[25] Plutarch. in Mario & Sylla. Oroſius, lib. v. c. 16. Florus, lib. iii. c. 3. Velleius. Eutrop. Appian in Celtica.

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In the late victory Marius was no more than partner with Catulus. Upon the arrival of the armies at Rome, he did juſtice to Catulus in this particular, and admitted him to partake in his triumph. In this proceſſion there were no carriages loaded with gold, ſilver, or any precious ſpoils of any ſort; but, inſtead of them, the ſhattered armour and broken ſwords of an enemy; the ſurer marks of an honour juſtly won, and of a more important ſervice performed. Theſe were tranſported in loads, and piled up in the Capitol.

CHAP. VI.

Character and immoderate Ambition of Marius.——Death of Nonius.——Re-election of the Tribune Saturninus.——His Sedition and ſeizing the Capitol.——Death of Saturninus.——Reverſe in the State of Parties.——Recal of Metellus.——Violent Death of the Tribune Furius.——Birth of Caius Julius Cæſar.——Lex Cæcilia Didia.——Blank in the Roman Hiſtory.——Sylla offers himſelf Candidate for the office of Prætor.——Edict of the Cenſors againſt the Latin Rhetoricians.——Bullion in the Roman Treaſury.——Preſent of a Groupe in golden Figures from the King of Mauritania.——Acts of Livius Druſus.——Revolt of the Italian Allies.——Policy of the Romans in yielding to the Neceſſity of their Affairs.——The Laws of Plautius.

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UPON the extinction of the wandering nations which had now for ſome time moleſted the empire, there was no foreign enemy to endanger the peace of Italy. The wars in Thrace and in Spain had no effect beyond the provinces in which they ſubſiſted. The inſurrection of the ſlaves in Sicily, by the good conduct of Aquilius the Conſul, to whom that ſervice had been committed, was near being quelled.

Marius, being now returned to the city, might have quitted the paths of ambition with uncommon diſtinction and honour. An ordinary Conſulate, after his having been ſo often called upon in times of danger, as the perſon moſt likely to ſave his country, could make no addition to his glory. His being ſet aſide in times of ſecurity and leiſure, would even have been the moſt honourable and flattering comment that could have been made on his former elections.

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But immoderate thirſt of power, and extreme animoſity to his rivals, not elevation of mind, were the characteriſtics of Marius. His ambition had hitherto paſſed for an averſion to ariſtocratical uſurpations. But his contempt of family diſtinctions, the offspring of a vanity which made him feel the want of ſuch honours, by claſhing with the eſtabliſhed ſubordination of ranks in his country, became a ſource of diſaffection to the State itſelf. He formed views upon the Conſulate yet a ſixth time; and inſtead of the moderation, or the ſatiety of honours with which he pretended to be actuated when he hoped to be preſſed into office, he employed all his influence, even his money, to procure a re-election; and accordingly prevailed, together with Valerius Flaccus. He had warmly eſpouſed the intereſt of this candidate againſt Metellus, more from animoſity to the competitor, whoſe great authority, placed in oppoſition to himſelf, he dreaded, than from any regard or predilection for Flaccus. Being choſen, in order the more to ſtrengthen himſelf in the exerciſe of his power, he entered into concert with the Tribune Apuleius Saturninus, and, it is probable, agreed to ſupport this factious demagogue in his pretenſions to remain in office for another year; a precedent which had taken place only in the moſt factious times of the republic, and which was in itſelf more dangerous than any other re-election whatever. The perſon of the Tribune being ſacred, his will was abſolute, there was no check to his power beſides the fear of being called to account at the expiration of his term; and if this fear were removed by the perpetuity of office, it was a power yet more formidable than that of the Dictator, and to be reſtrained only by the diviſions which might ariſe among thoſe who were joined together in the exerciſe of it.

U. C. 653. Caius Marius 6to. L. Val. Flaccus.

The faction that was formed by Marius and the Tribune Saturninus, with their adherents, was farther ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the Prætor Glaucia. This perſon, while in office, and as he ſat in judg-

ment,

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ment, had received an affront from Saturninus, in having his chair of ſtate broken down, for preſuming to occupy any part in the attention of the People, while an aſſembly called by the Tribune was met. He nevertheleſs choſe to overlook this inſult, in order to be admitted a partner in the conſideration which was now enjoyed by theſe popular leaders.

Upon the approach of the tribunitian elections, the Senate and Nobles exerted themſelves to prevent the re-election of Saturninus; and nine of the new candidates were, without any queſtion, declared to be duly elected in preference to him. The tenth place too was actually filled by the election of Nonius Sufenas, whom the ariſtocracy had ſupported with all its influence. But the party of Apuleius, enraged at their diſappointment, had recourſe to violence, forced Nonius, though already veſted with the ſacred character of Tribune, to take refuge in a work-ſhop, from whence he was dragged by ſome of the late ſoldiery attached to Marius, and ſlain. The aſſembly broke up, and ſober perſons, though reputed of the popular party, retired under the ſtrongeſt impreſſions of affliction and terror.

Marius had reaſon to apprehend ſome violent reſolution from the Senate, and was in no haſte to aſſemble that body. Mean time Glaucia, in the night, with a party armed with daggers, took poſſeſſion of the Capitol and place of aſſembly, and, at an early hour in the morning, having gone through the forms of election, announced Apuleius again Tribune, in the place that was vacated by the murder of Nonius. This furious demagogue was accordingly reinſtated in the ſacred character, which, though recently violated by himſelf, was ſtill revered by the bulk of the People. He was continually attended by a new ſet of men who infeſted the ſtreets, freemen of deſperate fortune, whom Marius, contrary to the eſtabliſhed forms of the conſtitution, had admitted into the legions, and who were grown fierce and inſolent, as partners in the victories of that general, and who were made to expect that, in caſe the popular party ſhould

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prevail, they themſelves ſhould have eſtates in land and comfortable ſettlements.

Under the terror of ſo many aſſaſſins, who conſidered the Nobles as enemies to their cauſe, Marius with his faction were become maſters of the commonwealth. The better ſort of the People were deterred from frequenting the public aſſemblies, and no one had courage to propoſe, that any enquiry ſhould be made into the death of the Tribune Nonius, in whoſe perſon the ſacred law was again ſet at nought [1].

Lex Agraria

Apuleius haſtened to gratify his party by propoſing popular laws. One to ſeize, in name of the Public, thoſe lands on the Po which had lately been deſolated by the migrations of the barbarous nations, and to diſtribute them in lots to the poorer citizens [2].

Another, by which it was reſolved, that in the province of Africa a hundred jugera a man ſhould be diſtributed to the veterans [3]: that new ſettlements ſhould be made in Greece, Macedonia, and Sicily: and that the money taken from the temple at Toloſa [4] ſhould be employed in the purchaſe of lands for a like purpoſe: that wherever theſe colonies ſhould be planted, Marius ſhould have a power to inſcribe, at each of the ſettlements, three aliens into the liſt of citizens [5]. That the price, hitherto paid for corn by the People at the public granaries, ſhould be remitted, and that corn ſhould be diſtributed gratis.

Lex Frumentaria.

Upon the intention to obtain the laſt of thoſe laws being known, Q. Servilius Cæpio, one of the Quæſtors, repreſented, that if ſuch a law ſhould paſs, there would be an end of induſtry, good order, and government; and that the treaſury of Rome would not be ſufficient to defray the expence. He exhorted the Senate to employ every

[1] Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. i. Plutarch. in Mario, lib. lxix. Valer. Max. lib. ix. c. 7. Oroſius, lib. v. c. 57. Florus, lib. iii. c. 16.
[2] Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. i.
[3] Aut. de Viris Illuſtribus in Saturnino.
[4] Now Thouloufe.
[5] Aut. de Viris Illuſtribus in Saturnino.

meaſure to defeat the motion. And this body accordingly made a reſolution, that whoever attempted to obtain the law in queſtion ſhould be deemed an enemy to his country. But Apuleius was not to be reſtrained by the terrors of this reſolution. He proceeded to propoſe the law in the uſual form, and had planted the rails and balloting urns for the People to give their votes, when Cæpio, with a body of his attendants, had the courage to attack the Tribune, broke down the ſteps, and overſet the balloting urns; an action for which he was afterwards impeached upon an accuſation of treaſon, but by which, for the preſent, he diſappointed the deſigns of the faction [6].

Apuleius, to extend the power of the popular aſſemblies, and to remove every impediment from his own deſigns, brought forward a number of new regulations. One to confirm a former ſtatute, by which the acts of the Tribes were declared to have the force of laws. Another, declaring it to be treaſon for any perſon to interrupt a Tribune in putting a queſtion to the People. A third, obliging the Senate to confirm every act of the Tribes within five days after ſuch act had paſſed, and requiring every Senator, under pain of a fine, and of being ſtruck off the rolls, to take an oath to abide by theſe regulations. While theſe motions were in debate, ſome one of the party who oppoſed them, in order to ſtop the career of this factious Tribune, obſerved, that it thundered; a circumſtance which, upon the ordinary maxims of the Roman Augurs, was ſufficient to ſuſpend any buſineſs in which the People were engaged, and to break up their aſſembly. "If you be not ſilent," ſaid Apuleius to the perſon who obſerved that it thundered, "you will alſo find that it hails." The aſſembly accordingly, without being deterred by this interpoſition of the auſpices, paſſed acts to theſe ſeveral purpoſes. The power

[6] Aut. Rhetorici ad Herennium.

of

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of the Senate was intirely ſuppreſſed, their part of the legiſlature was reduced to a mere form, and even this they were not at liberty to withhold. Marius called them together, and propoſed that they ſhould conſider what reſolution they were to take with reſpect to a change of ſo much importance, and particularly with reſpect to the oath which was to be exacted from the members. The old warrior is ſaid, on this occaſion, to have practiſed an artifice by which he impoſed on many of the members, and which afterwards furniſhed him with a pretence for removing his enemy Metellus from their councils. He declared himſelf with great warmth againſt taking the oath, and by his example led other Senators to expreſs their ſentiments. Metellus, in particular, aſſured the aſſembly, that it was his own reſolution never to come under ſuch an engagement.

While the Senators relied on the concurrence of Marius in refuſing the oath, the time appointed for adminiſtring it nearly approached; and this Conſul, after the third day was far ſpent, aſſembled the Senate, ſet forth the dangerous ſtate of the commonwealth; at the ſame time expreſſed his own fears of the diſturbances that might ariſe if the Senate refuſed to gratify the People in this matter; and while multitudes were aſſembled in the ſtreets to know the iſſue of their councils, he required that the oath ſhould be adminiſtred. He himſelf took it, to the aſtoniſhment of the Senate, and the joy of the populace aſſembled by Apuleius, who ſounded applauſe through every part of the ſtreets. Metellus alone, of all who were preſent, refuſed to comply, and withſtood all the intreaties of his friends, who repreſented the danger with which he was threatened. "*If it were always ſafe* "*to do right*," he ſaid, "*who would ever do wrong? But good men* "*are diſtinguiſhed, by chooſing to do right even when it is leaſt for their* "*ſafety to do ſo.*"

On the following day the Tribune Saturninus entered the Senate, and, not being ſtopped by the negative of any of his own colleagues, the

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the only power that could reſtrain him, dragged Metellus from his place, and proffered an act of attainder and baniſhment againſt him, for having refuſed the oath which was enjoined by the People. Many of the moſt reſpectable citizens offered their aid to defend this illuſtrious Senator by force, but he himſelf declined being the ſubject of any civil commotion, and went into exile.

While the act, which afterwards paſſed for his baniſhment was preparing, he was heard to ſay, "If the times ſhould mend, I ſhall "recover my ſtation; if not, it is a happineſs to be abſent from "hence." He fixed his abode at Smyrna, conducted his retirement with great dignity during his exile, and probably felt as he ought, that any cenſure inflicted by men of a vile and profligate character was an honour.

In theſe tranſactions elapſed the ſecond year, in which Apuleius filled the office of Tribune; and, being favoured by a ſupineneſs of the oppoſite party contracted in a ſeeming deſpair of the republic, he prevailed yet a third time in being veſted with this formidable power. To court the favour of the People, he affected to credit what was alleged concerning the birth of Equitius; and, under the name of Caius Gracchus, ſon of Tiberius, had this impoſtor aſſociated with himſelf in the office of Tribune. The name of Gracchus, in this ſtation, awakened the memory of former hopes and of former reſentments. The party had deſtined Glaucia for the Conſulate, and appear to have left Marius out of their councils. This will perhaps account for the conduct with which he concluded his adminiſtration in the preſent year.

At the election which followed, the intereſt of the Nobles was exerted for Marcus Antonius and C. Memmius. The firſt was declared Conſul, and the ſecond was likely to prevail over Glaucia; when, in the midſt of the crowds that were aſſembled to vote, a ſudden tumult aroſe; Memmius was beſet and murdered; and the People,

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People, alarmed at ſo ſtrange an outrage, were ſeized with a panic, and fled.

In the night Glaucia, Saturninus, and the Queſtor Saufeius, being known to be met in ſecret conference, all the citizens who yet retained any regard for the commonwealth crowded together, in fear of what ſo deſperate a faction might attempt. All the voices were united againſt Saturninus, the ſuppoſed author of ſo many diſorders and murders. It was propoſed, without delay, to ſeize his perſon, either living or dead: but being put on his guard, by the appearance of a ſtorm ſo likely to break on his head, he thought proper, with the other leaders of his party and their retainers in arms, to ſeize the Capitol, and there to ſecure themſelves, and to overawe the aſſembly of the People. It was no longer to be doubted that the republic was in a ſtate of war. Marius, who had fomented theſe troubles from averſion to the Nobles, now remained undetermined what part he ſhould act. But the Senate being aſſembled, gave the uſual charge to himſelf and his colleague to avert the danger with which the republic was threatened; and both theſe officers, however much they were diſpoſed to favour the ſedition, being in this manner armed with the ſword of the commonwealth, were obliged to employ it in ſupport of the public peace. The Senators, the Knights, and all the citizens of rank repaired in arms to their ſtandard. Antonius, Conſul elected for the following year, in order to hinder the partizans of the faction from reſorting to the city, was ſtationed in the ſuburbs with an armed force[7]. The Capitol was inveſted in form, and appears to have held out ſome days; at the end of which, in order to oblige the rebels to ſurrender, the pipes that ſupplied them with water were cut off. This had the intended effect. They ſubmitted to ſuch terms as were propoſed to them; and Marius ſtill inclined to treat them

[7] Cicero pro C. Rabirio.

with

with favour, had them confined to the hall of the Senate till farther orders. In the mean time a great party of citizens, who were in arms for the defence of the republic, impatient of delay, and thinking it dangerous to ſpare ſuch daring offenders, beſet them inſtantly in their place of confinement, and put the whole to the ſword [8].

It was reported, though afterwards queſtioned upon a ſolemn occaſion [9], that Caius Rabirius, a Senator of diſtinction, having cut off the head of Apuleius, carried it as a trophy agreeable to the manners of thoſe times, and had it preſented for ſome days at all the entertainments which were given on this occaſion, and at which he was a gueſt.

This was the fourth tribunitian ſedition raiſed to a dangerous height, and quelled by the vigour and reſolution of the Nobles. Marius, who had been obliged to act as the inſtrument of the Senate on this occaſion, ſaw his projects baffled and his credit greatly impaired. Plutarch relates, that he ſoon after choſe to leave the city for ſome time, on pretence of a deſire to viſit the province of Aſia, where his active ſpirit formed the project of new wars, for the conduct of which he was much better qualified than for the adminiſtration of affairs in peace.

Upon the ſuppreſſion of this dangerous ſedition, the commonwealth was reſtored to a ſtate which, compared to the late mixture of civil contention and military execution, may have deſerved the name of public order. One office of Conſul was ſtill vacant; and the election proceeding without diſturbance, Poſtumius Albinus was joined to Antonius. Moſt of the other elections had alſo been fa-

U. C. 652. M. Antonius, A. Poſtumius Albinus.

[8] Plut. in Mario. Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. i. Oroſ. lib. v. c. 17. Flor. lib. iii. Aut. de Viris Illuſt. Cicero in Sextiana in Catal. lib. i. Philip. lib. viii & pro Caio Rabirio.

[9] At the trial of Rabirius, when, ſome years afterwards, he was accuſed of having killed Saturninus.

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vourable to the Nobles; and the majority even of the Tribunes of the People were inclined to reſpect the Senate and the Ariſtocracy, as principal ſupports of the government.

The firſt effect of this happy recovery was a motion to recal Metellus from baniſhment. In this motion two of the Tribunes, Q. Pompeius Rufus and L. Porcius Cato concurred. But Marius having oppoſed it with all his influence, and Publius Furius, another of the Tribunes, having interpoſed his negative, it could not at that time be carried into execution. Soon after, however, the ſame motion being renewed by the Tribune Callidius, and Furius having repeated his negative, Metellus, ſon of the exile, in preſence of the People, threw himſelf upon the ground, and, embracing the Tribune's knees, beſeeched him not to withſtand the recal of his father. The young man, from this action, afterwards acquired the Sirname of *Pius*; and the Tribune, inſolently ſpurning him as he lay on the ground, ſerved his cauſe by that act of indignity perhaps more effectually than he could have done by lending a favourable ear to his requeſt. The People, ever governed by their preſent paſſions, were moved with tenderneſs and with indignation. They proceeded, without regard to the negative of Furius, under emotions of ſympathy for the ſon, to recal the exiled father. The meſſenger of the republic charged with the intimation of this reſolution to Metellus, found him at Tralles in Lydia, among the ſpectators at a public ſhow. When the letters were delivered to him, he continued to the end of the entertainment without opening them; by this mark of indifference, treating the favour of a diſorderly populace with as much contempt as he had ſhown to their cenſure.

The Senate, now become the ſupreme power at Rome, by the diſtaſte which all reaſonable men had taken to the violence of the oppoſite party, were gratified, not merely with the teſt of ſuperiority they had gained in the recal of Metellus, but likewiſe in the downfal of

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ſome of the Tribunes who had been active in the late diſorders. Publius Furius, now become an object of general deteſtation, fell a ſacrifice to the law of Apuleius, which declared it treaſon to interrupt a Tribune in putting a queſtion to the People. Being accuſed by Canuleius, one of his colleagues, of violating this law, he was by the populace, who are ever carried by the torrent, and prompt for execution, prevented from making his defence; and; though a Tribune, put to death. Decianus, another of the Tribunes, in ſupporting the charge againſt Furius, happened to ſpeak with regret of the death of Saturninus, a crime for which he incurred a proſecution, and was baniſhed [10]. So ſtrong was the tide of popularity now oppoſite to its late direction, and ſo fatal even to their own cauſe frequently are the precedents or the rules by which violent men think to obtain diſcretionary power to themſelves. The murder of Nonius was a precedent to juſtify the execution of Apuleius, and both were followed by that of Furius. The law which made it treaſon to interrupt the proceedings of Apuleius, was employed to prevent any interruption to the operations of his enemies againſt himſelf and his faction.

Amidſt theſe triumphs of the ariſtocratical party, Sextus Titius, one of the Tribunes, ſtill had the courage to move a revival of the Agrarian law of Gracchus. The propoſal was acceptable in the aſſembly of the People [11]. And the edict was accordingly paſſed; but it was obſerved, that while the People were met on this buſineſs, two ravens fought in the air above the place of aſſembly, and the college of Augurs, on pretence of this unfavourable omen, annulled the decree [12]. Titius, the author of it, was ſoon after condemned for having in his houſe the ſtatue of Saturninus [13].

The Conſul Acquilius returned from Sicily; and having had an ovation or proceſſion on foot for the reduction of the Sicilian ſlaves,

[10] Val. Max. lib. viii. c. 1.
[11] Julius Obſequens.
[12] Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii.
[13] Ibid. pro C. Rabirio. Ibid. de Orator. lib. ii. c. 28.

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was on the following year brought to trial for extortion in his province. He called no exculpatory evidence, nor deigned to court the favour of his judges. But when about to receive ſentence, M. Antonius, who had pleaded his cauſe, tore open the veſt of his client, and diſplayed to the court and the audience the ſcars which he bore in his breaſt, and which were the marks of wounds received in the ſervice of his country. Upon this ſpectacle, a ſudden emotion of pity or reſpect decided againſt the former conviction of the court, and unfixed the reſolution, which a few moments before they had taken to condemn the accuſed.

Among the events which diſtinguiſhed the Conſulate of M. Antonius and A. Poſtumius Albinus, may be reckoned the birth of Caius Julius Cæſar, for whoſe ambition the ſeeds of tribunitian diſorder now ſown were preparing a plentiful harveſt. This birth, it is ſaid, was uſhered in with many preſages and tokens of future greatneſs. If indeed we were to believe, that nature in this manner gives intimation of impending events, we ſhould not be ſurpriſed that her moſt ominous ſigns were employed to mark the birth of a perſonage who was deſtined to change the whole face of the political world, and to lay Rome herſelf, with all the nations ſhe had conquered, under a perpetuated military government.

U. C. 655. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius.

Antonius and Albinus were ſucceeded in office by Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Titus Didius. The war ſtill continued in Spain, and fell to the lot of Didius. Upon his arrival in the Province, Dolabella, the Proprætor, ſet out on his return to Rome, and, for his victories in Spain, obtained a triumph. Metellus remained in the adminiſtration of affairs in Italy.

Lex Cæcilia Didia.

The adminiſtration of the preſent year is diſtinguiſhed by an act in which both Conſuls concurred, and which is therefore marked in the title with their joint names. The Roman People had frequently experienced the defect of their forms in the manner of enacting

enacting laws. Factious Tribunes had it in their power to carry motions by ſurprize, and to paſs in the ſame law a variety of clauſes; and, by obliging the people to paſs or reject the whole in one vote, frequently obtained, under the favour of ſome popular clauſes, acts of a very dangerous tendency. To prevent this abuſe, it was now enacted, upon the joint motion of the Conſuls Cæcilius and Didius, that every propoſed law ſhould be made public three market days before it could receive the aſſent of the People: that all its different clauſes ſhould be ſeparately voted: and that it ſhould be lawful for the People to paſs or reject the whole or any part of it [14].

This law had a ſalutary tendency; and, though far from ſufficient to prevent a return of the late evils, it ſerved for a time to ſtop the current of tribunitian violence; but while the ſource was open, any mere temporary ſtagnation could only tend to increaſe the force with which it occaſionally burſt over every impediment of law or good order that was placed in its way. And the inefficacy of meaſures taken upon the ſuppreſſion of any dangerous ſedition to eradicate the evil, ſhows the extreme difficulty with which men are led, in moſt caſes, to make any great and thorough reformation.

It is ſomewhat ſingular, that about this time, in the midſt of ſo much animoſity of the People to the Senate and Nobles, this ſuperior claſs of the citizens were the patrons of auſterity, and contended for ſumptuary laws, while the popular Tribunes contended for licence. "What is your liberty," ſaid the Tribune Duronius to the People (while he moved for a repeal of the ſumptuary law of Fannius), "if you "may not conſume what is your own; if you muſt be reſtrained "by rule and meaſure; if you muſt be ſtinted in your pleaſures? Let "us ſhake off, I pray you, theſe muſty remains of antiquity, and "make free to enjoy what we and our fathers have gained [15]."

[14] Cic. Philip. v. Pro domo ſua. Epiſt. ad Atticum, lib. ii. [15] Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 9.

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was on the following year brought to trial for extortion in his province. He called no exculpatory evidence, nor deigned to court the favour of his judges. But when about to receive ſentence, M. Antonius, who had pleaded his cauſe, tore open the veſt of his client, and diſplayed to the court and the audience the ſcars which he bore in his breaſt, and which were the marks of wounds received in the ſervice of his country. Upon this ſpectacle, a ſudden emotion of pity or reſpect decided againſt the former conviction of the court, and unfixed the reſolution, which a few moments before they had taken to condemn the accuſed.

Among the events which diſtinguiſhed the Conſulate of M. Antonius and A. Poſtumius Albinus, may be reckoned the birth of Caius Julius Cæſar, for whoſe ambition the ſeeds of tribunitian diſorder now ſown were preparing a plentiful harveſt. This birth, it is ſaid, was uſhered in with many preſages and tokens of future greatneſs. If indeed we were to believe, that nature in this manner gives intimation of impending events, we ſhould not be ſurpriſed that her moſt ominous ſigns were employed to mark the birth of a perſonage who was deſtined to change the whole face of the political world, and to lay Rome herſelf, with all the nations ſhe had conquered, under a perpetuated military government.

U. C. 655. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius.

Antonius and Albinus were ſucceeded in office by Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Titus Didius. The war ſtill continued in Spain, and fell to the lot of Didius. Upon his arrival in the Province, Dolabella, the Proprætor, ſet out on his return to Rome, and, for his victories in Spain, obtained a triumph. Metellus remained in the adminiſtration of affairs in Italy.

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For the petulance of theſe expreſſions, this Tribune was, by the judgment of the Cenſors, on the following year, expelled from the Senate; and he took his revenge by proſecuting the Cenſor Antonius for bribery in canvaſſing for his office.

U. C. 656. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Licinius Craſſus.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Licinius Craſſus being raiſed to the office of Conſul, the latter was appointed to relieve Didius in Spain, and the other to ſucceed Metellus in Italy. There is, during ſome years, a conſiderable blank in the materials from which we collect this hiſtory; little more is recorded than the ſucceſſion of Conſuls with the number of years, and a few particulars that ill ſupply the interval in our accounts of what paſſed in the city, or in the ſeries of important affairs abroad. So far as theſe particulars, however, can be referred to their reſpective dates, it will be proper, while we endeavour to mark the lapſe of time, to record them in the order in which they are ſuppoſed to have happened.

U. C. 655. In the preſent year are dated two remarkable acts of the Senate; one to condemn the uſe of magic, another to prohibit human ſacrifices[16]: the firſt proceeding, perhaps, from credulity in the authors of the law, the other implying ſome remains of a groſs and inhuman ſuperſtition, which was ſtill entertained by the People though rejected by the Government[17].

In the following Conſulate the kingdom of Cyrené was bequeathed to the Romans by Ptolemy Appion, the late king. But, as this People profeſſed themſelves to be the general patrons of liberty, where this bleſſing was not forfeited by ſome act of ingratitude or perfidy in their allies, they did not avail themſelves of this legacy; leaving the ſubjects of Cyrené to retain for ſome time the independence of their nation with a ſpecies of popular government; and in this form they were allowed to remain as a ſeparate State, until, in a general

[16] Plin. lib. xxx. c. 1.

[17] Dion. Caſſius, lib. xlii. p. 226.

arrangement

arrangement made of all the dependencies of the empire, they came to be reduced to the form of a province. CHAP. VI.

The following Conſuls gave its name and its date to an act of the People nearly of the ſame tenour with ſome of thoſe formerly paſſed for the excluſion of aliens. The inhabitants of Italy ſtill continued the practice of crowding to Rome, in expectation of obtaining in a body the prerogative of citizens, or at leaſt of intruding themſelves, as many of them ſeparately did, into ſome of the Tribes, by which perſons of this deſcription, from voting at elections, came themſelves by degrees to be elected into the higher offices of State.

U. C. 658. L. Licinius Craſſus, Q. Mucius Scevola. Lex Licinia Mucia de Civibus regendis.

Times of faction were extremely favourable to this intruſion of ſtrangers. Different leaders connived at the inrolment of thoſe who were likely to favour their reſpective parties. And the factious Tribunes, in whatever degree they may have favoured the general claim of the allies to be admitted as Romans, treated the ſubject as matter of oppoſition to the Senate. They expected to raiſe the ſtorm of popular animoſity and tumult with the more eaſe, in proportion as the numbers of the People encreaſed. By the act of Licinius and Mucius, nevertheleſs, a ſcrutiny was ſet on foot, and all who, without a juſt title, ventured to exerciſe any privilege of Roman citizens, were remitted to their ſeveral boroughs [18].

In this Conſulate is likewiſe dated the trial of Servilius Cæpio, for his ſuppoſed miſconduct about ten years before in his command of the army againſt the Cimbri. He had exaſperated the popular faction, by oppoſing the act of Saturninus for the gratuitous diſtribution of corn, and his enemies were now encouraged to raiſe this proſecution againſt him. The People gave ſentence of condemnation, and violently drove from the place of aſſembly two of the Tribunes who ventured to interpoſe their negative in his favour. Authors, accord-

[18] Aſcon. in Orat. pro Cornelio Majeſt. reo.

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ing to Valerius Maximus, have differed in their accounts of the ſequel; ſome affirming that Cæpio, being put to death in priſon, his body was dragged through the ſtreets as that of a traitor, and caſt into the river; others, that he was, by the favour of Antiſtius, one of the Tribunes, reſcued, or enabled to make his eſcape [19].

C. Norbanus, who was ſaid to be author of the riot which occaſioned the condemnation of Cæpio, and the ſuppoſed cruel execution of that citizen, was on the following year brought to trial himſelf for mal-adminiſtration and ſedition in office; but, by his own popularity, and the addreſs of the orator Antonius, who pleaded his cauſe, was acquitted [20].

The war in Spain ſtill continued; and the Romans, having gained conſiderable victories, ſent ten commiſſioners, to endeavour, in concert with Craſſus and Didius, to make ſuch arrangements as might tend to the future peace of thoſe provinces: but in vain; hoſtilities were again renewed in the following year.

U. C. 650. C. Val. Flaccus, M. Herennius.

L. Cornelius Sylla, who had been Quæſtor in the year of Rome ſix hundred and forty-ſix, now, after an interval of about fourteen years, and without having been Edile, ſtood candidate for the office of Prætor. Whether his neglect of political honours, during this period, proceeded from idleneſs, or from want of ambition, is uncertain. His character will juſtify either conſtruction, being equally ſuſceptible of diſſipation, and of the diſdain of ordinary diſtinctions. The people, however, refuſed to gratify him in his deſire of paſſing on to the office of Prætor without being Edile; as they were reſolved to be gratified with the magnificent ſhows of wild beaſts, which his ſuppoſed correſpondence with the king of Mauritania enabled him to furniſh. But to remove this objection to his preferment, he gave out, that as Prætor he was to exhibit the ſame ſhows which were expected from

[19] Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 7. [20] Cicero de Orator. lib. ii.

him

him as Edile: and having, in the following year, perſiſted in his ſuit, he was accordingly elected, and fulfilled the expectations of the People; inſomuch, that he is ſaid to have let looſe in the Circus a hundred maned or male lions, and to have exhibited the method of baiting or fighting them by Mauritanian huntſmen [19]. Such was the price which candidates for preferment at Rome were obliged to pay for public favour.

In this variable ſcene, where ſo many particular men excelled in genius and magnanimity, while the State itſelf was ſubject to the government of a capricious and diſorderly multitude, P. Rutilius, late Quæſtor in Aſia, exhibited a ſpectacle ſufficient to counterbalance the lions of Sylla; and, if it were permitted in any caſe whatever to treat our country with diſdain, an inſtance to be applauded of the juſt contempt with which the undeſerved reſentments of corrupt and malicious men ought to be received. Having reformed many abuſes of the equeſtrian tax-gatherers in the province which he governed, he was himſelf brought before the tribunal of an equeſtrian jury, to be tried for the crime he had reſtrained in others. In this ſituation he declined the aid of any friend, told the judges he would make no defence; but ſtated the particulars by which he had offended his proſecutors, left the court to decide, and, being condemned, retired to Smyrna, where he ever after lived in great tranquillity, and could not be prevailed on, even by Sylla in the height of his power, to return to Rome [20]. Great as the State and Republic of Rome was become, unmerited diſgrace was certainly a juſt object of contempt or indifference.

The Proconſuls, Didius and Craſſus, were permitted to triumph for victories obtained in Spain, but had not been able to eſtabliſh the peace of that country. The war which broke out afreſh in one of the provinces

[19] Plin. lib. viii. c. 16.

[20] Val. Max. lib. vi. c. 17. Liv. lib. lxx. Oroſius, lib. v. c. 17. Cic. de Orator. & in Bruto. Pædianus in Divinationem. Velleius, lib. ii.

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was committed to Valerius Flaccus, and the care of the other to Perperna, one of the Conſuls. Flaccus, near the town of Belgida, obtained a great victory, in which were ſlain about twenty thouſand of the enemy; but he could not prevail on the canton to ſubmit. Such of the People as were inclined to capitulate, deliberating on terms, were beſet by their fellow-citizens, and the houſe in which they were aſſembled being ſet on fire, they periſhed in the flames.

U. C. 661. C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perperna.

The war having been likewiſe renewed with the Thracians on the frontiers of Macedonia, Geminius, who commanded there in the quality of Proprætor, was defeated, and the province over-run by the enemy.

The Prætor Sylla, at the expiration of his office, was ſent into Aſia with a commiſſion to reſtore Ariarathes to the kingdom of Cappadocia, which had been ſeized by Mithridates, and to reſtore Pylamenes to that of Paphlagonia, from which he had been expelled by Nicomedes king of Bythinia. The Prætor having ſucceſsfully executed both theſe commiſſions, continued his journey to the Euphrates, where he had a conference, and concluded a treaty with an ambaſſador from Ariarathes king of the Parthians [21].

From an edict of the Cenſors, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Licinius Craſſus, condemning the ſchools of Latin rhetoric [22], it appears that the Romans, during this period, ſtill received with reluctance the refinements which were gradually taking place in the literary as well as in the other arts. "Whereas information," ſaid the Cenſors in their edict, "has been lodged before us that ſchools are "kept by certain perſons, under the title of Latin rhetoricians, to "which the youth of this city reſort, and at which they paſs intire "days in frivolity and ſloth; and whereas our anceſtors have deter-

[21] Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridatico. Juſtin, lib. xxxiii. Strabo, lib. xii.

[22] Cicer. de Orator. lib. iii. c. 24.

" mined what their children ſhould learn, and what exerciſes they " ought to frequent: theſe innovations on the cuſtoms and manners " of our forefathers being, in our opinion, offenſive and wrong, we " publiſh theſe preſents, that both maſters and ſcholars, given to theſe " illicit practices, may be duly appriſed of our pleaſure [23]. Cicero being now fourteen years of age, and employed in learning that eloquence for which he became ſo famous, was probably involved in this cenſure, as frequenting the ſchools which, by this formal edict of the magiſtrate, were condemned.

In the Conſulate of Marcus Philippus and Sext. Julius Cæſar, according to Pliny, there were in the Roman treaſury ſixteen hundred and twenty-eight thouſand eight hundred and twenty-nine pondo [24] of gold [25], or between ſixty and ſeventy or eighty millions ſterling. In the ſame year a preſent ſent from the king of Mauritania had nearly produced a civil war in the commonwealth, and greatly inflamed the paſſions from which that calamity ſoon after aroſe. Bocchus, in order to remind the Romans of the merit he had acquired by delivering Jugurtha into their hands, had cauſed this ſcene to be repreſented in a groupe of images of gold, containing his own figure, that of Jugurtha, and that of Sylla, to whom the unhappy prince was delivered up. Marius, under whoſe auſpices this tranſaction had paſſed, being provoked at having no place in the repreſentation of it, attempted to pull down the images after they had been erected in the place of their deſtination in the Capitol. Sylla was equally ſolicitous to have them remain; and the conteſt was likely to end in violence, if matters of greater moment had not ariſen to occupy the ardent and vehement ſpirit of theſe rivals.

The expectations of all parties at Rome, and throughout Italy, were now raiſed by the projects of Livius Druſus, an active Tribune, who,

[23] A. Gellius, lib. xv. c. 11.
[24] The Roman pondo of ten ounces.
[25] Plin. Harduen, lib. xxxiii. c. 3.

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in order to diſtinguiſh himſelf, brought forward many ſubjects of the greateſt concern to the public. He acted at firſt in concert with the leading men of the Senate, and was ſupported by them in order to obtain ſome amendment in the law as it then ſtood with reſpect to the courts of juſtice. The Equeſtrian order had acquired excluſive poſſeſſion of the judicature. The Senators wiſhed to recover at leaſt a ſhare

Lex de Judiciis.

in that prerogative; and Druſus, in order to gratify them, moved for an act of which the tendency was, to reſtore the judicative power of the Senate: to prevent oppoſition from the Equeſtian order, he propoſed, at once, to enrol three hundred knights into the Senate; and that the Senators, who appear at this time to have amounted to no more than three hundred, might not withſtand this increaſe of their numbers, he left to each the nomination of one of the new members; propoſing, that from the ſix hundred ſo conſtituted, the liſts of judges ſhould be taken[25]. Many of the knights were reconciled to this arrangement, by the hopes of becoming Senators; but the order, in general, ſeem to have conſidered it as a ſnare laid to deprive them of their conſequence in the government of their country; and individuals refuſed to accept of a place in the Senate, at the hazard of ſo great and ſo ſudden a change in the condition of their own order, and of the conſtitution of the State[26].

Lex Nummaria.

This Tribune likewiſe propoſed an act to debaſe the ſilver coin, by mixing an eighth of alloy. But the part of his project which gave the greateſt alarm, was that which related to the indigent citizens of Rome, and to the inhabitants of Italy in general.

Lex de Coloniis.

With a view to gratify the poorer citizens he propoſed, that all the new ſettlements, projected by the law of Caius Gracchus, ſhould now be carried into execution. The Conſul, Marcus Perperna,

[25] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. Aut. de Viris Illuſtribus, c. 66. Cicero pro Cluentio.
[26] Ibid.

having

having ventured to oppoſe this propoſal, he was, by order of the Tribune, taken into cuſtody; and ſo roughly treated in the execution of this order, that, while he ſtruggled to diſengage himſelf, the blood was made to ſpring from his noſtrils. "It is no more than "the pickle of the turtle-fiſh [27]," ſaid the Tribune, a ſpecies of delicacy, in which, it ſeems, among other luxuries of the table, this Conſul was ſuppoſed frequently to indulge himſelf.

Lex de Civitate Sociis danda.

For the allies of Italy, Livius Druſus propoſed to obtain the favourite object on which they had been ſo long intent, the privileges and powers of Roman citizens. In all his other propoſals, he had the concurrence of ſome party in the commonwealth, and by perſuaſion, or force, had obtained his purpoſe; but in this he ſtruck at the perſonal conſideration of every citizen, and was oppoſed by the unanimous voice of the whole People.

This Tribune uſed to boaſt, that he would exhauſt every fund from which any order of men could be gratified, and leave to thoſe who came after him nothing to give, but the air and the earth [28]. The citizens in general, however, were become tired of his favours, and the people of Italy were ill-diſpoſed to requite the merit of a project which he had not been able to execute. Soon after the motion, which he made in favour of the Italians, had been rejected, Druſus was ſuddenly taken ill in the public aſſembly, and Papirius Carbo, another of the Tribunes, made a ſhort ſpeech on the occaſion, which, among a people prone to ſuperſtition, and ready to execute whatever they conceived to be awarded by the gods, probably haſtened the fate of his falling colleague: "O Marcus Druſus!" he ſaid, "the father I call, not this degenerate ſon; thou who uſedſt to ſay, "The commonwealth is ſacred, whoever violates it is ſure to be "puniſhed. The temerity of the ſon has evinced the wiſdom of

[27] Ex turdis maria. Aut. de Viris Illuſtribus, in L. Druſ. Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 5. Florus.
[28] Florus, lib. iii. c. 17.

"the

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" the father." A great ſhout aroſe in the aſſembly, and Druſus [29], being attended to his own houſe by a numerous multitude, received in the crowd a ſecret wound of which he died [30]. All his laws were ſoon after repealed, as having paſſed under unfavourable auſpices. But the inhabitants of Italy were not to be appeaſed under their late diſappointment, and diſcontents were breaking out in every part of the country, which greatly alarmed the republic.

In this ſtate of public uneaſineſs, ſome proſecutions were raiſed by the Tribunes, calculated to gratify their own private reſentments, and tending to excite animoſities. Q. Varius Hybrida obtained a decree of the People, directing, that inquiry ſhould be made by whoſe fault the allies had been made to expect the freedom of the city. In conſequence of an inqueſt ſet on foot for this purpoſe, L. Calphurnius Beſtia, late Conſul, and M. Aurelius Orator, and other eminent men, were condemned [31]. Mummius Achaicus was baniſhed to Delos. Emilius Scaurus, who had long maintained his dignity as Princeps, or firſt on the roll of the Senate, was cited on this occaſion before the People as a perſon involved in the ſame guilt. Quintus Varius, the Tribune, who accuſed him, being a native of Spain, Scaurus was acquitted upon the following ſhort defence: " Q. Varius, from the banks of the Sucro, in Spain, " ſays, That M. Emilius Scaurus, firſt in the roll of the Senate, has " encouraged your ſubjects to revolt; Varius maintains the charge; " Scaurus denies it; there is no other evidence in this matter: " chuſe whom you will believe [32]."

The year following, Varius himſelf was tried, and condemned agreeably to his own act; and while the proſecutions ſuſpended all other

[29] Cicero in Bruto, p. 63.

[30] Velleius, lib. ii. c. 13, 14. Appian. Florus, lib. iii. c. 17.

[31] Appian. Val. Max. lib. viii. c. 6. Cicero in Bruto.

[32] Cicero pro M. Scauro filio. Aut. de Viris Illuſtribus, c. 72. Quintilian. lib. v. c. 12. Val. Max. lib. iii. c. 7.

civil

civil affairs, and even the meaſures required for the ſafety of the public, the inhabitants of Italy were forming dangerous combinations, and were ready to break out in actual rebellion. They were exaſperated with having their ſuit not only refuſed, but in having the abettors of it at Rome conſidered as criminals. They ſent deputies to meet at Corfinium, and to deliberate on a plan of operations. Their deputies were to form a Senate, and to chuſe two executive officers, under the denomination of Conſuls.

The Romans took their firſt ſuſpicion of a dangerous deſign in agitation among their allies, from obſerving that they were exchanging hoſtages among themſelves. The Proconſul Servilius, who commanded in the Picenum, having intelligence to this purpoſe from Aſculum, repaired thither, in order, by his preſence, to prevent any commotion; but his coming, in reality, haſtened the revolt. His remonſtrances and his threats made the inhabitants ſenſible that their deſigns were known, and that the execution of them could no longer in ſafety be delayed. They accordingly took arms, and put to the ſword the Proconſul Servilius, with his lieutenant, and all the Roman citizens who happened to be in the place. The alarm immediately ſpread throughout all the towns that were concerned in the plot; and, as upon a ſignal agreed, the Marſi, Peligni, Veſtini, Marcini, Picentes, Ferentanæ, Hirpini, Pompeiani, Venuſini, Apuli, Lucani, and Samnites, took arms, and ſent a joint deputation to Rome to demand a participation in the privileges of Roman citizens; of which they had, by their ſervices, contributed ſo largely to encreaſe the value.

In anſwer to this demand they were told by the Senate, That they muſt diſcontinue their aſſemblies, and renounce their pretenſions; otherwiſe, that they muſt not preſume to ſend any other meſſage to Rome.

War being thus declared, both parties prepared for the conteſt. The allies muſtered a hundred thouſand men, in different bodies, and under

U. C. 665. L. Julius Cæſar, P. Rutilius Lupus.

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under different leaders. The Romans found themſelves in an inſtant brought back to the condition in which they had been about three hundred years before; reduced to a few miles of territory round their walls, and beſet with enemies more united, and more numerous than ever had aſſailed them at once on the ſame ground. But their city was likewiſe enlarged, their numbers encreaſed, and every individual excellently formed to ſerve the State, as a warrior and a citizen. All of them aſſumed, upon this occaſion, the ſagum, or military dreſs; and being joined by ſuch of the Latins as remained in their allegiance, and by ſuch of their colonies, from different parts of Italy, as continued to be faithful, together with ſome mercenaries from Gaul and Numidia, they aſſembled a force equal to that of the allies.

The Conſuls were placed at the head of the two principal armies; Lucius Julius Cæſar, in the country of the Samnites [33], and Rutilius, in that of the Marſi [34]. They had under their command the moſt celebrated and experienced officers of the republic; but little more is preſerved to furniſh out the hiſtory of this war than the names of the Roman commanders, and thoſe of the perſons oppoſed to them. Rutilius was attended by Pompeius Strabo, the father of him who afterwards bore the title of Pompey the Great; Cæpio, Perperna, Meſſala, and Caius Marius, of whom the laſt had already ſo often been Conſul. Cæſar had, in the army which he commanded, Lentulus, Didius, Craſſus, and Marcellus. They were oppoſed by T. Afranius, P. Ventidius, Marcus Egnatius, Q. Pompedius, C. Papius, M. Lamponius, C. Judacilius, Hircus, Aſſinius, and Vetius Cato, at the head of the allies. The forces were ſimilar in diſcipline and in arms. The Romans were likely to be inferior in numbers and in reſources, but had the advantage in reputation, authority, and in the

[33] Now part of the kingdom of Naples.

[34] Contiguous part of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

fame of their leaders, inured to command in the higheſt ſtations. But ſo well had the allies taken their meaſures, and with ſo much animoſity did they ſupport a quarrel, which they had been meditating for ſome years, that the Romans appeared at firſt unequal to the conteſt, and were ſurpriſed and overcome in many encounters.

The detail of theſe operations is imperfectly recorded; and does not furniſh the materials of a relation either intereſting or inſtructive. We muſt therefore content ourſelves with a liſt of actions and events, and with the general reſult.

One of the Conſuls, Lucius Cæſar, in the firſt encounter of the war, was defeated by Vetius Cato near Eſernia, and had two thouſand men killed in the field. The town of Eſernia was immediately inveſted, and ſome Roman officers of diſtinction were obliged to make their eſcape in the diſguiſe of ſlaves. Two Roman cohorts were cut off at Venafrum, and that colony fell into the hands of the enemy. The other Conſul, Rutilius, was likewiſe defeated by the Marſi, and fell in the field, with eight thouſand men of his army. His colleague was called to the city to preſide at the election of a ſucceſſor; but being neceſſarily detained with the army, the office continued vacant for the remainder of the campaign, while the army acted under the direction of the late Conſuls, Marius and Cæpio.

The corpſe of Rutilius, and of other perſons of rank, being brought to public funeral at Rome, ſo alarmed and ſunk the minds of the People, that the Senate decreed, that, for the future, the dead ſhould be buried where they fell.

In the mean time, Lucius Cæſar obtained a victory in the country of the Samnites; and the Senate, in order to reſtore the confidence of the People, as if this victory had ſuppreſſed the revolt, reſolved, that the ſagum, or military dreſs, ſhould be laid aſide [35].

[35] Liv. lib. lxxiv. Appian. Oroſius, lib. v. c. 18. Florus, lib. iii. c. 18. Velleius. Eutropius.

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U. C. 664. Cn. Pomp. Strabo. L. Porcius Cato.

The uſual time of the Conſular elections being come, Cn. Pompeius Strabo and Porcius Cato were named.

Pompey gained a complete victory over the Marſi; and, notwithſtanding an obſtinate defence, reduced the city of Aſculum, where hoſtilities at firſt had commenced, and where the Romans had ſuffered the greateſt outrage. The principal inhabitants of the place were put to death, the remainder were ſold for ſlaves. The other Conſul, Cato, was killed in an attack upon the entrenchments of the Marſi; and although Marius and Sylla, in different quarters, had turned the fortune of the war againſt the allies, yet the event ſtill continued to be extremely doubtful.

The Umbrians, Etruſcans, and inhabitants of other diſtricts of Italy, who had hitherto heſitated in the choice of their party, took courage from the perſeverance and ſucceſs of their neighbours, and openly joined the revolt. The more diſtant parts of the empire were ſoon likely to ſeize the contagion: they were already, by the obſtruction they met with in carrying ſupplies of proviſions or revenue, ſevered from the capital, and the allegiance they owed as conquered provinces, whenever they ſaw their opportunity to withdraw it, was likely to vaniſh like a dream or ideal exiſtence.

Mithridates, the king of Pontus, did not neglect the occaſion that was offered to him; he put all his forces in motion, expelled Nicomedes from Bythinia, and Ariobarzones from Cappadocia, and made himſelf maſter of the greater part of the Leſſer Aſia.

In this extremity it appeared neceſſary to comply with the demands of the allies; but the Senate had the addreſs to make this conceſſion ſeem to be an act of munificence and generoſity, not of weakneſs or fear.

The Latins, who had continued in their allegiance, were, in conſideration of their fidelity, admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens. The Umbri and Tuſcans, who either had not yet declared,

clared, or who had been leaſt forward in the war, were next comprehended; and the other inhabitants of Italy, obſerving, that they were likely to obtain by favour what they endeavoured to extort by force, grew remiſs in the war, or withdrew from the league, that they might appear to be forward in the general return to peace.

The Marſi, Samnites, and Lucanians, who had been the principal authors of the revolt, or who had acted with moſt animoſity in the conduct of it, continued for ſome time to be excluded from the privilege of Romans. But the civil war, which ſoon after broke out among the citizens themſelves, terminated either in the extirpation of thoſe aliens, and in the ſettlement of Roman colonies in their ſtead, or gave them an opportunity, under favour of the party they eſpouſed, of gaining admittance to the privilege to which they aſpired: ſo that, in a few years, all the inhabitants of Italy, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Meſſina, were become citizens of Rome; and a conſtitution of ſtate, which had been already overcharged by the numbers that partook of its ſovereignty, was now altogether overwhelmed; or if this change alone were not ſufficient to deſtroy it, was not likely long to remain without ſome notable and fatal revolution. Aſſemblies of the People, already ſufficiently tumultuary, being now conſidered as the collective body of all the Italians, were become altogether impracticable, or could be no more than partial tumults raiſed in the ſtreets of Rome, or the contiguous fields, for particular purpoſes: inſomuch that when we read of the authority of the Senate being ſet aſide by an order of the People, we may venture to conceive all government ſuſpended at the inſtance of that party, who had then the populace of Rome at their call.

Licinius Craſſus and L. Julius Cæſar were choſen Cenſors, in order to make up the new rolls of the People. This, it is likely, was found to be a difficult and tedious work. It became neceſſary to ſcrutinize the rolls of every ſeparate borough, in order to know who

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were entitled to be added to the liſt of Roman citizens; and this difficulty was farther encreaſed in conſequence of a law deviſed about this time by Papirius Carbo, in which it was enacted, that not only the natives and antient denizens of Italy, but all who ſhould, for the future, obtain the freedom of any Italian borough, if they had a reſidence in Italy, and had given in their claim to the Prætor ſixty days, ſhould, by that act, become citizens[36]: ſo that the prerogative of the Roman People continued to be in the gift of every ſeparate corporation, as well as in that of the State itſelf.

The number of the aliens admitted on the rolls, at this muſter, is not recorded; but it was probably equal to that of the antient citizens, and might have inſtantly formed a very powerful and dangerous faction in the State, if effectual meaſures had not been taken to guard againſt the effect of their influence. For this purpoſe, they were not mixed promiſcuouſly with the maſs of the People, but confined to eight particular Tribes[37]; by this means they could only influence eight votes in thirty-five[38]; and the antient citizens were ſtill poſſeſſed of a great majority. But this artifice did not long eſcape the attention of thoſe who were aggrieved by it, and became the ſubject of a new diſpute.

While the Romans were meditating, or actually making this important change in the ſtate of the commonwealth, they found leiſure for matters of leſs moment, in which they endeavoured to provide for the peace of the city, and the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Lex Plotia de Judiciis.

Plautius, one of the Tribunes, obtained a new law for the ſelection of judges, by which it was enacted, That each Tribe ſhould annually elect fifteen citizens, without any diſtinction of rank; and that, from

[36] Cicero pro Archia Poëta.

[37] Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 20.

[38] Hiſtorians mention this particular, as if eight new Tribes were added to the former thirty-five; but the continual alluſion of Roman writers, to the number thirty-five, will not allow us to ſuppoſe any augmentation. Cicero de Lege Agraria 2da, c. 8.

the whole ſo named, the judges in all trials that occurred within the year ſhould be taken [39]. This law appeared to be equitable, as it gave, with great propriety, to all the different claſſes of men in the State, an equal right to be named of the juries; and to every party concerned, an equal chance of being tried by his peers.

Lex Plotia de Vi.

The ſame Tribune likewiſe obtained a law for the preſervation of the public peace, by which it was declared capital to be ſeen in public with a weapon, or inſtrument of death; to occupy any place of ſtrength in the city; to offer violence to the houſe of any perſon, or to diſturb any company; to interrupt any meeting of the Senate, aſſembly of the People, or court of juſtice. To theſe clauſes Catulus ſubjoined another, in which he comprehended perſons ſurrounding the Senate with an armed force, or offering violence to any magiſtrate [40].

[39] Pedianus in Cornelianam Ciceronis. [40] Cicero pro Cælio, et Aruſpicum Reſponſo-

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CHAP. VII.

Triumph of Pompeius Strabo.——Progreſs of Sylla.——War with the king of Pontus.——Riſe of that Kingdom.——Appointment of Sylla to command.——Policy of the Tribune Sulpicius.——Sylla's Commiſſion recalled in Favour of Marius.——His March from Campania to Rome.——Expels Marius and his Faction from the City.——His Operations in Greece.——Siege of Athens.——Battle of Chæronea.——Of Orchomenos.——Tranſactions at Rome.——Policy of Cinna.——Marius recalled.——Cinna flies, and is deprived.——Recovers the Poſſeſſion of Rome.——Treaty of Sylla with Mithridates.——He paſſes into Italy.——Is oppoſed by numerous Armies.——Various Events of the War in Italy.——Sylla prevails.——His Proſcription, or Maſſacre.——Named Dictator.——His Policy——Reſignation——and Death.

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THE ſocial war, though far from being ſucceſsful, concluded with a triumphal proceſſion; and the Senate, though actually obliged to yield the point for which they contended, thought proper, under pretence of advantages gained on ſome particular occaſions, to erect a trophy. They ſingled out Pompeius Strabo for the pageant in this ceremony; either becauſe he had reduced Aſculum, where the rebellion firſt broke out, or becauſe a victory obtained by him had moſt immediately preceded the peace. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance in this proceſſion was, its being, in ſhew, a triumph of the old citizens over the new, but in reality a triumph of the latter. Ventidius Baſſus, being a priſoner in the war, and led as ſuch in the preſent triumph, came in the form of a captive to ſhare in the prerogatives of a Roman; he was, in the ſequel, pro-

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noted to all the honours of the State; and himſelf, in the capacity of a victorious general, led a proceſſion of the ſame kind with that in which he had made his firſt entry at Rome as a captive [1].

Sylla, by his conduct and his ſucceſſes wherever he had borne a ſeparate command in this war, gave proof of that ſuperior genius by which he now began to be diſtinguiſhed. By his magnanimity on all occaſions, by his great courage in danger, by his imperious exactions from the enemy, and by his laviſh profuſion to his own troops, he obtained, in a very high degree, the confidence and attachment of his ſoldiers; and yet in this, it is probable, he acted from temper, and not from deſign, or with any view to what followed. With ſo careleſs and ſo bold a hand did this man already hold the reins of military diſcipline, that Albinus, an officer of high rank, and next in command to himſelf, being killed by the ſoldiers in a mutiny, he treated this outrage as a trifle, ſaying, when the matter was reported to him, That the troops would atone for it when they met with the enemy [2].

U. C. 665. L. Corn. Sylla, Q. Pomp. Rufus, Coſſ.

With the merits he had recently diſplayed in this war, he repaired to the city, laid claim to the Conſulate, and was accordingly choſen in conjunction with Quintus Pompeius Rufus.

It was thought neceſſary ſtill to keep a proper force under arms in Italy, until the public tranquillity ſhould be fully eſtabliſhed. The army, which had acted under Cneius Pompeius Strabo, Conſul of the preceding year, was deſtined for this ſervice; and Quintus Rufus was appointed to the command of it.

The war with Mithridates, king of Pontus, however, was the principal object of attention; and this province, together with the army then lying in Campania, fell to the lot of Sylla.

[1] Val. lib. vi. c. 9. Gellius, lib. xv. c. 4. Plin. lib. 7. c. 43. Dio Caſſius, 43. fine.
[2] Plutarch. in Sylla.

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The monarchy of Pontus had riſen upon the ruins of the Macedonian eſtabliſhments in Aſia; and, upon their entire ſuppreſſion, was become one of the moſt conſiderable kingdoms of the Eaſt.

Mithridates had inherited from his anceſtors a great extent of territory, reaching in length, according to the repreſentation of his own ambaſſador in Appian, twenty thouſand ſtadia, above two thouſand miles. He himſelf had joined to it the kingdom of Colchis, and other provinces on the coaſts of the Euxine ſea. His national troops amounted to three hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe, beſides auxiliaries from Thrace, and from that part of Scythia which lies on the Meotis and the Tanais, countries over which he had acquired an aſcendant approaching to a ſovereignty. He had pretenſions likewiſe on the kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia, which he had hitherto relinquiſhed from reſpect to the Romans; or of which he had deferred the effect until he ſhould be prepared to cope with this formidable power. All his pretenſions indeed, like thoſe of other monarchs, were likely to extend with his force, and to receive no limitation but from the defect of his power. And ſuch were his reſources, and his perſonal character, that, if he had encountered on the ſide of Europe with an enemy leſs able than the Romans were to withſtand his progreſs, it is probable that in his hands the empire of Pontus might have vied with that of the greateſt conquerors.

About the time that the ſocial war broke out in Italy, Caſſius Longinus, Manius Acquilius, and C. Oppius were, in different characters, ſtationed in the province of Aſia, and took under their protection every power in that country that was likely to oppoſe the progreſs of Mithridates.

Nicomedes, who had been recently reſtored to the crown of Bithynia, made hoſtile incurſions under the encouragement of theſe Roman generals, even into the kingdom of Pontus. Mithridates, having

having made fruitleſs complaints to them on this ſubject; and thinking that the diſtracted ſtate of Italy furniſhed him with a favourable opportunity to ſlight their reſentment, he ſent his ſon Ariarathes into Cappadocia with a force to expel Ariobarzanes, though an ally of the Romans, and to poſſeſs that kingdom. He took the field himſelf, and ſent powerful armies, under his generals, againſt Nicomedes, and againſt the Romans, who had aſſembled all the force of their province and of their allies, to the amount of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, in different bodies, to defend their own frontier, or to annoy their enemy.

Mithridates fell ſeparately upon the ſeveral diviſions of his enemies forces; and having defeated Nicomedes, and afterwards Manius, obliged the Roman officers, with their ally, to retire; Caſſius to Apamea, Manius towards Rhodes, and Nicomedes to Pergamus. His fleet, likewiſe, conſiſting of three hundred gallies, opened the paſſage of the Helleſpont, took all the ſhips which the Romans had ſtationed in thoſe ſtraits; and he himſelf ſoon after in perſon traverſed Phrygia and the Leſſer Aſia, to the ſea of Cilicia and Greece. In all the cities of the Leſſer Aſia, where the people now openly declared their deteſtation of the Roman dominion, he was received with open gates. He got poſſeſſion of the perſon of Oppius, by means of the inhabitants of Laodicea, where this general had taken refuge with a body of mercenaries. The mercenaries were allowed to diſband; but Oppius himſelf was conducted as a priſoner to the head-quarters of Mithridates, and, in mockery of his ſtate as a Roman governor, was made to paſs through the cities in his way, with his faſces or enſigns of magiſtracy carried before him.

Manius Acquilius likewiſe fell into the hands of the enemy, and was treated with ſimilar ſcorn; and with a barbarity which nothing but the moſt criminal abuſe of the power he lately poſſeſſed could have deſerved or provoked. Being carried round the cities of Aſia

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on an aſs, he was obliged at every place to declare, that his own avarice was the cauſe of the war; and he was at laſt put to death by the pouring of melted gold into his throat.

While Mithridates thus overwhelmed his enemies, and was endeavouring to complete his conqueſt of Aſia by the reduction of Rhodes, he ordered his general Archelaus to penetrate by the way of Thrace and Macedonia into Greece.

Such was the alarming ſtate of the war when the Romans, having ſcarcely appeaſed the troubles in Italy, appointed L. Cornelius Sylla, with ſix legions that lay in Campania, to embark for Greece, in order, if poſſible, to ſtem a torrent which no ordinary bars were likely to withſtand.

But before Sylla or his colleague could depart for their provinces diſorders aroſe in the city, which, without waiting the approach of foreign enemies, brought armies to battle in the ſtreets, and covered the pavements of Rome with the ſlain.

Publius Sulpicius, Tribune of the People, with a ſingular boldneſs and profligacy, ventured to tamper with the dangerous humours which were but ill ſuppreſſed in the event of the late troubles; and, as if the State had no experience of civil wars and domeſtic tumults, lighted the torch anew, and kindled the former animoſity of the popular and Senatorian parties. The ſevere meaſures hitherto taken by the Senate and Magiſtrates againſt the authors of ſedition had, in ſome inſtances, been effectual to ſnatch the republic out of the hands of lawleſs men, and to ſuſpend for a while the ruin of the commonwealth; but the examples ſo given, inſtead of deterring others from a repetition of the ſame crimes, appear only to have admoniſhed the factious leaders to take proper precautions, and to make the neceſſary preparations before they embarked in deſigns againſt the State. They accordingly improved and refined by degrees on the meaſures which they ſucceſſively took againſt the Senate; and

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and when the Tribune Sulpicius began to act, he made his arrangements equal to a ſyſtem of formal war. This Tribune, according to Plutarch, had three thouſand gladiators in his pay, and in deſpite of the law of Plautius, had ever at his back a numerous company of retainers, armed with daggers and other offenſive weapons; theſe he called his *Anti-ſenate*; and retained to ſupport him in an attempt, which he was at no pains to diſguiſe, againſt the authority of the Senate itſelf. He moved the People to recal from exile all thoſe who had fled from the city on occaſion of the former diſorders, and to admit the new citizens and enfranchiſed ſlaves to be enrolled promiſcuouſly in all the Tribes without regard to the late wiſe limitation of the Senate's decree, by which they were reſtricted to four. By the change which he now propoſed, the citizens of leaſt conſideration might come to have a majority, or a great ſway in the public deliberations. The Tribunes would become maſters in every queſtion, and fill up the rolls of the people in the manner that moſt ſuited their intereſt.

This preſumptuous man himſelf undertook to procure the freedom of the city for every perſon that applied to him, and boldly received premiums in the ſtreets for this proſtitution of the privileges and powers of his fellow-citizens.

The more reſpectable citizens, and the magiſtrates, in vain withſtood theſe abuſes. They were overpowered by force, and frequently driven from the place of aſſembly. In this extremity they had recourſe to ſuperſtition, and by multiplying holy-days, endeavoured to ſtop or to diſconcert their antagoniſts. But Sulpicius, with his party, laid violent hands on the Conſuls, in order to force them to recal theſe appointments. Young Pompey, the ſon of the preſent Conſul, and ſon-in-law to Sylla, was killed in the fray. Sylla himſelf, who had withdrawn from the tumult, feeling that he was in the power of his enemies, and being impatient to get into a ſituation in

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which he could more effectually reſiſt them, choſe for the preſent to comply with their demands [3].

In the midſt of theſe violences, the city being under an actual uſurpation or tyranny, Sylla repaired to the army in Campania, with a reſolution to purſue the object of his command in Aſia, and to leave the Tribunitian ſtorms at Rome to ſpend their force. But ſoon after his departure, it appeared, that Marius was no ſtranger to the councils of Sulpicius; and that he hoped, by means of this Tribune, to gratify an ambition which outlived the vigour of his faculties and the ſtrength of his body. His firſt object was to mortify his rival Sylla, in revoking, by a decree of the People, the appointment of the Senate, and to ſuperſede him in the command of the army againſt Mithridates. A decree to this purpoſe was accordingly with eaſe obtained by Sulpicius, in one of thoſe partial conventions, which took upon them to repreſent the People of Italy in the ſtreets of Rome; and Marius, now appointed general of the army in Campania, ſent the proper officers to intimate his appointment to Sylla, and to receive from him, in behalf of his ſucceſſor, the charge of the army, and the delivery of the ſtores. Sylla had the addreſs to make the troops apprehend that this change was equally prejudicial to them as to himſelf; that Marius had his favourite legions whom he would naturally employ; and that the ſame act of violence, by which he had ſupplanted the general, would bring other officers and other men to reap the fruits of this lucrative ſervice in Aſia. This perſuaſion, as well as the attachment which the army already bore to their general, produced its effect [4].

The officers, who intimated the appointment of Marius, on declaring their commiſſion, found that violence could take place in the camp as well as in the city. Their orders were received with

[3] Plutarch. in Mario, p. 526. edit. Londin. 410.

[4] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i.

ſcorn.

ſcorn. A tumult aroſe among the ſoldiers; and citizens veſted with a public character, formally commiſſioned to intimate an order of the Roman People, and delivering their commands to this purpoſe, were ſlain in the camp. In return to this outrage ſome relations and friends of Sylla were murdered in the city, and ſuch retaliations were not likely ſoon to end on either ſide [5].

Faction is frequently blind, and does not ſee the uſe that may be made of its own violent precedents againſt itſelf. Although Sylla is ſaid to have heſitated, yet he was not a perſon likely to ſhrink from the conteſt, in which his own enemies, and thoſe of the State, had engaged him. Stung with rage, and probably thinking that force would be juſtified in ſnatching the republic out of ſuch violent hands, he propoſed to the army that they ſhould march to Rome. The propoſal was received with joy; and the army, without any of the ſcruples, or any degree of that heſitation which is aſcribed to their commander in adopting this meaſure, followed where he thought proper to lead them.

On this new and dangerous appearance of things, not only Marius and Sulpicius, with the perſons moſt obnoxious on account of the inſults offered to Sylla and other reſpectable citizens, were ſeized with conſternation; but even the Senate and the Nobles were juſtly alarmed.

A faction, it is true, had aſſumed the authority of the Roman People, to violate the laws, and to overawe the State; but armies, it was thought, are dangerous tools in political conteſts; and no good intention on the part of their leaders, no magnanimity or moderation in the execution of their intentions, can compenſate the ruinous tendency of a precedent which brings force to be employed as an ordinary reſource in political diviſions. Even the preſent ſtate of the republic did not appear ſo deſperate as to juſtify ſuch a meaſure.

[5] Plutarch. in Mario, Edit. Lond. p. 526.

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The Senate accordingly ſent a deputation to Sylla with entreaties, and with commands, that he would not advance to the city. This deputation was received by him within a few miles of the gates. He heard the remonſtrance that was made to him with patience, and ſeemed to be moved. He gave orders, in the hearing of the deputies, that the army ſhould halt; ſent the proper officers to mark out a camp, and ſuffered the commiſſioners to return to their employers, full of the perſuaſion that he was to comply with their requeſt. But as ſoon as he thought this intelligence had reached the city, and had lulled his antagoniſts into a ſtate of ſecurity, he ſent a detachment cloſe on the heels of the deputies, with orders to ſeize the neareſt gate; and he himſelf, with the whole army, ſpeedily followed to ſupport them.

The gate was accordingly ſeized. The People, in tumult, endeavoured to recover it; Marius ſecured the Capitol, and ſummoned every man, whether freemen or ſlaves, to repair to his ſtandard. His party, as they aſſembled, were drawn up in the ſtreets. Sylla, in the mean time, at the head of his army, ruſhed through the gate, which his vanguard ſtill maintained, againſt the multitudes by whom they were preſſed. He was greatly annoyed from the battlements and windows as he paſſed, and might have been repulſed by the forces which Marius had aſſembled, if he had not commanded the city to be ſet on fire, in order to profit by the confuſion into which the People were likely to be thrown in avoiding or extinguiſhing the flames. By this expedient he drove Marius from all the ſtations he had occupied, forced him to abandon the city, and obliged his adherents to ſeparate.

While the army was diſtributed in different quarters of a city, deformed with recent marks of bloodſhed and fire, their general aſſembled the Senate, and deſired them to deliberate on the preſent ſtate of affairs. Among the meaſures he ſuggeſted on this occaſion, was a law by which Marius, with his ſon, and twelve of his fac-

tion, who had ſecreted themſelves, were declared enemies of their country. This ſentence was accompanied with a public injunction to ſeize or kill them wherever they could be found. The reaſons upon which this act of attainder was granted were, that they had violated the laws of the republic, and ſeduced the ſlaves to deſert from their maſters, and to take arms againſt the State [6].

While the officers of juſtice were diſperſed in execution of this decree, and many others were buſy in ſearch of their private enemies, thus laid at their mercy, the Tribune Sulpicius, having fled to the marſhes on the coaſt near Laurentum, was dragged from thence and ſlain. His head, ſevered from the body, as that of a traitor, who had ſurpaſſed every leader of faction in the outrages done to the laws and the government of his country, was expoſed on one of the roſtra; an example afterwards frequently imitated, and which, though it could not make any addition to the evil of the times, became an additional expreſſion of the animoſity and rancour of parties againſt each other [7].

Marius, upon his expulſion from Rome, retired to his own villa at Salonium; and, being unprovided for a longer flight, ſent his ſon to the farm of one Mutius, a friend in the neighbourhood, to procure what might be neceſſary for a voyage by ſea. The young man was diſcovered at this place, and narrowly eſcaped in a waggon loaded with ſtraw, which, the better to deceive his purſuers, was ordered to take the road to Rome. The father fled to Oſtia, and there embarked on board a veſſel which was provided for him by Numerius, who had been one of his partizans in the late troubles. Having put to ſea, he was forced by ſtreſs of weather to Circeii, there landed in want of every neceſſary, and made himſelf known to

[6] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. p. 387. The names mentioned in this act of attainder or outlawry, were Sulpicius, Marius' father and ſon, P. Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Cneius and Pub. Granii, Albinovanus, Marcus Suetonius.

[7] Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 19.

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ſome herdſmen, of whom he implored relief. Being informed of the parties that were abroad in purſuit of him, he concealed himſelf for the night in a neighbouring wood. Next day, as he was within a few miles of the town of Minturnæ, he was alarmed at the ſight of ſome horſemen, ran with all the ſpeed he could make to the ſhore, and, with much difficulty, got on board of a boat which was paſſing. The perſons with whom he thus took refuge reſiſted the threats and importunities of the purſuers to have him delivered up to them, or thrown into the ſea; but having rowed him to a ſuppoſed place of ſafety, at the mouth of the Liris, they put him on ſhore, and left him to his fate. Here he firſt took refuge in a cottage, afterwards under a hollow bank of the river, and, laſt of all, on hearing the tread of the horſemen, who ſtill purſued him, he plunged himſelf to the chin in the marſh; but, though concealed by the reeds and the depth of the water, he was diſcovered and dragged from thence all covered with mud. He was carried to Minturnæ, and doomed by the magiſtrates of the place to ſuffer the execution of the ſentence which had been denounced againſt himſelf and his partizans at Rome. He was, however, by ſome connivance, allowed to eſcape from hence, again put to ſea, and, at the iſland Ænaria, joined ſome aſſociates of his flight. Being afterwards obliged to land in Sicily for a ſupply of water, and being known, he narrowly eſcaped with the loſs of ſome of the crew that navigated his veſſel. From thence he arrived on the coaſt of Africa; but, being forbid the province by the Prætor Sextilius, continued to ſhift his abode among the iſlands or places of retirement on the coaſt [s].

Marius was in his ſeventieth year when he made this attempt to overturn the Roman republic by means of popular tumults, and when he ſtrove to obtain the command of an army in the buſieſt and moſt arduous ſervice which the Roman empire had then to offer.

[s] Plutarch. in Mario, edit. Lond. p. 534.

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Being forced, by his miſcarriage in this attempt, into the ſtate of an outlaw, he ſtill amuſed the world with adventures and eſcapes, which hiſtorians record with the embelliſhments of a pictureſque and even romantic deſcription. A Gauliſh or German ſoldier, who was employed at Minturnæ to put him to death, overawed by his aſpect, recoiled from the taſk; and the people of the place, as if moved by the miracle, concurred in aiding his eſcape [9]. The preſence of ſuch an exile on the ground where Carthage had ſtood, was ſuppoſed to encreaſe the majeſty and the melancholy of the ſcene. Go," he ſaid to the Lictor who brought him the orders of the Prætor to depart, " tell him that you have ſeen Marius ſitting on the ruins of " Carthage [10]."

The Senate, thus reſtored to its authority, and, by the ſuppreſſion of the late ſedition, maſters of the city, took the proper meaſures to prevent, for the future, ſuch violations of order introduced for popular government. They reſolved that no queſtion of legiſlation ſhould be agitated in the aſſembly of the Tribes [11]; and Sylla, before he left the city, thought proper to diſpatch the election of Conſuls for the following year, but did not employ the power, which he now poſſeſſed, to make the choice fall on perſons who were both of the ſenatorian party. Together with Octavius, who had the authority of the Senate at heart, he ſuffered Cinna, though of the oppoſite faction, to be choſen, and only exacted a promiſe from him not to diſturb the public peace, nor, in his abſence, to attempt any thing derogatory of his own honour [12].

Having in this manner reſtored the commonwealth, Sylla ſet out with his army for their deſtination in Greece. Quintus Rufus, the other Conſul of the preceding year, at the ſame time repaired to his

[9] Velleius Pater. lib. ii. c. 19.
[10] Plutarch. in Mario.
[11] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i.
[12] L. Florus, lib. iii. c. 21. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i.

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province in the country of the Marſi, where, as has been mentioned, he was to ſucceed Cn. Strabo in the command of ſome legions; but being leſs agreeable to theſe troops than his predeceſſor, the ſoldiers mutinied upon his arrival, and put him to death. Cn. Strabo, though ſuſpected of having connived with them in this horrid tranſaction, was permitted to profit by it in keeping his ſtation. So quick was the ſucceſſion of crimes which diſtreſſed the republic, that one diſorder eſcaped with impunity, under the more atrocious effects of another which followed it.

U. C. 665. L. Corn. Cinna, Cn. Octavius, Coſſ.

When Sylla was about to depart from the city, Virgilius, one of the Tribunes, moved an impeachment againſt him for the illegal ſteps he had lately taken. But the ſtate of the war with Mithridates was urgent, and Sylla took the benefit of the law of Memmius, by which perſons named to command had a privilege to decline anſwering any charge which ſhould be brought againſt them, when going on the ſervice to which they were appointed.

The king of Pontus, notwithſtanding he had been diſappointed in his attempt upon Rhodes, was become maſter of the Leſſer Aſia, had fixed his reſidence at Pergamus, and employed his officers, with numerous fleets and armies, to carry on the war in different quarters, making rapid acquiſitions at once on the ſide of the Scythian and Thracian Boſphorus in Macedonia and in Greece. His general, Archelaus, had reduced moſt of the Greek iſlands, and was haſtening to make himſelf maſter of the Grecian continent. Delos had revolted, and thrown off the yoke of Athens, at the time that it fell into the hands of this general. The king propoſed to make uſe of it as a decoy to bring the Athenians themſelves under his power. For this purpoſe he pretended a deſire to reſtore the iſland, with the treaſure he had ſeized there, to its former maſters; and ſent Ariſtion, a native of Athens, but now an officer in his own ſervice, with an eſcort of two thouſand men, to deliver this treaſure into their hands. Ariſ-

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tion being, under this pretence, received into the Pyræus, continued to hold this place, with the city of Athens itſelf, for Mithridates, and, by means of the forces he aſſembled in Attica, ſoon after overran Beotia, Achaia, and Laconia.

To theſe powerful encroachments on the Roman territory, and to the perſonal injuries done to ſuch of their generals as had fallen into his hands, Mithridates had joined a barbarous outrage, that rouſed, in the higheſt degree, the reſentment of the Roman People. He had ſent orders to all his commanders in every town and ſtation in Aſia, on a day fixed, to begin a maſſacre of the Roman citizens that were any where ſettled in that country, and to publiſh a reward for the ſlaves of any Roman who ſhould ſucceed in deſtroying their maſter. This order was executed with marks of inſult, in which the inſtruments of cruelty are often apt to exceed their inſtructions. It is particularly mentioned, that at Epheſus, Pergamus, and other cities of Aſia, intire families, taking refuge in the temples, and embracing the altars, infants with their parents, and without diſtinction of ſex or age, were dragged from thence and murdered. The number of perſons that periſhed in this maſſacre, if ever known, is no where mentioned[13].

The reſentment which was natural on this occaſion, together with the real danger that threatned the empire, fully juſtified the contempt with which Sylla treated the impeachment of Virgilius, and the celerity with which he left the city of Rome. Having tranſported to Dyrachium an army of ſix legions, he took the route of Theſſaly and Ætolia; and having raiſed in theſe countries contributions for the pay and ſubſiſtence of his army, he received the ſubmiſſion of the Beotians, who had lately been obliged to declare for Mithridates, and advanced to Athens, where Ariſtion in the city, and Archelaus in the Pyræus, were prepared to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Mithri-

[13] Appian. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 585, 586

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dates, who was maſter of the ſea, collected together all the troops which he had diſtributed in the iſlands, and ordered a great reinforcement from Aſia to form an army on the ſide of Beotia for the relief of Athens.

Sylla, to prevent the enemy, haſtened the ſiege of this place. He firſt made an attempt to force his way into the Pyræus by ſcaling the walls; but being repulſed, had recourſe to the ordinary means of attack. He erected towers, and raiſing them to the height of the battlements, got upon the ſame level with the beſieged, and plied his miſſiles from thence. He ſhook the walls with battering engines, or undermined them with galleries, and made places of arms for his men, near to where he expected to open a breach. But the defence of the place was vigorous and obſtinate, and ſo well conducted, that he was obliged, after many fruitleſs efforts, to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and to await the effects of famine, by which the city began already to be preſſed.

It was in a little time brought to the laſt extremity. Thoſe who were confined within the walls had conſumed all the herbage, and killed all the animals that were to be found in the place; they were reduced to feed on the implements of leather, or other materials that could be turned into ſuſtenance, and came at laſt to prey upon the carcaſes of the dead. The garriſon was greatly diminiſhed in numbers; and of thoſe who remained, the greater part was diſpirited and weak: but Ariſtion, expecting for himſelf no quarter from the Roman general, ſtill ſhowed no deſire to capitulate; when Sylla, knowing the weak ſtate to which the beſieged were reduced, made a vigorous effort, ſtormed and forced the walls with great ſlaughter. Ariſtion, who had retired into the Acropolis, was ſoon afterwards taken and ſlain.

Archelaus, likewiſe greatly diſtreſſed in the Pyræus, found means to eſcape by water, and haſtened to join the army that was forming

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on the ſide of Theſſaly; leaving the poſt he abandoned to fall into the hands of Sylla, who raſed its fortifications to the ground. CHAP. VII.

The army of Mithridates advanced into Beotia. Every part of it was ſumptuouſly provided with all that was neceſſary for ſubſiſtence or parade. There was a numerous cavalry richly capariſoned; an Infantry of every deſcription, variouſly armed, ſome to uſe miſſile weapons, others to engage in cloſe fight; a large train of armed chariots, which, being winged with ſcythes, threatened to ſweep the plains. The whole army amounted to about an hundred and twenty thouſand men. But their maſter, with all his ability, it appears, relied, in the manner of barbarous nations, more on their numbers than he did on their order, or on the conduct of their officers. Sylla was to oppoſe them with thirty thouſand men.

On this inferior enemy Archelaus continually preſſed with all his forces, and endeavoured to bring on a general action, which Sylla cautiouſly avoided; waiting for an opportunity that might deprive the enemy of the advantage they had in the ſuperiority of their numbers. The armies being both in Beotia, Archelaus inadvertently took poſt near Cheronea, on the aſcent of a ſteep hill that was formed into terraces by ledges of rocks, and which terminated at laſt in a peak or narrow ſummit. On the face of this hill he had crowded his infantry, his cavalry, and his chariots, and truſted that, although the ground was unfavourable to ſuch an army, it was ſtill inacceſſible, and could not be reached by an enemy.

While Archelaus believed himſelf ſecure in this poſition, Sylla continued to obſerve him from the poſt he had fortified at a little diſtance; and was told by ſome natives of the country, that the hill which the enemy had occupied might be aſcended in their rear, and that any part of his army might be ſafely conducted to the ſummit. Upon this information he made a diſpoſition to engage, placed his main body againſt the enemy in front, and, that he might throw them

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them into confuſion by a double attack, ſent a powerful detachment, with proper guides, to ſeize on the heights above their encampment.

The unexpected appearance of Sylla's detachment in the rear produced the alarm that was intended. Their impetuous deſcent from the hill drove in confuſion all who came in their way from thence to the camp. The rear fell down on the front. A great uproar and tumult aroſe in every part. And in this critical moment Sylla began his attack, and broke into the midſt of enemies, who were altogether unprepared to receive him. They were crowded in a narrow ſpace, and mixed without any diſtinction of ſeparate bodies of officers or men; and, under the diſadvantage of their ground, could neither reſiſt nor retire. In the centre, numbers being trod under foot by thoſe who crowded around them, periſhed by violence or ſuffocation; or, while they endeavoured to open a way to eſcape, were ſlain by each others ſwords. Of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, ſcarcely ten thouſand could be aſſembled at Chalcis in Eubœa, the place to which Archelaus directed his flight. Of the Romans, at the end of the action, only fifteen men were miſſing, and of theſe two returned on the following day [14].

Archelaus, even after this rout of his army, being ſtill maſter at ſea, drew ſupplies from Aſia and from the neigbouring iſlands; and, being ſecure in his retreat in Eubœa, made frequent deſcents on the neighbouring coaſts. While Sylla endeavoured to cover the lands of Beotia and Attica from theſe incurſions, Mithridates made great efforts to replace his army in that country; and in a little time had tranſported thither eighty thouſand freſh troops under Dorilaus, to whom Archelaus joined himſelf with thoſe he had ſaved from the late diſaſter. The new army of Mithridates, conſiſting chiefly of

[14] For this fact Plutarch quotes the Memoirs of Sylla.

cavalry,

cavalry, was greatly favoured by the nature of the ground in Beotia, which was flat and abounding in forage. Sylla, though inclined to keep the heights on which he was leaft expoſed to the enemy's cavalry, was obliged, in order to cover the country from which he drew his ſubſiſtence and forage, to deſcend to the plains in the neighbourhood of Orchomenos. There he took poſt among the marſhes, and endeavoured to fortify himſelf with deep ditches againſt the enemy's horſe. While his works were yet unfiniſhed, being attacked by the Aſiatic cavalry, not only the labourers, but the troops that were placed under arms to cover the workmen, were ſeized with a panic, and fled. Sylla, having for ſome time in vain endeavoured to rally them, laid hold of an enſign, and ruſhed in deſpair on the enemy. "To me," he ſaid, "it is glorious to fall in this place: "but for you, if you are aſked where you deſerted your leader, you "may ſay, at Orchomenos." Numbers who heard this reproach returned to the charge with their general; and wherever they preſented themſelves, ſtopped the career of the enemy, and put them to flight. The Roman army at length recovered itſelf in every part of the field; and Sylla, remounting his horſe, took the full advantage of the change of his fortune, purſued the enemy to their camp, and forced them to abandon it with great ſlaughter.

After the loſs of this ſecond army, Mithridates appears to have deſpaired of his affairs in Greece: he ſuffered Sylla to enter into quiet poſſeſſion of his winter quarters in Theſſaly, and authoriſed Archelaus to treat of peace.

Both parties were equally inclined to a treaty; the king of Pontus urged by his loſſes, and the Roman Proconſul by the ſtate of affairs in Italy. Sylla, though commanding in Greece by authority from the Roman Senate, had been degraded, and declared a public enemy by a reſolution of the People at Rome. An officer had been ſent from Italy to ſuperſede him; and a Roman army, independent of his orders,

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ders, was actually employed in the province. Mithridates too, while he had ſuſtained ſuch loſſes in Greece, was preſſed by the other Roman army in Aſia, under the command of Fimbria, who, with intentions equally hoſtile to Sylla as to Mithridates, advanced with a rapid pace, reduced ſeveral towns on the coaſt, and had lately made himſelf maſter of Pergamus, where the king himſelf had narrowly eſcaped falling into his hands. In theſe circumſtances a treaty was equally ſeaſonable for both.

Sylla had been abſent from Rome about two years, during which time, having no ſupplies from thence, he had ſupported the war by the contributions which he had raiſed in Greece, Ætolia, and Theſſaly, and with the money he had coined from the plate and treaſure of the Grecian temples[15]. The republic, in the mean time, had been in the poſſeſſion of his enemies, and the authority of the Senate was, in a great meaſure, ſuppreſſed. Soon after he left the city, Cinna, notwithſtanding his engagements to Sylla, revived the project of keeping the more reſpectable citizens in ſubjection, under pretence of a government placed in the hands of the People.

The deſignation of the popular party was the ſame with that which had diſtinguiſhed the followers of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus; but the object was changed, and the nominal popular faction itſelf was differently compoſed. Formerly this faction conſiſted of the populace of Rome and of the poorer citizens, oppoſed to the noble and the rich. The objects for which they at that time contended, were the diſtribution of corn, new ſettlements, or the diviſion of lands. At preſent the parties conſiſted of the inhabitants of the country towns lately admitted, or ſtill claiming to be admitted, on the rolls of the People on one ſide, and of the Senate and antient citizens on the other. The object to which

[15] Plutarch. in Sylla & Lucullo.

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the former aſpired, was a full and equal participation in all the powers that belonged to the Roman People. They were far from being ſatisfied with the manner of their inrolment into a few particular Tribes, and laid claim to be admitted without diſtinction among the antient citizens, and to have conſideration and power proportioned to their numbers. In this they were ſupported by Cinna, who made a motion in their favour in the aſſembly of the People, and at the ſame time propoſed to recal Marius and the other exiles of that party from their baniſhment. The Conſul Octavius, with the majority of the Senate and antient citizens, oppoſed theſe propoſitions; but Cinna was likely to have a powerful ſupport in the new people that flocked to him from the country towns, and in the friends of the exiles. On the day of aſſembly, multitudes of the new citizens took poſſeſſion of the place of meeting, and were obſerved to be armed with daggers or ſhort ſwords. Octavius was attended at his houſe by a numerous aſſembly of the antient citizens, who were armed in the ſame manner, and waited to take ſuch meaſures as the neceſſity of the caſe might require. Being told that the Tribunes who had forbidden the queſtion were violently attacked, and likely to be forced from the aſſembly, they came forth into the ſtreets, and drove their antagoniſts, with ſome bloodſhed, through the gates of the city. Cinna endeavoured to make head againſt his colleague, and invited the ſlaves, under a promiſe of liberty, to his ſtandard. But finding it impoſſible within the city, that was occupied by his opponents, to withſtand their force, he withdrew to the country towns, and ſolicited ſupplies from thence. He paſſed through Tibur and Prænеſte to Nola, and openly implored the inhabitants to aid him againſt their common enemies. On this occaſion he was attended by Sertorius, and by ſome other Senators who had embarked in the ſame ruinous faction. Their ſolicitations at any other time might perhaps have been fruitleſs; but now, to the misfortune of the republic, a num-

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ber of armies were ſtill kept on foot in Italy, to finiſh the remains of the ſocial war. Cn. Strabo commanded one army in Umbria, Metellus another on the confines of Lucania and Samnium, and Appius Claudius a third in Campania. Theſe armies conſiſted chiefly of indigent citizens, become ſoldiers of fortune, were very much at the diſpoſal of their leaders, in whoſe name they had been levied, to whom they had ſworn the military oath, and on whom they depended for the ſettlements and rewards which they were taught to expect at the end of their ſervices. They were inclined to take part in the cauſe of any faction that was likely, by the expulſion and forfeiture of one part of the city, to make way for preferments and fortunes to the other.

Cinna diſtruſted Pompey and Metellus; but hoping for a better reception from Appius Claudius, he repaired to the camp of this general, and had the addreſs to gain the troops who were under his command.

Octavius and Merula.

Mean time the Senate, without entering into any particular diſcuſſion of the guilt which Cinna had incurred in the late tumult at Rome, found that, by having deſerted his ſtation, he had actually diveſted himſelf of his office as Conſul, and they obtained the election of L. Cornelius Merula in his place.

Marius, being informed that one of the armies in Italy, with a Roman Conſul at its head, was prepared to ſupport him, made haſte from his exile in Africa: he landed in Tuſcany, was joined by numbers, and had an offer of being veſted with the enſigns of Proconſul. But intending to move indignation or pity, he declined every privilege of a Roman citizen, until the ſentence of attainder or baniſhment, which had been pronounced againſt him, ſhould be reverſed. In the manner practiſed by ſuppliants, with a mean habit and ghaſtly figure, to which he was reduced by the diſtreſs of his exile, he preſented himſelf to the People; but with a countenance, ſays his hiſtorian, which, being naturally ſtern, now rather

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ſeemed terrible than piteous [16]. He implored the protection of the country towns, in whoſe cauſe he too pretended to have ſuffered, and whoſe intereſts were now embarked on the ſame bottom with his own. He had many partizans among thoſe who had compoſed the legions which formerly ſerved under his orders. He had reputation and authority, and ſoon aſſembled a conſiderable force, with which, in concert with Cinna, with Sertorius and Carbo, he advanced towards Rome.

They inveſted the city in three ſeparate diviſions. Cinna and Carbo lay before it, Sertorius took poſt on the river above, and Marius below it. The laſt, to prevent ſupplies from the ſea, made himſelf maſter of the port of Oſtia; the firſt had ſent a detachment to Ariminum, to prevent any relief from the ſide of Gaul.

In this extremity the Senate applied to Metellus, requeſting that he would make any accommodation with the Italian allies, and haſten to the relief of the city. The delays which he made in the execution of theſe orders enabled Cinna and Marius to prevent him in gaining the allies. The inhabitants of Italy at this time had it in their option to accept the privileges they claimed from either party; and, having choſen to join themſelves with the popular faction, they threw their weight into that ſcale.

Metellus, however, advanced into Latium; and, being joined by the Conſul Octavius, took poſt on the Alban Hill. Here they found that the troops, being inclined to favour their enemies, deſerted apace. Metellus, being reduced to a few attendants, deſpaired of the cauſe, and withdrew into Africa. Octavius returned to his ſtation in the city.

The army lately commanded by Pompeius Strabo, was now deprived of its general; he having been killed by lightning in his

[16] Plutarch. in Mario.

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camp. And the Senate was not inclined to repoſe any confidence in his men. He himſelf had ſome time heſitated between the parties; and the troops, at his death, were prepared to chooſe the ſide which was moſt likely to favour their intereſt. With ſo uncertain a proſpect of ſupport, the Senate thought it ſafer to enter into a treaty with Cinna and Marius, than to remain expoſed to the neceſſity of being obliged to admit them by force. They offered to reinſtate Cinna in the office of Conſul, and to reſtore Marius, with the other exiles, to their condition of Roman citizens; only ſtipulating that they would ſpare the blood of their opponents, or proceed againſt them according to the laws of the commonwealth. While this treaty was in dependance, Marius, affecting the modeſty of a perſon whom the law, according to his late ſentence of baniſhment, had diſqualified to take any part among citizens, obſerved a ſullen and obſtinate ſilence. Even when the treaty was concluded, and the gates were laid open to himſelf and his followers, he refuſed to enter until the attainder under which he lay ſhould be taken off, and until he was replaced in his condition as a Roman. The People were accordingly aſſembled to repeal their former decree. But Marius, propoſing to take his enemies by ſurpriſe, did not wait for the completion of the ceremony. While the ballots were collecting, he entered the city with a band of armed men, whom he employed in taking vengeance on all thoſe who had concurred in the late meaſures againſt him. The gates, by his orders, were ſecured, but moſt of the Senators eſcaped. Sylla's houſe was demoliſhed, many who were reputed his friends were ſlain, others aſſiſted his wife and his children in making their eſcape. Among the ſignals by which Marius directed the execution of particular perſons, it was underſtood that if he did not return a ſalute which was offered him, this was to be conſidered as a warrant for immediate death. In compliance with theſe inſtructions, ſome citizens of note were laid dead at his feet. And as the meaneſt retainers of his party had

had their reſentments as well as himſelf, and took this opportunity to indulge their paſſions, the city reſembled a place that was taken by ſtorm, and every quarter reſounded with the cries of robbery, murders, and rapes. This horrid ſcene continued without intermiſſion five days and five nights.

The following are the names of a few of the principal Senators who ſuffered: the Conſul Octavius was murdered in his robes of office, and in preſence of his lictors; two Senators of the name of Cæſar, Caius and Lucius; two of the name of Craſſus, the father and the ſon, who, attempting to eſcape, but likely to be taken, fell by their own hands; Attilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, C. Numitorius, M. Bæbius, whoſe bodies, faſtened on a hook, were dragged by a rope through the ſtreets; Marcus Antonius, one of the firſt Roman Senators, who had betaken himſelf intirely or chiefly to civil arts, and is known therefore by the name of the Orator; this Senator being diſcovered in a place of concealment, was killed by aſſaſſins ſent for the purpoſe. The heads of the others were expoſed on the roſtra; that of Antonius was placed on the table of Marius, who bore him, it ſeems, a peculiar degree of animoſity and rancour. Catulus, once the colleague of Marius in the Conſulate, partner in his laſt and moſt deciſive victory over the Cimbri, and without queſtion one of the moſt reſpectable Senators of the age, was included in the warrant for general execution. Marius being ſolicited in his favour, made anſwer, *He muſt die.* And this victim, chooſing to avoid by a voluntary death the inſults likely to be offered to him by his enemies, having ſhut himſelf up, with a braſier of burning coals, in a cloſe chamber which was recently plaiſtered, periſhed by ſuffocation.

Merula, the Flamen Dialis, whoſe name, without his own knowledge, had been inſcribed Conſul in place of that of Cinna, now likewiſe, willing to maintain the dignity of his ſtation, opened his arteries at the ſhrine of Jupiter, whoſe prieſt he was, ſprinkled the

ſtatue

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ſtatue of the god with his blood; on feeling the approach of death, he tore from his head the apex or creſt of the order, which, by the maxims of religion, he always carried while alive, but with which on his head it would have been impious and ominous to die, and took thoſe who were preſent to witneſs of the exactneſs with which he performed this duty.

Cinna himſelf became weary of the murders which were committed to gratify the avarice of mean and needy adventurers, or the rancour even of fugitive ſlaves againſt the maſters they had deſerted; he wiihed to terminate ſo horrid a ſcene, but it ſeems could not ſtop it otherwiſe than by the death of thoſe who were employed in it. He cauſed great numbers of them accordingly to be ſurrounded and put to the ſword. He propoſed, in concert with Marius, to give ſome form or title to their government, by aſſuming the Conſulate: and although there is no doubt that they could have eaſily obtained the ſanction of an ordinary election, yet they choſe to uſurp the enſigns and powers of Conſul without any ſuch pretence[17]. Marius, while he took the title of Conſul, continued to act like a chief of banditti, connived at the diſorders that were committed by his military retainers, and continued ſtill to ſuperintend the execution of the orders which he had given on his firſt entry into the city, to put his opponents to death.

In the midſt of theſe crimes, however, the name of Sylla, and the fame of his victories in Greece, gave continual preſage of a juſt retribution. Marius was agitated with nocturnal fears, and gave ſigns of a diſtracted mind. Some one, he imagined, in the words of a poet, continually ſounded in his ears, *Horrid is the dying lion's den*; which being applied to himſelf, ſeemed to announce his approaching diſſolution. He took to the exceſſive uſe of wine, contracted a pleuriſy,

[17] Livy, Epitome, lib. viii.

and

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and died on the ſeventh day of his illneſs, in the ſeventeenth day of his laſt or ſeventh Conſulate, and in the ſeventieth year of his age; leaving the tools he had employed in ſubverting the government of his country, to pay the forfeit of his crimes.

Livy, it appears [18], had made it a queſtion, whether Marius had been moſt uſeful to his country as a ſoldier, or pernicious as a citizen. It has happened unfortunately for his fame, that he cloſed the ſcene of life with examples of the latter kind. In what degree he retained his genius or abilities cannot be known. His inſatiable thirſt of power, like avarice in the caſe of other perſons, ſeemed to grow with age. His hatred of the Nobles, contracted in the obſcurity of his early life, remained with him after he himſelf had laid the ampleſt foundations of Nobility in his own family. And he died in an attempt to extinguiſh all juſt or regular government in the blood of thoſe who only were qualified or diſpoſed to ſuſtain it.

Upon the death of Marius, the government ſtill continued to be uſurped by Cinna. Many of the Senators, and other citizens, obnoxious to the prevailing party, took refuge with Sylla. This general himſelf was declared a public enemy; his effects were ſeized; his children, with their mother, having narrowly eſcaped the purſuit of his enemies, fled to the father in Greece.

Upon this occaſion Sylla did not change his conduct in the war, nor make any conceſſions to the enemies of the State. He talked familiarly every day of his intention to puniſh his enemies at Rome, and to avenge the blood of his friends, but not till he had forced Mithridates to make reparation for the wrongs he had done to the Romans and to their allies in Aſia.

Alarmed by theſe threats, Cinna took meaſures to ſtrengthen his party; aſſumed, upon the death of Marius, Valerius Flaccus as his

[18] Livy, Epitome, lib. viii. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. Plutarch. in Mario. Florus, lib. iii. c. 21. Velleius Pater. lib. ii. c. 19, &c. Dio. Caſſ. in Fragmentis.

colleague

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colleague in the office of Conſul; and, having aſſigned him the command in Aſia, with two additional legions, truſted that with this force he might obtain poſſeſſion of the Province.

But Flaccus, upon his arrival in Theſſaly, was deſerted by part of the army, which went over to Sylla; and paſſing through Macedonia in his route to Aſia with the remainder, a diſpute aroſe between himſelf and his lieutenant Fimbria, which ended in the murder of the Conſul Flaccus, and in the ſucceſſion of Fimbria to the command. So little deference or reſpect did citizens pay, in the diſorder of thoſe unhappy times, even to the government they profeſſed to ſerve.

Fimbria, with the troops he had ſeduced to his ſtandard, after he had aſſaſſinated their general, made a rapid progreſs in Aſia, and haſtened, as has been obſerved, the reſolution to which Mithridates was come, of applying for peace. To this crafty prince, urged by the neceſſity of his own affairs, the conjuncture appeared to be favourable, when ſo much diſtraction took place in the councils of Rome. He had experienced the abilities of Sylla; he knew his eager deſire to be gone for Italy, and to be revenged of his enemies; and he expected to gain him by proffering aſſiſtance in the war he was about to wage with the oppoſite party at Rome.

Upon a meſſage from Archelaus, Sylla readily agreed to an interview in the iſland of Delos; and here being told, in the name of Mithridates, that he ſhould have money, troops, and ſhipping to make a deſcent on Italy, provided he would enter into a confederacy with the king of Pontus, and make war on the Romans, by whom he was now proſcribed, Sylla, in his turn, propoſed to Archelaus to deſert Mithridates, to deliver up the fleet and the army which was under his command, and to rely for protection and reward on the faith of the Romans. They will ſpeedily ſeat you, he ſaid, on the throne of Pontus. Archelaus having rejected this propoſal with

horror, " And you," ſays Sylla, " the ſlave, or (if you prefer that " title) the friend of a barbarous tyrant, will not betray your truſt, " and yet to me have the preſumption to propoſe an act of perfidy. " The fields of Chæronea and Orchomenos ſhould have made you " better acquainted with the character of the Romans." CHAP. VII.

Upon this reply Archelaus ſaw the neceſſity of purchaſing the treaty he was inſtructed to make, and accordingly made the following conceſſions:

That the fleet of Pontus, conſiſting of ſeventy Galleys, ſhould be delivered up to the Romans.

That the garriſons ſhould be withdrawn from all places which had been ſeized in the courſe of this war.

That the Roman province in Aſia, together with Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia ſhould be evacuated, and the frontier of Pontus, for the future, be the boundary of Mithridates's territory.

That the Romans ſhould receive two thouſand talents [19], to reimburſe their expence in the war.

That priſoners ſhould be reſtored, and all deſerters delivered up.

While theſe articles were ſent to Mithridates for his ratification, Sylla in no degree relaxed the meaſures he had taken to ſecure and facilitate the paſſage of his army into Aſia. He ſent Lucullus [20] round the maritime powers of the Eaſt to aſſemble a fleet; and, after having made ſome incurſions into Thrace, to gratify his army with the ſpoil of nations who had often plundered the Roman province, he continued his route to the Helleſpont, and was met in his way by the meſſengers of Mithridates, who informed him that their maſter agreed to all the articles propoſed, except to that which related to the ceſſion of Paphlagonia; and at the ſame time made a merit of the preference he had given to Sylla in this treaty; as he

[19] About 386,000 l.

[20] Vide Plutarch. in Lucullo.

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might have obtained more favourable terms from Fimbria. "That "is a traitor," ſaid Sylla, "whom I ſhall ſpeedily puniſh for his "crimes. As for your maſter, I ſhall know, upon my arrival in Aſia, "whether he chooſes to have peace or war."

Being arrived at the Helleſpont, he was joined by Lucullus with a fleet which enabled him to paſs that ſtrait. Here he was met by another meſſage from Mithridates, deſiring a perſonal interview; which was accordingly held in the preſence of both armies, and at which the king of Pontus, after ſome expoſtulations, agreed to all the conditions already mentioned. In this he probably acted from policy, as well as from the neceſſity he felt in the preſent ſtate of his affairs. He ſtill hoped, in conſequence of this treaty, to turn the arms of Sylla againſt the Romans, and truſted that the peace he obtained for himſelf in Aſia was to be the beginning of a war in Italy, more likely to diſtreſs his enemies than any efforts he himſelf could make againſt them. With this reaſonable proſpect he retired into his own kingdom of Pontus; and there, ſtrengthening himſelf by alliances and the acquiſition of territory on the northern coaſts of the Euxine, he prepared to take advantage of future emergencies, and to profit by the ſtate of confuſion into which the affairs of the Romans were haſtening.

Sylla having brought the Mithridatic war to an iſſue ſo honourable for himſelf, and having every where gratified his army with the ſpoils of their enemies, being poſſeſſed of a conſiderable ſum of money and a numerous fleet, and being ſecure of the attachment of the ſoldiers, who had experienced his liberality, and reſted their hopes of fortune on the ſucceſs of his future enterprizes, prepared to take vengeance on his enemies, and thoſe of the republic in Italy. He proceeded, however, with great deliberation and caution; and, as if the State at Rome were in perfect tranquillity, ſtaid to reduce the army of Fimbria, to reſettle the Roman province, and to effect the

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restoration of the allies, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, to their several kingdoms of Cappadocia and Bithynia.

Fimbria being required by Sylla to resign a command which he had illegally usurped, retorted the charge of usurpation, and treated Sylla himself as an outlaw: but upon the approach of this general, being deserted by his army, he fled to Pergamus, and there put an end to his life by the hands of a slave, of whom he exacted this service. To punish the province of Asia for its defection to Mithridates, Sylla obliged the inhabitants to pay down a sum equal to five years ordinary tax. He sent Curio to replace on their thrones the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, who had persevered in their alliance with Rome, and sent an account of these particulars to the Senate, without taking any notice of the edict by which he himself had been stripped of his command, and declared an enemy [21]. Before he set sail, however, for Italy, he thought proper to transmit to Rome a memorial, setting forth his services and his wrongs, as well as the injury done to many Senators who had taken refuge in his camp, and concluding with menaces of justice against his own enemies and those of the republic, but assuring the citizens in general of protection and security. This paper being read in the Senate, struck many of the members with dreadful apprehensions; expedients were proposed to reconcile the parties, and to avert the evils which the republic must suffer from their repeated contentions. A message was sent to pacify Sylla, and earnest intreaties were made to Cinna, that he would suspend his levies until an answer could be obtained from the other. But Cinna, in contempt of these pacific intentions, took measures to prosecute the war; divided the fasces with Cn. Papirius Carbo, whom, without any form of election, he assumed for his colleague in the Consulate; and, in the partition of provinces, retained

U. C. 669. L. Cornelius Cinna 4to, Cn. Papirius Carbo.

[21] Appian. in Bell. Mithridat. Plutarch. in Syll.

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for himſelf the adminiſtration in Italy, while he aſſigned to Carbo the command in the neighbouring Gaul. Theſe titular magiſtrates, with all the adherents of their faction, applied in great haſte to the raiſing of men, and ſecuring the fidelity of the towns within the ſeveral diviſions which they had received in charge.

Carbo exacted hoſtages for their good behaviour from all the towns in his diſtrict; but as he had not authority from the Senate for this meaſure, he found himſelf unable to give it effect. To Caſtricius, the chief magiſtrate of Placentia, a perſon of great age, who refuſed to comply, he ſaid, "Have not I your life in my power?" "And "have not I," ſaid the other, "already lived long enough [22]?

Cinna, however, having muſtered a conſiderable force, intended to make head againſt Sylla in Theſſaly, through which he was expected to paſs in his way to Italy, and determined to tranſport his army thither. But the troops being averſe to embark, he himſelf, endeavouring to force them, was killed in a mutiny. A general diſorder and anarchy infected the whole party. The election of a ſucceſſor to Cinna was twice interrupted by ſuppoſed unfavourable preſages, and Carbo remained ſole Conſul.

At this time an anſwer arrived from Sylla to the propoſals made by the Senate towards a reconciliation of parties; in which he declared, "That he never could return into friendſhip with perſons guilty of "ſo many and ſuch enormous crimes. If the Roman People, how-"ever, were pleaſed to grant an indemnity, he ſhould not interpoſe, "but would venture to affirm, that ſuch of the citizens as choſe, in "the preſent diſorders, to take refuge in his camp, would find them-"ſelves ſafer than in that of his enemy's." He had embarked his army at Epheſus, and in three days reached the Pyræus, the port of Athens. Here he was taken ill of the gout, and was adviſed to uſe-

[22] Val. Max. lib. vi. c. 2.

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the hot baths at Adipſus; at which he accordingly paſſed ſome time with great appearance of eaſe, amuſing himſelf with buffoons and ordinary company, as if he had no affair of any conſequence in contemplation. His fleet, in the mean time, conſiſting of twelve hundred ſhips, coaſted round the Peloponneſus, and took on board the army which had marched by Theſſaly to Dyrachium. Being apprehenſive that ſome part of the legions, upon landing in Italy, and with ſo near a proſpect of returning to their homes, might deſert, or, truſting to their conſequence in a civil war, might become diſorderly and diſtreſs the inhabitants, he exacted a ſpecial oath, by which every man bound himſelf, upon his arrival in Italy, to abide by his colours, and to obſerve the ſtricteſt order in his march through the country. The troops, wiſhing to remove all the remains of a diſtruſt which had ſuggeſted this precaution, made a voluntary offer of a contribution towards the ſupport of the war; and Sylla, without accepting the favour, ſet ſail with the additional confidence which this proof of attachment in the army inſpired.

He had, according to Appian, five Roman legions, with ſix thouſand Italian horſe, and conſiderable levies from Macedonia and Greece, amounting in all to about ſixty thouſand men. With this force he landed in Italy, in the face of many different armies, each of them equal or ſuperior in number to his own. The oppoſite party were ſuppoſed to have on foot, at different ſtations, above two hundred thouſand men.

U. C. 670. L. Corn. Scipio. C. Jun. Norbanus.

L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Junius Norbanus, who were its leaders, being in poſſeſſion of the capital and of the place of election, were named for Conſuls. Norbanus, in name of the republic, commanded a great army in Apulia; Scipio, another on the confines of Campania. Sertorius, young Marius, with Carbo, in the quality of Proconſul, and others (as Plutarch quotes from the memoirs of Sylla) to the number of fifteen commanders, had each their armies, amount-

ing

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ing in all to four hundred and fifty cohorts[23]; of these different bodies none attempted to dispute the landing of Sylla, nor, for some days, to interrupt his march. He accordingly continued to advance as in a friendly country, and in the midst of profound peace. The inhabitants of Italy, considering the Roman nobility, in whose cause Sylla appeared, as averse to the claim they had made of being promiscuously enrolled in the Tribes of Rome, were likely to oppose him, and to favour the faction which had for some time prevailed in the State. To allay their animosity, or to prevent their taking an active part against him, Sylla summoned the leading men of the country towns as he passed, and gave them assurances that he would confirm the grants which had been made to them, if they did not forfeit these and every other title to favour, by abetting the faction which had subverted the government.

On his march he was joined by Metellus Pius, who, as has been observed, after a fruitless attempt, in conjunction with the Consul Octavius, to cover Rome from the attack of Marius and Cinna, had withdrawn to Africa; and being forced from thence by Fabius, returned into Italy. Being in Liguria, where he still retained the character of Proconsul, he endeavoured to keep some forces on foot, and to sustain the hopes of his party, when so great a change was made in their favour by the arrival of the army from Greece.

Sylla was likewise, about the same time, joined by Cneius Pompeius, son to the late Consul Pompeius Strabo, who, though too young for any public character, had assembled a considerable body of men to make himself of consequence in the present contest. Being now only about nineteen years of age, he was remarked for engaging manners, and a manly aspect, which procured him a general favour and an uncommon degree of respect[24]. This distinction being un-

[23] About 225,000 men.

[24] Plutarch. in Mario.

fought

ſought for, was poſſibly conſidered by him as his birth-right, and gave him an early impreſſion of that ſuperiority to his fellow-citizens which he continued to aſſume through the whole of his life. He had ſerved in thoſe legions with which Cinna intended to have carried the war againſt Sylla into Aſia or Greece; but, being averſe to the party, he withdrew when the army was about to embark, and diſappearing ſuddenly, was ſuppoſed to have been murdered by the order of Cinna, a ſuſpicion, which, among other circumſtances, incited the ſoldiers to that mutiny in which the general was killed. Sylla appears himſelf to have been won by the promiſing aſpect of this young man, and received him with diſtinguiſhing marks of regard.

Numbers of the Senate and Nobles, who had hitherto remained expoſed at Rome to the inſults of their enemies, now repaired to the camp of Sylla. The Conſul Norbanus, being joined by young Marius, lay at Canuſium. Sylla, while he was preparing to attack them, ſent an officer with overtures of peace; theſe they rejected with marks of contempt. This circumſtance had an effect which Sylla perhaps foreſaw and intended. It rouſed the indignation of his army, and, in the action which followed, had ſome effect in obtaining a victory in which ſix thouſand [25] of the enemy were killed, with the loſs of only ſeventy men to himſelf.

Norbanus, after this defeat, retreated to Capua; and, being covered by the walls of that place, waited the arrival of Scipio, who intended to join him with the army under his command. Sylla marched to Tianum to prevent their junction; and, on the approach of Scipio, propoſed to negotiate. The leaders, with a few attendants, met between the two armies, and were nearly agreed upon terms of peace; but Scipio delayed his final conſent until he ſhould conſult with Norbanus at Capua. Sertorius was accordingly diſ-

[25] Plutarch. in Syll. edit. Londin. p. 83.

patched

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patched to inform Norbanus of what had paſſed, and hoſtilities were to be ſuſpended until his return; but this meſſenger, probably averſe to the treaty, broke the truce, by ſeizing a poſt at Sueſſa which had been occupied by Sylla; and the negotiation had no other effect than that of giving the troops of both armies, as well as their leaders, an opportunity of conferring together; a circumſtance which, in civil wars, is always dangerous to one or other of the parties. In this caſe the popularity of Sylla prevailed; and the ſoldiers of his army, boaſting of the wealth which they had acquired under their general, infected his enemies, and ſeduced them to deſert their leader. Scipio was left almoſt alone in his camp; but Sylla, receiving the troops who deſerted to him, made no attempt to ſeize their general, ſuffered him to eſcape, and, with the acceſſion of ſtrength he had acquired by the junction of this army, continued his march towards Rome. Norbanus at the ſame time evacuated Capua, and, by forced marches in a different route, endeavoured to prevent him.

About this time, Sertorius, who, before the war broke out, had, in the diſtribution of provinces, been appointed Proprætor of Spain, deſpairing of affairs in Italy, in which probably he was not ſufficiently conſulted, repaired to his province, and determined to try what the genius of a Roman leader could effect at the head of the warlike natives of that country.

The chiefs of the Marian party, who remained in Italy, made efforts to collect all the forces they could at Rome. Carbo, upon hearing that the army of Scipio was ſeduced to deſert their general, ſaid, "We have to do with a lion and a fox, of which the fox is "probably the more dangerous enemy of the two."

Norbanus, ſoon after his arrival in the city, procured an edict of the People, by which Metellus, and the others who had joined Sylla, were declared enemies to their country. About the ſame time a fire broke

broke out in the Capitol, and the buildings were burnt to the ground. Various ſuſpicions were entertained of the cauſe; but as no party had any intereſt in this event, it was probably accidental, and ſerved only to agitate the minds of the People, prone to ſuperſtition, and apt to find alarming preſages in every uncommon event. CHAP. VII.

The remainder of the ſeaſon was ſpent by both parties in collecting their forces from every quarter of Italy; and the term of the Conſuls in office being nearly expired, Carbo procured his own nomination to ſucceed them, and inſcribed the name of Marius, ſcarcely twenty years of age, as his colleague. This young man is by ſome ſaid have been the nephew, by others the adopted ſon, of the late celebrated C. Marius, whoſe name had ſo long been terrible to the enemies, and at length not leſs ſo to the friends, of Rome. U. C. 671. C. Marius, Cn. Pap. Carbo.

At this time the Senate conſented to have the plate and ornaments of the temples coined for the pay of the ſuppoſed Conſular armies. They were, however, notwithſtanding this act of obſequiouſneſs, believed to incline to the oppoſite party, and not to be truſted in caſe the city were attacked. The members being aſſembled together by orders of the Prætors, Damaſippus and Brutus, the moſt ſuſpected, were taken aſide and put to death; of this number, Quintus Mucius Scævola, Pontifex Maximus, flying to the temple in which he was accuſtomed to diſcharge his ſacred office, was killed in the porch.

The military operations of the following ſpring began with an obſtinate fight between two conſiderable armies commanded by Metellus and Carinas. The latter being defeated with great loſs, Carbo haſtened to the ſcene of action, in order to cover the remains of the vanquiſhed army.

In the mean time Sylla, being encamped at Setia, and having intelligence that the young Marius was advancing againſt him, put his army in motion to meet him, forced him back to Sacriportum,

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near Prænefte, where an action ſoon after enſued, in which Marius was defeated.

The routed army having fled in diſorder to Prænefte, the firſt who arrived were received into the place; but as it was apprehended the enemy might likewiſe enter in the tumult, the gates were ſhut, and many, being excluded, were ſlaughtered under the ramparts. Marius himſelf eſcaped, by a rope which was let down from the battlements to hoiſt him over the walls.

In conſequence of this victory Sylla inveſted Prænefte; and as great numbers were thus ſuddenly cooped up in a town, which was not prepared to ſubſiſt them, he had an immediate proſpect of ſeeing them reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. Committing the charge of the blockade to Lucretius Offella, he himſelf, with part of the army, proceeded to Rome. Metellus, in a ſecond action, had defeated the army of Carbo, and Pompey that of Marius near Sena; and the party of Sylla being victorious in every part of Italy, the city was prepared to receive him as ſoon as he appeared at the gates. The partizans of the oppoſite faction withdrew, and left him maſter of the capital.

Sylla having poſted his army in the field of Mars, he himſelf entered the city, and calling an aſſembly of the People, delivered an harangue, in which he imputed the diſorder of the times to the injuſtice and cruelty of a few factious men, who had overturned the government, and ſacrificed the beſt blood of the republic to their ambition and to their perſonal reſentments. He exhorted all well-diſpoſed men to be of good courage, and aſſured them that they ſhould ſoon ſee the republic reſtored. In the mean time, he gratified his army with the ſpoils of the oppoſite party, declaring the effects of all thoſe to be forfeited who had been acceſſary to the crimes lately committed againſt the State. After this firſt ſpecimen of his policy in the city, leaving a ſufficient force to execute his orders, he haſtened to Cluſium,

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Cluſium, where Carbo, being joined by a conſiderable reinforcement from Spain, was preparing to recover the metropolis, or to relieve his colleague Marius, who was reduced to great diſtreſs in Prænesſte.

The events which followed the arrival and operations of Sylla in Tuſcany were various, but for the moſt part unfavourable to Carbo, whoſe force, by deſertions and the ſword, was declining apace. The iſſue of the war ſeemed to depend on the fate of Prænesſte, and the whole force of the party was therefore directed to the relief of that place. The Lucanians and Samnites, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Marius, and who, by his favour, had obtained the freedom of Rome, apprehending immediate ruin to themſelves, in the ſuppreſſion of a party by whom they had been protected, determined to make one great effort for the relief of Marius.

They were joined in Latium by a large detachment ſent by Carbo, under Carinas and Marcius, and made an attempt to force the lines of the beſiegers at Prænesſte, and to open the blockade of that place. But having failed in this deſign, they turned, with deſperation, on the city of Rome, which was but ſlightly guarded by a ſmall detachment which had been left for that purpoſe. Sylla being informed of their intention, with haſty marches advanced to the city, and found the enemy already in poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, and preparing to force the gates.

It was about four in the afternoon when he arrived, after a long march. Some of his officers propoſed, that the troops, being fatigued, ſhould have a little time to repoſe themſelves; and that, for this purpoſe, they ſhould remain on the ramparts until the following day. Sylla, however, propoſing, by his unexpected preſence, and by coming to action at an unuſual hour, to ſurpriſe the enemy, gave orders for an immediate attack. The event for ſome time was doubtful; the wing that was led by himſelf gave way, or was forced

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from its ground; but the other wing under Craſſus had a better fortune, put the enemy to flight, and drove them to Antemnæ.

The action, though thus various in the different parts of it, became, in the event, completely deciſive. Eighty thouſand of the Marian party were killed in their flight, and eight thouſand taken. Carbo, in deſpair of the cauſe, fled into Sicily. The troops that were blocked up in Prænefte, having no longer any hopes of relief, ſurrendered themſelves, and the whole party was diſperſed or cut off. Marius attempted to eſcape by the galleries of a mine, and being prevented, killed himſelf. His head was carried to Sylla, and by his order expoſed in the market-place. "That boy," he ſaid, "ſhould "have learnt to row before he attempted to ſteer!"

Sylla being now maſter of the republic, all men were in anxious expectation of the ſequel; nor was it long before they had a ſpecimen of the meaſures he was likely to purſue. About ſix or eight thouſand of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the vileſt inſtruments of the late uſurpations and murders, being taken priſoners in the war, or ſurpriſed in the city, were, by his direction, ſhut up in the circus, and inſtantly put to death.

While this horrid ſcene was acting, he had aſſembled the Senate, at a little diſtance, in the temple of Bellona; and as moſt of the members then preſent had either favoured, or at leaſt tamely ſubmitted to the late uſurpation, he made them a ſpeech on the ſtate of the republic, in which he reproached many of them as acceſſary to the late diſorders, and admoniſhed them, for the future, to reſpect the legal government and conſtitution of their country. In the midſt of theſe admonitions, the cries of thoſe who were ſlaughtered in the circus reaching their ears, the aſſembly was greatly alarmed, and many of the members ſtarted from their ſeats. Sylla, with a countenance ſtern, but undiſturbed, checked them as for an inſtance of levity. "Be com-"poſed," he ſaid, "and attend to the buſineſs for which you are "called.

" called. What you hear are no more than the cries of a few " wretches, who are ſuffering the puniſhment due to their crimes." From this interruption he reſumed his ſubject, and continued ſpeaking till the maſſacre of theſe unhappy victims was completed.

In a harangue which he afterwards delivered to the People, he ſpoke of his own ſervices to the republic, and of the miſdemeanour of others, in terms that ſtruck all who heard him with terror. " The " republic," he ſaid (if his opinion were followed), " ſhould be " purged; but whether it were ſo or no, the injuries done to himſelf " and his friends ſhould be puniſhed." He accordingly ordered military execution againſt every perſon who had been acceſſary to the late maſſacres and uſurpations; and while the ſword was yet reeking in his hands, paſſed great part of his time, as uſual, in mirth and diſſipation with men of humourous and ſingular characters. He deigned not even to inquire into the abuſes that were committed in the execution of his general plan. The perſons who were employed in it, frequently indulged their own private reſentment and their avarice in the choice of victims. Among theſe, Cataline, then a young man, had joined the victorious party; and he plunged, with a ſingular impetuoſity, into the midſt of a ſtorm which now overwhelmed a part of the city. He is ſaid, among other perſons to whom he bore an averſion, or whoſe effects he intended to ſeize, to have murdered his own brother, with ſtrange circumſtances of cruelty and horror.

While theſe dreadful murders, mixed with many examples of a juſt execution, were perpetrated, a young man, C. Metellus, had the courage to addreſs himſelf to Sylla in the Senate, and deſired he would make known the extent of his deſign, and how far theſe executions were to be carried? " We intercede not," he ſaid, " for " the condemned; we only intreat that you would relieve out of " this

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" this dreadful ſtate of uncertainty all thoſe whom in reality you " mean to ſpare."

Sylla, without being offended at this freedom, publiſhed a liſt of thoſe he had doomed to deſtruction, offering a reward of two talents for the head of each, and denouncing ſevere penalties againſt every perſon who ſhould harbour or conceal them. Hence aroſe the practice of publiſhing liſts of the perſons to be maſſacred, which, under the odious name of *proſcription*, was afterwards imitated with ſuch fatal effects in the ſubſequent convulſions of the State.

The preſent proſcription, although it promiſed ſome ſecurity to all who were not comprehended in the fatal liſt, opened a ſcene, in ſome reſpects, more dreadful than that which had been formerly acted in this maſſacre. The hands of ſervants were hired againſt their maſters, and even thoſe of children againſt their parents. The mercenary of every denomination were encouraged, by a great premium, to commit what before only the miniſters of public juſtice thought themſelves entitled to perform; and there followed a ſcene, in which human nature had full ſcope to exert all the evil of which it is ſuſceptible, treachery, ingratitude, diſtruſt, malice, and revenge; and would have retained no claim to our eſteem or commiſeration, if its character had not been redeemed by contrary inſtances of fidelity, generoſity, and courage, diſplayed by thoſe who, to preſerve their friends and benefactors, or even to preſerve ſtrangers, who took refuge under their protection, hazarded all the dangers with which the proſcribed themſelves were threatened.

In conſequence of theſe meaſures, about five thouſand perſons of conſideration were put to death, among whom were reckoned forty Senators, and ſixteen hundred of the Equeſtrian order.

From theſe beginnings the Romans had reaſon to apprehend a tyranny, more ſanguinary perhaps than any that ever afflicted mankind. " If in the field you ſlay all who are found in arms

" againſt you," ſaid Catulus [26], " and in the city you ſlay even the " unarmed; over whom do you propoſe to reign?" CHAP. VII.

Theſe reproaches were by Sylla received as jeſts; and the freedom and eaſe of his manners, as well as the profeſſions he made of regard to the commonwealth, were imputed to inſenſibility, and to a barbarous diſſimulation, which rendered his character more odious, and the proſpect of his future intentions more terrifying.

In comparing the preſent with the late uſurpations, men recollected, that Marius, from his infancy, had been of a ſevere and inexorable temper; that his reſentments were ſanguinary, and even his frowns were deadly; but that his cruelties were the effect of real paſſions, and had the apology of not being perpetrated in cold blood; that every perſon on whom he looked with indifference was ſafe; and that even when he uſurped the government of the State, as ſoon as his perſonal reſentments were gratified, the ſword in his hand became an innocent pageant, and the mere enſign or badge of his power. But that Sylla directed a maſſacre in the midſt of compoſure and eaſe: that as a private man he had been affable and pleaſant, even noted for humanity and candour [27]; that the change of his temper having commenced with his exaltation, there were no hopes that the ſhedding of blood could be ſtopped while he was ſuffered to retain his power. His daring ſpirit, his addreſs, his cunning, and his aſcendant over the minds of men, rendered the proſpect of a deliverance, if not deſperate, extremely remote. The republic ſeemed to be extinguiſhed for ever; and if the rage of blood, after the firſt heat of the maſſacre, appeared to abate, it was ſtayed only for want of victims, not from any principle of moderation, or ſentiment of clemency.

[26] Probably the ſon of him who periſhed in the tyranny of Marius.
[27] Plutarch. in Sylla.

Such

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Such was the aſpect of affairs, and the grounds of terror conceived even by thoſe who were innocent of the late diſorders; but to thoſe who had reaſon to fear the reſentment of the victor, the proſpect was altogether deſperate. Norbanus, having fled to Rhodes, received at that place an account of the proſcriptions, and, to avoid being delivered up, killed himſelf. Carbo, being in Sicily, endeavoured to make his eſcape from thence, but was apprehended by Pompey, and killed. All the ordinary offices of State were vacated by the deſertion or death of thoſe who had filled or uſurped them.

Sylla had hitherto acted as maſter, without any other title than that of the ſword; and it was now thought neceſſary to ſupply the defect. He retired from the city, that the Senate might aſſemble with the more appearance of freedom. To name an interrex was the uſual expedient for reſtoring the conſtitution; and proceeding to elections in a legal form after the uſual time had elapſed, or when by any accident the ordinary ſucceſſion to office had failed. Valerius Flaccus was named. To him Sylla gave intimation, that, to reſettle the commonwealth, a Dictator, for an indefinite term, ſhould be appointed, and made offer of his own ſervices for this purpoſe. Theſe intimations were received as commands. Flaccus, having aſſembled the People, moved for an act to veſt Sylla with the title of Dictator, which gave him a diſcretionary power over the perſons, fortunes, and lives of all the citizens.

No example of this kind had taken place for a hundred and twenty years preceding this date. In the former part of this period, the jealouſy of the ariſtocracy, and in the latter part of it, the negative of the Tribunes, had always prevented a meaſure from which they ſeverally apprehended ſome danger to themſelves. It was now revived in the perſon of Sylla with unuſual ſolemnity, and ratified by an act of the People, in which they yielded up at once all their own claims to the ſovereignty, and ſubmitted to monarchy for an

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an indefinite time. Sylla having named Valerius Flaccus for his lieutenant or commander of the horſe, returned to the city, preſenting a ſight that was then unuſual, a ſingle perſon, preceded by four-and-twenty lictors, armed with the axe and the rods; and it was not doubted that theſe enſigns of magiſtracy were to be employed, not for parade, but for ſerious execution, and were ſpeedily to be ſtained with the blood of many citizens, whom the ſword had ſpared. The Dictator, being attended likewiſe by a numerous military guard, in order that the city, in all matters in which it was not neceſſary for himſelf to interpoſe, might ſtill enjoy the benefit of the uſual forms, he directed the People to aſſemble, and to fill up the ordinary liſts of office.

Lucretius Offella, the officer who had commanded in the reduction of Prænеſte, preſuming on his favour with the Dictator, and on his conſequence with the army, offered himſelf for the Conſulate. Being commanded by Sylla to deſiſt, he ſtill continued his canvas, and was, by order of the Dictator, put to death, while he ſolicited votes in the ſtreets. A tumult immediately aroſe; the Centurion, who executed this order againſt Offella, was ſeized, and, attended by a great concourſe of people, was carried before the Dictator. Sylla heard the complaint with great compoſure, told the multitude who crowded around him, that Offella had been ſlain by his orders, and that the Centurion muſt therefore be releaſed. He then diſmiſſed them, with this homely but menacing apologue. "A coun-" tryman at his plough, feeling himſelf troubled with vermin, once " and again made a halt to pick them off his jacket; but being " moleſted a third time, he threw the jacket, with all its contents, " into the fire. Beware," he ſaid, "of the fire; provoke me not " a third time [25]." Such was the tone of a government, which,

[25] Appian. in Bell. Civil. lib. i. Plutarch. in Sylla.

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U. C. 672. M. Tullius Decula, Cn. Corn. Dolabella.

from this example, was likely to be fatal to many who had concurred in the eſtabliſhment of it, as well as to thoſe of the oppoſite party.

Sylla, ſoon after his elevation to the ſtation of Dictator, proceeded to make his arrangements and to new-model the commonwealth. The army [29] appeared to have the firſt or preferable claim to his attention. He accordingly propoſed to reward them by a gift of all the lands which had been forfeited by the adherents of the oppoſite party. Spoletum, Interamna, Præneſte, Fluentia, Nola, Sulmo, Volaterra, together with the countries of Samnium and Lucania, were depopulated to make way for the legions who had ſerved under himſelf in the reduction of his enemies. In theſe new inhabitants of Italy, whoſe proſperity depended on his ſafety, he had a guard to his perſon, and a ſure ſupport to his power. By changing their condition from that of ſoldiers to land-holders and peaſants, he diſpelled, at the ſame time, that dangerous cloud of military power, which he himſelf or his antagoniſts had raiſed over the commonwealth, and provided for the permanency of any reformations he was to introduce into the civil eſtabliſhment. The troops, from ſoldiers of fortune, became proprietors of land, and intereſted in the preſervation of peace. In this manner, whatever may have been his intention in this arbitrary act of power, ſo cruel to the innocent ſufferers, if there were any ſuch, the meaſure had an immediate tendency to terminate the public confuſion. Its future conſequences, in pointing out to new armies, and to their ambitious leaders, a way to ſupplant their fellow-citizens in their property, and to practiſe uſurpations more permanent than that of Sylla, were probably not then foreſeen.

The next act of the Dictator appears more intirely calculated for the ſecurity of his own perſon. A body of ten thouſand men, lately

[29] It appears that Livy reckoned forty-ſeven legions, Epitom. lib. lxxxix.

the

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the property of perſons involved in the ruin of the vanquiſhed party, having their freedom and the right of citizens conferred on them, were enrolled promiſcuouſly in all the Tribes; and as the enfranchiſed ſlave took the name of the perſon from whom he received his freedom, theſe new citizens became an acceſſion to the family of the Cornelii, and in every tumult were likely to be the ſure partizans of Sylla, and the abettors of his power. They had received a freedom which was connected with the permanency of his government, and foreſaw, that, if the leaders of the oppoſite party, in whoſe houſes they had ſerved, ſhould be reſtored, they themſelves muſt return into the condition of ſlaves; and they accordingly became an additional ſecurity to the government which their patron was about to eſtabliſh.

So far Sylla ſeemed to intend the ſecurity of his own perſon, and the ſtability of his government; but in all his ſubſequent inſtitutions, he had a view to reſtore the ariſtocracy in its legiſlative and judicative capacity, to provide a proper ſupply of officers for conducting the accumulated affairs of the commonwealth, to furniſh hands for every department, and to guard againſt the growing depravity of the times, by extending and ſecuring the execution of the laws. He began with filling up the rolls of the Senate which had been greatly reduced by the war, and by the ſanguinary policy of the parties who had prevailed in their turns. He augmented the number of this body to five hundred; taking the new members from the Equeſtrian order, but leaving the choice of them to the People.

The legiſlative power of the Senate, and the judicative power of its members were reſtored. The law that was provided for the laſt of theſe purpoſes conſiſted of different clauſes. By the firſt clauſe it was enacted, that none but Senators, or thoſe who were intitled to give their opinion in the Senate [30], ſhould be put upon any jury or liſt

Lex de Judiciis.

[29] All the Officers of State, even before they were put upon the rolls, were intitled to ſpeak in the Senate.

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of the judges [z]. By the ſecond, that, of the judges ſo ſelected, the parties ſhould not be allowed to challenge or reject above three.

By a third clauſe it was provided, that judgment, in trials at law, ſhould be given either by ballot, or openly, at the option of the defendant; and by a ſeparate regulation, that the nomination of officers to command in the provinces, with the title of Proconſul, ſhould be committed to the Senate.

During the late tribunitian uſurpation, the whole legiſlative and executive power had, under pretence of veſting thoſe prerogatives in the aſſembly of the Tribes, been ſeized by the Tribunes. But Sylla reſtored the antient form of aſſembling the People by Centuries, and reduced the Tribunes to their defenſive privilege of interpoſing by a negative againſt any act of oppreſſion; and he deprived them of their pretended right to propoſe laws, or to harangue the People. He moreover added, that none but Senators could be elected into the office of Tribune; and, to the end that no perſon of a factious ambition might chuſe this ſtation, he procured it to be enacted, that no one who had borne the office of Tribune could afterwards be promoted into any other rank of the magiſtracy.

With reſpect to the offices of State, this new founder of the commonwealth revived the obſolete law which prohibited the re-election of any perſon into the Conſulate, till after an interval of ten years; and enacted, that none could be elected Conſul till after he had been Quæſtor, Ædile, and Prætor. He augmented the number of Prætors from ſix to eight; that of Quæſtors to twenty; and, to guard againſt the diſorders which had recently afflicted the republic, declared it to be treaſon for any Roman officer, without the authority of the Senate and People, to go beyond the limits of his province, whether with or without an army, to make war, or to invade any foreign nation whatever.

[z] Tacit. Anal. lib. xi. Cic. pro Cliento.

He

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He repealed the law of Domitius relating to the election of prieſts, and reſtored to the college the intire choice of their own members.

He made ſeveral additions to the criminal law, by ſtatutes againſt ſubornation, forgery, wilful fire, poiſoning, rape, aſſault, extortion, and forcibly entering the houſe of a citizen; and a ſtatute making it penal to be found with deadly weapons of any ſort. To all theſe he added a ſumptuary law, of which the tenor is not preciſely known; but it appears to have regulated the expence at ordinary [32] meals and at funerals, and to have likewiſe ſettled the price of proviſions.

Theſe laws were promulgated at certain intervals, and intermixed with the meaſures which were taken to reſtore the peace of the empire. In order to finiſh the remains of the civil war, Pompey had been ſent into Sicily and Africa, and C. Annius Luſcus into Spain. In this province, Sertorius had taken arms for the Marian faction; but being attacked by the forces of Sylla, and ill ſupported at firſt by the Spaniards, he fled into Africa. From thence, hearing that the Luſitanians were diſpoſed to take arms againſt the reigning party at Rome, he repaſſed the ſea, put himſelf at their head, and in this ſituation was able, for ſome years, to find occupation for the arms of the republic, and for its moſt experienced generals.

Soon after the departure of Sylla from Aſia, Murena, whom he had left to command in that province, found a pretence to renew the war with Mithridates; and, having ventured to paſs the Halys, was defeated by that prince, and afterwards arraigned as having infringed the late treaty of peace. Sylla liſtened to this accuſation, diſapproved the conduct of Murena, and ſent firſt A. Gabinius, and afterwards Minucius Thermus, to ſuperſede him in the province.

Mean time Sylla himſelf exhibited a ſplendid triumph on account of his victories in Aſia and Greece. The proceſſion laſted two days.

[32] Gellius, lib. ii. c. 24.

On

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On the firſt, he depoſited in the treaſury fifteen thouſand pondo of gold [33], and an hundred and fifteen thouſand pondo of ſilver [34]; on the ſecond day, thirteen thouſand pondo of gold [35], and ſeven thouſand pondo of ſilver [36]. There was nothing that had any reference to his victory in the civil war, except a numerous train of Senators, and other citizens of diſtinction, who, having reſorted to his camp for protection, had been reſtored by him to their eſtates and their dignities, and now followed his chariot, calling him Father, and the Deliverer of his Country.

U. C. 673. L. Cornelius Sylla, Q. Cæcil. Metell. Pius.

Upon the return of the elections, Sylla was again choſen Conſul, together with Q. Cæcilius Metellus. The latter was deſtined, at the expiration of his office, to command againſt Sertorius in Spain. Sylla himſelf ſtill retained the Dictatorial power, and was employed in promulgating ſome of the acts of which the chief have been mentioned.

Pompey having, in the preceding year, by the death of Carbo, and the diſperſion of his party, finiſhed the remains of the civil war in Sicily, was now ordered by the Senate to tranſport his army into Africa. There Domitius, a leader of the oppoſite faction, had erected his ſtandard, aſſembled ſome remains of the vanquiſhed party, and received all the fugitives who crowded for refuge to his camp. Pompey accordingly departed from Sicily, leaving the command of that iſland to Memmius, and embarked his army, conſiſting of ſix legions, in two diviſions; one landed at Utica, the other in the bay of Carthage. Having come to an engagement with Domitius, who had been joined by Jarbas, an African prince, he obtained a complete victory over their united forces, and afterwards penetrated, without any reſiſtance, into the kingdom of Numidia, which, though de-

[33] Reckoning the pondo at ten ounces, and 4 l. an ounce, this will make about 60,000 l.

[34] About 287,500 l.

[35] About 520,000 l.

[36] About 140,000 l. Plin. lib. xxxiii. initio.

pendant

pendant on the Romans, had not yet been reduced to the form of a province.

The war being ended in this quarter, Sylla thought proper to ſuperſede Pompey in the province, and ordered him to diſband his army, reſerving only one legion, with which he was to wait for his ſucceſſor. The troops were greatly incenſed at this order; and, thinking themſelves equally entitled to ſettlements with the legions who were lately provided for in Italy, refuſed to lay down their arms. They earneſtly intreated their general to embark for Rome, where they promiſed to make him maſter of the government. This young man, with a moderation which he continued to ſupport in the height of his ambition, withſtood the temptation, and declared to the army, that, if they perſiſted in their purpoſe, he muſt certainly die by his own hands; that he would not do violence to the government of his country, nor be the object or pretence of a civil war. If in reality he had encouraged this mutiny, it was only that he might thus have the honour of reclaiming the ſoldiers, and of rejecting their offer. The ambition of this ſingular perſon, as will appear from many paſſages of his life, led him to aim at conſideration more than power.

While Pompey was endeavouring to bring the troops to their duty, a report was carried to Rome, that he had actually revolted, and was preparing, with his army, to make a deſcent upon Italy. "It "appears to be my fate," ſaid Sylla, "in my old age, to fight with "boys;" and he was about to recal the veterans to his ſtandard, when the truth was diſcovered, and the part which Pompey had acted was properly repreſented. The merit of this young man on that occaſion was the greater, that he himſelf was unwilling to diſband the army before they ſhould return into Italy to attend a triumph, which he hoped to obtain; and that the reſolution he took to comply

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with his orders, proceeded from reſpect to the Senate, and the authority of the State.

Sylla, won by the behaviour of Pompey on this occaſion, was inclined to diſpenſe with his former commands, and accordingly moved the aſſembly of the People, that the legions ſerving in Africa might return into Italy.

This motion was oppoſed by C. Herennius, Tribune of the People, who ventured to employ the prerogative of his office, however impaired, againſt the power of the Dictator. But Sylla perſiſted; obtained a law to authoriſe Pompey to enter with his army into Italy; and when he drew near the city, went forth with a numerous body of the Senate to receive him. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, that, by calling him the Great Pompey, Sylla fixed a deſignation upon him, which, in the Roman way of diſtinguiſhing perſons by nicknames, whether of contempt or reſpect, continued to furniſh him with a title for life. The times were wretched when armies ſtated themſelves in the commonwealth as the partizans of their leader, and when the leader, by not betraying his country, was ſuppoſed to perform a great action.

Pompey, upon this occaſion, laid claim to a triumph. Sylla at firſt oppoſed it as being contrary to the rule and order of the commonwealth, which reſerved this honour for perſons who had attained to the rank of Conſul or Prætor; but he afterwards complied, being ſtruck, it is ſaid, with a mutinous ſaying of this aſpiring young man, bidding him recollect, that there were more perſons diſpoſed to worſhip the riſing than the ſetting ſun.

In the triumph which Pompey accordingly obtained, he meant to have entered the city on a carriage drawn by elephants; but theſe animals could not paſs abreaſt through the gates. His donation to the troops falling ſhort of their expectation, and they having murmured, and even threatened to mutiny, he ſaid, the fear of loſing his

triumph ſhould not affect him; that he would inſtantly diſband the legions, rather than comply with their unreaſonable demands. This check, given to the preſumption of the army by an officer ſo young and ſo aſpiring, gave a general ſatisfaction. P. Servilius, a Senator of advanced age, ſaid, upon this occaſion, "That the young man "had at laſt deſerved his triumph and his title." CHAP. VII.

Pompey, by his vanity in demanding a triumph contrary to the eſtabliſhed order of the commonwealth, had impaired the luſtre of his former actions; by this laſt act of magnanimity, in reſtraining the inſolence of the troops, he forfeited the affections of the army; and in both theſe circumſtances together, gave a complete ſpecimen and image of his whole life. With too much reſpect for the republic to employ violent means for its ruin, he was poſſeſſed by a vanity and a jealouſy of his own perſonal conſideration, which, in detail, perpetually led him to undermine its foundations.

Upon the return of the elections, Sylla was again deſtined for one of the Conſuls; but he declined this piece of flattery, and directed the choice to fall on P. Servilius and Appius Claudius. Soon after theſe magiſtrates entered on the diſcharge of their truſt; the dictator appeared, as uſual, in the Forum, attended by twenty-four lictors: but, inſtead of proceeding to any exerciſe of his power, made a formal reſignation of it, diſmiſſed his retinue, and, having declared to the People, that, if any one had any matter of charge againſt him, he was ready to anſwer it, continued to walk in the ſtreets in the character of a private man, and afterwards retired to his villa near Cumæ, where he exerciſed himſelf in hunting [27], and other country amuſements. U. C. 674. P. Servilius, Ap. Claudius.

This reſignation throws a new light on the character of Sylla, and leads to a favourable conſtruction of ſome of the moſt exceptionable

[27] Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i.

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parts of his conduct. When, with the help of the comment it affords, we look back to the eſtabliſhments he made while in power, they appear not to be the acts of a determined uſurper, but to be fitted for a republican government, and for the reſtoration of that order which the violence and corruption of the times had ſuſpended.

That he was actuated by a violent reſentment of perſonal wrongs, cannot be queſtioned; but it is likewiſe evident, that he felt on proper occaſions for the honour and preſervation of his country, in the nobleſt ſenſe of theſe words. In his firſt attack of the city with a military force, his actions ſhowed, that he meant to reſcue the republic from the uſurpations of Marius, not to uſurp the government himſelf. When he returned into Italy from the Mithridatic war, the ſtate of parties already engaged in hoſtilities, and the violence done to the republic by thoſe who pretended to govern it, will abundantly juſtify his having had recourſe to arms. For the maſſacre which followed, it may be ſhocking to ſuppoſe that the evils of human life can require ſuch a remedy: but the caſe was ſingular, expoſed to diſorders which required violent remedies, beyond what is known in the hiſtory of mankind. A populous city, the capital of a large country, whoſe inhabitants ſtill pretended to act in a collective body, of whom every member would be a maſter, none would be a ſubject, become the joint ſovereigns of many provinces, ready to ſpurn at all the inſtitutions which were provided for the purpoſes of government over themſelves, and at all the principles of juſtice and order which were required to regulate this government of others: where the gangrene ſpread in ſuch a body, it was likely to require the amputation-knife. Men ruſhed into crimes in numerous bodies, or were led in powerful factions to any ſpecies of evil which ſuited their demagogues. Whatever may have been Sylla's choice among the inſtruments of reformation and cure, it is likely that the ſword alone was that on which he could rely; and

he uſed it like a perſon anxious to effect its purpoſe, not to recommend his art to thoſe on whom it was to be practiſed.

In his capacity of a political reformer, he had to work on the dregs of a corrupted republic; and although the effect fell ſhort of what is aſcribed to fabulous legiſlators and founders of ſtates, yet to nonè ever were aſcribed more tokens of magnanimity and greatneſs of mind. He was ſuperior to the reputation even of his own ſplendid actions; and, from ſimplicity or diſdain, mixed perhaps with ſuperſtition, not from affected modeſty, attributed his ſucceſs to the effects of his good fortune and to the favour of the gods. While he beſtowed on Pompey the title of Great, he himſelf was content with that of Fortunate. He was a man of letters, and paſſed the early part of his life in a mixture of diſſipation and ſtudy. He wrote his own memoirs, or a journal of his life, often quoted by Plutarch, and continued it to within a few days of his death. A work poſſibly of little elegance, and even tainted, as we are told, with ſuperſtition; but more curious ſurely than many volumes corrected by the labours of retired ſtudy.

When tired of his youthful amuſements, he ſued for the honours of the State; but with ſo little appearance of any jealous or impatient ambition, that, if he had not been impelled by provocations into the violent courſe he purſued, it is probable that he would have been contented with the uſual career of a proſperous Senator; would have diſdained to encroach on the rights of his fellow-citizens, as much as he reſented the encroachments that were made on his own, and never would have been heard of but on the Rolls of the Conſuls, and in the record of his triumphs. But fortune deſtined him for a part ſtill more conſpicuous, and in which it may be thought, that, although none ever leſs ſtudied the unneceſſary appearances of humanity or a ſcrupulous morality, none ever more eſſentially ſerved the perſons with whom he was connected.

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With reſpect to ſuch a perſonage, circumſtances of a trivial nature become ſubjects of attention. His hair and eyes, it is ſaid, were of a light colour, his complexion fair, and his countenance blotched. He was, by the moſt probable accounts, four years old at the time of the ſedition of Tiberius Gracchus, and ſeventeen at the death of Caius Gracchus; ſo that he might have perceived at this date the effect of tribunitian ſeditions, and taken the impreſſions from which he acted againſt them. He ſerved the office of Queſtor under Marius in Africa at thirty-one; was Conſul for the firſt time at forty-nine or fifty [38]; was Dictator at fifty-ſix; reſigned when turned of fifty-eight; and died yet under ſixty, in the year which followed that of his reſignation.

There remained in the city, at his death, a numerous body of new citizens who bore his name: in the country a ſtill more numerous body of veteran officers and ſoldiers, who held eſtates by his gift: numbers throughout the empire, who owed their ſafety to his protection, and who aſcribed the exiſtence of the commonwealth itſelf to the exertions of his great ability and courage: numbers who, although they were offended with the ſevere exerciſe of his power, yet admired the magnanimity of his reſignation.

When he was no longer an object of flattery, his corpſe was carried in proceſſion through Italy at the public expence. The faſces, and every other enſign of honour, were reſtored to the dead. Above two thouſand golden crowns were fabricated in haſte, by order of the towns and provinces he had protected, or of the private perſons he had preſerved, to teſtify their veneration for his memory. Roman matrons, whom it might be expected his cruelties would have affected with horror, loſt every other ſentiment in that of admiration, crowded to his funeral, and heaped the pile with perfumes [39]. His obſequies were performed in the Campus Martius. The tomb was

[38] Vel. Pater. lib. ii. c. 17.

[39] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. Plutarch. in Sylla.

marked by his own directions with the following characteriſtical inſcription: "Here lies Sylla, who never was outdone in good offices "by his friend, nor in acts of hoſtility by his enemy [40]." His merit or demerit in the principal tranſactions of his life may be variouſly eſtimated. His having ſlain ſo many citizens in cold blood, and without any form of law, if we imagine them to have been innocent, or if we conceive the republic to have been in a ſtate to allow them a trial, muſt be conſidered as monſtrous or criminal in the higheſt degree: but if none of theſe ſuppoſitions were juſt, if they were guilty of the greateſt crimes, and were themſelves the authors of that lawleſs ſtate to which their country was reduced, his having ſaved the republic from the hands of ſuch ruffians, and purged it of the vileſt dreg that ever threatened to poiſon a free State, may be conſidered as meritorious. To ſatisfy himſelf, who was neither ſolicitous of praiſe nor dreaded cenſure, the ſtrong impulſe of his own mind, guided by indignation and the ſenſe of neceſſity, was probably ſufficient.

[40] Plutarch. in Sylla, fine.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Map

Representing the Relative position
of the
PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS AND STATES
on the Coasts of the
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
At the time that the Romans began their Operations beyond the Limits of Italy.

GALLIA
GALLIA
CISALPINA
Placentia
Parmensis
Ager
Gallicus
Rubicon
Arnus
Pharos
ILLYRICUM
HADRIATIC
Pyrenees
Narbo
Emporiæ
CORSICA
Ebro
Ostia
Roma
Latium
Cerveteri
Capua
Tarentum
Brundusium
MACEDONIA
Pella
Dyrrachium
SARDINIA
GREECE
CORCYRA
IONIAN SEA
CEPHALENIA
ITHACA
Messina
Rhegium
Locri
SICILY
Syracuse
Sparta
Fair Promontory
Apollo
Mercury
Clupea
Carthage
Tunis
Hadrumetum
Utica
Zama
Vada
NUMIDIA
Gades
New Carthage
MACRETANIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA

Plate 1st *To be placed at the end of the 1st Volume*

GAUL

ITALY

GREECE

EUXINE

SARDINIA

CORSICA

SICILY

CRETE

CYPRUS

EGYPT

AFRICA

THRACE

MACEDONIA

BITHYNIA

PAPHLAGONIA

PONTUS

PERSIA

CAPPADOCIA

SYRIA

EMPIRE of SYRIA

CELESYRIA

JUDEA

LIGURIA

ETRURIA

LATIUM

CAMPANIA

APULIA

CALABRIA

LUCANIA

BRUTII

SAMNIUM

PICENUM

UMBRIA

VENETIA

PANNONIA

DALMATIA

ILLYRICUM

HADRIATIC

IONEAN SEA

AEGEAN SEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

PALUS MEOTIS

Thracean Bosphorus

Cimmerian Bosphorus

Rhodes

Ephesus

Troy

Carthage

Utica

Hadrumetum

Zama

Tyre

Sidon

Damascus

Jerusalem

Alexandria

Rome

Capua

Syracuse

Corcyra

Delos

Crete

Cyprus

Rhodes

Pharos

Lilybaeum

Messina

Rhegium

Ostia

Tiber

Aquileia

Ravenna

Pella

Byzantium

Troas

Lesbos

Samothrace

Pergamus

Smyrna

Miletus

Tarsus

Antioch

Damascus

Jerusalem

Alexandria

Memphis

Nile

Rhine

Danube

Po

Arno

Tiber

Rhone

Loire

Seine

Garonne

Ebro

Tagus

Guadiana

Guadalquivir

Nile

Euphrates

Tigris

Jordan

Dead Sea

Sea of Galilee

Mount Taurus

Mount Caucasus

Mount Olympus

Mount Ida

Mount Parnassus

Mount Etna

Mount Vesuvius

Mount Atlas

Mount Ararat

Mount Lebanon

Mount Sinai

Mount Carmel

Mount Hermon

Mount Tabor

Mount Gerizim

Mount Ebal

Mount Zion

Mount Moriah

Mount Olivet

Mount Gilboa

Mount Gilead

Mount Nebo

Mount Pisgah

Mount Horeb

Mount Seir

Mount Hor

Mount Paran

Mount Sinai

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

By ADAM FERGUSON, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

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ERRATA.

Page 154, line 1, for o read *of.*
196, —— 2, for *of empire* read *of the empire.*
435, —— 15, for *beſiegers* read *beſieged.*
444, —— 18, for *Sextus* read *Cæcus.*
447, —— 6, for *Acroſeraunus* read *Acroceraunus.*
457, —— 3, for *exerciſe* read *the exerciſe.*
459, —— 15, for *when* read *at which.*
489, —— 25, for *Macedonia* read *Epirus.*
499, —— 15, for *that they* read *who.*
510, —— 24, for *expreſſing in* read *containing.*
520, —— ult. for *to* read *by.*
530, —— 16, for *eighth of December* read *tenth of November.*

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK III.

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THE public was ſo much occupied with the conteſt of Sylla and his antagoniſts, that little elſe is recorded of the period in which it took place. Writers have not given us any diſtinct account of the condition of the city, or of the number of citizens. As the

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State was divided into two principal factions, the office of Cenſor was become too important for either party to entruſt it with their opponents, or even in neutral hands. The leaders of every faction, in their turn, made up the rolls of the People, and diſpoſed, at their pleaſure, of the equeſtrian and ſenatorian dignities.

At a ſurvey of the city, which is mentioned by Livy [a], preceding the admiſſion of the Italians on the rolls of the People, the number of citizens was three hundred and ninety-four thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſix. At another ſurvey, which followed ſoon after that event, they amounted, according to Euſebius, to four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand [b]; and it ſeems that the whole acceſſion of citizens from the country made no more than ſixty-eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four. The great ſlaughter of Romans and Italians, in which it is ſaid that three hundred thouſand men were killed, preceding the laſt of theſe muſters, and the difficulty of making complete and accurate liſts when the citizens were ſo much diſperſed, will account for the ſeemingly ſmall increaſe of their numbers.

In this period were born, and began to enter on the ſcene of public affairs, thoſe perſons whoſe conduct was now to determine the fate of the republic. Pompey had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and was a perſon of real conſequence. He had been educated in the camp of his father, and, by accident, at a very early age; and, before he had attained to any of the ordinary civil or political preferments, commanded an army. Cicero, being of the ſame age, began to be diſtinguiſhed at the bar. He pleaded, in the ſecond conſulate of Sylla, the cauſe of Roſcius Amerinus, in which he was led to cenſure the actions of Chryſogonus and other favourites of the Dictator, and, by his freedom in that inſtance, gained much honour to himſelf.

[a] Liv. lib. lxiii. [b] Euſeb. in Chronico.

Cæſar;

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Cæſar, now connected with the family of Cinna, whoſe daughter he had married, and being nearly related to the elder Marius, who had married his aunt, narrowly eſcaped the ſword of the prevailing party. Being commanded to ſeparate from his wife, he retained her in defiance of this order, and for his contumacy was put in the liſt of the proſcribed. He was ſaved, however, by the interceſſion of ſome common friends, whoſe requeſt in his favour Sylla granted, with that memorable ſaying, "Beware of him: there is many a Marius in the "perſon of that young man." A circumſtance which marked at once the penetration of Sylla and the early appearances of an extraordinary character in Cæſar.

Marcus Porcius, afterwards named Cato of Utica, was about three years younger than Cæſar, and being early an orphan, was educated in the houſe of an uncle, Livius Druſus. While yet a child, liſtening to the converſation of the times, he learned that the claim of the Italian allies, then in agitation, was dangerous to the Roman commonwealth. Pompedius Silo, who managed the claim for the Italians, amuſing himſelf with the young Cato, preſſed him with careſſes to intercede with his uncle in their behalf; and, finding that he was not to be won by flattery, likewiſe tried in vain to intimidate him by threatening to throw him from the window. "If this were a man," he ſaid, "I believe we ſhould obtain no ſuch favour." In the height of Sylla's military executions, when his portico was crowded with perſons who brought the heads of the proſcribed to be exchanged for the reward that was offered for them, Cato being carried by his tutor to pay his court, aſked, if "no one hated this man "enough to kill him?" "Yes, but they fear him ſtill more than they "hate him." "Then give me a ſword," ſaid the boy, "and I will "kill him." Such were the early indications of characters which afterwards became ſo conſpicuous in the commonwealth.

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With the unprecedented degradation of the Tribune Octavius, and the ſubſequent murder of Tiberius Gracchus, began, among the parties at Rome, a ſcene of injuries and retaliations, with intervals of anarchy and violent uſurpation, which muſt have ſpeedily ended in the ruin of the commonwealth, if the ſword had not paſſed at laſt into hands that employed it for the reſtoration of public order, as well as for the avenging of private wrongs.

It is indeed probable, that none of the parties in theſe horrid ſcenes had a deliberate intention to ſubvert the government, but all of them treated the forms of the commonwealth with too little reſpect; and, to obtain ſome revenge of the wrongs which they themſelves apprehended or endured, did not ſcruple in their turn to violate the laws of their country. But to thoſe who wiſhed to preſerve the commonwealth, the experience of fifty years was now ſufficient to ſhow, that attempts to reſtore the laws by illegal methods, and to terminate animoſities by retorted injuries and provocations were extremely vain. The exceſs of the evil had a tendency to exhauſt its ſource, and parties began to nauſeate the draught of which they had been made ſo plentifully to drink. There were, nevertheleſs, ſome dregs in the bottom of the cup, and the ſupplies of faction which were brought by the riſing generation, were of a mixture more dangerous than thoſe of the former age. The example of Sylla, who made himſelf lord of the commonwealth by means of a military force, and the ſecurity with which he held his uſurpation during pleaſure, had a more powerful effect in exciting the thirſt of dominion, than the political uſes which he made of his power or his magnanimity in reſigning it, had to reſtrain or to correct the effects of that dangerous precedent. Adventurers accordingly aroſe, who, without provocation, and equally indifferent to the intereſts of party as they were to thoſe of the republic, proceeded, with a cool and deliberate purpoſe, to

gratify their own ambition and avarice, in the ſubverſion of the government of their country. CHAP. I.

While Sylla was yet alive, Æmilius Lepidus, a man of profligate ambition, but of mean capacity, ſupported by the remains of the popular faction, ſtood for the Conſulate, and was choſen, together with Q. Lutatius Catulus, the ſon of him who, with Marius, triumphed for their joint victory over the Cimbri, and who afterwards periſhed by the orders of that uſurper. U. C. 675. M. Æm. Lepidus, Q. Lut. Catulus, Coſs.

Pompey had openly declared for Lepidus, and was told upon that occaſion by Sylla, that he was ſtirring the embers of a fire which would in the end conſume the republic. After the death of Sylla it appeared, from a mark of diſapprobation well known to the Romans, that of not being mentioned in his will, that Pompey had loſt his eſteem. This prudent young man, however, in oppoſition to Lepidus and others, who wiſhed to inſult the memory of Sylla, was among the firſt in recommending and performing the honours that were paid to his remains.

Lepidus, upon his acceſſion to the Conſulate, moved for a recal of the proſcribed exiles, a reſtitution of the forfeited lands, and a repeal of all the ordinances of the late Dictator. This motion was formally oppoſed by Catulus; and there enſued between the two Conſuls a debate which divided the city. But the party of the Senate prevailed to have the motion rejected.

In the allotment of provinces the Tranſalpine Gaul had fallen to Lepidus; and, upon his motion being rejected in the aſſembly of the People, although it had been ſome time the practice for Conſuls to remain at Rome during their continuance in office, he prepared to leave the city, in order to take poſſeſſion of his province. This reſolution, as it implied great impatience to be at the head of an army, gave ſome jealouſy to the Senate, who dreaded the deſigns of a Conſul

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Conſul deſirous to join military power with his civil authority. They recollected the progreſs of ſedition which began with the Gracchi and Apuleius raiſing popular tumults, and ended with Marius and Sylla leading Conſular armies in the city, and fighting their battles in the ſtreets. And in this point the deciſive ſpirit of Sylla, although it may have ſnatched the commonwealth from the flames by which it began to be conſumed, yet ſhowed the way to its ruin in the means which he employed to preſerve it [3]. The Senators were willing that Lepidus ſhould depart from the city; but they had the precaution to exact from him an oath, that he ſhould not diſturb the public peace. This oath, to avoid the appearance of any particular diſtruſt in him, they likewiſe exacted from his colleague [4].

Lepidus, notwithſtanding his oath, being arrived in his province, made preparations for war; and, thinking that his oath was binding only while he remained in office, determined to remain in Gaul at the head of his forces until the term was expired. The Senate, in order to remove him from the army, appointed him to preſide at the election of his ſucceſſor. But he neglected the ſummons which was ſent to him for this purpoſe, and the year of the preſent Conſuls was by this means ſuffered to elapſe, before any election was made.

The ordinary ſucceſſion being thus interrupted, the Senate named Appius Claudius, as Interrex, to hold the elections, and at the ſame time deprived Lepidus of his command in Gaul. Upon this information he haſtened to Italy with the troops he had already aſſembled, and greatly alarmed the republic. The Senate gave to Appius Claudius, and to Catulus, in the quality of Proconſul, the uſual charge to watch over the ſafety of the State. Theſe officers accordingly, without delay, collected a military force, while Lepidus advanced through Etruria,

[3] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. [4] Ibid.

and

and publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he invited all the friends of liberty to join him, and made a formal demand of being re-inveſted with the conſular power. In oppoſition to this treaſonable act of Lepidus, the Senate republiſhed the law of Plautius, by which the Prætors were required, in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, to take cognizance of all attempts to levy war againſt the State, and joined to it an additional clauſe or reſolution of their own, obliging thoſe magiſtrates to receive accuſations of treaſon on holy-days, as well as on ordinary days of buſineſs.

Mean time Lepidus advanced to the gates of Rome, ſeized the Janiculum and one of the bridges that led to the city. He was met by Catulus in the Campus Martius, repulſed and routed. All his party diſperſed; he himſelf fled to Sardinia, and ſoon after died. His ſon, a young man, with part of the army, retired to Alba, and was there ſoon after taken, and ſuffered for a treaſon in which he was engaged by his father.

Marcus Brutus, the father of him who, in the continuation of theſe troubles, afterwards fell at Philippi, having joined with Lepidus in this raſh and profligate attempt againſt the republic, was obliged at Mantua to ſurrender himſelf to Pompey, and, by his orders, was put to death. But the moſt conſiderable part the army of Lepidus penetrated, under the conduct of Perperna, into Spain, and joined Sertorius, who was now become the refuge of one party in its diſtreſs, as Sylla had formerly been of the other. In this province accordingly, while peace began to be reſtored in Italy, a ſource of new troubles was opening for the State. The prevailing party in the city was willing to grant an indemnity, and to ſuffer all proſecution, on account of the late offences, to drop; the extreme to which Sylla had carried the ſeverity of his executions, diſpoſing the minds of men to the oppoſite courſe of indulgence and mercy.

Before the arrival of Lepidus with his army in Italy, Mithridates had ſent to obtain from the Senate a ratification of the treaty he had

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concluded with Sylla: but upon a complaint from Ariobarzanes, that the king of Pontus had not himſelf performed his part of that treaty by the complete reſtitution of Cappadocia, he was directed to give full ſatisfaction on this point before his negotiation at Rome could proceed. He accordingly complied; but by the time his ambaſſador brought the report, the Romans were ſo much occupied by the war they had to maintain againſt Lepidus and his adherents, that they had no leiſure for foreign affairs. This intelligence encouraged Mithridates to think of renewing the war. Senſible that he could not rely on a permanent peace with the Roman republic, he had already provided an army, not ſo conſiderable in reſpect to numbers as that which he formerly had, but more formidable by the order and diſcipline he had endeavoured to introduce on the model of the legion. He flattered himſelf that the diſtraction under which the Romans now laboured at home, would render them unable to reſiſt his forces in Aſia, and give him an opportunity to remove the only obſtruction that remained to his own conqueſts. He avoided, in the time of a negotiation, and without the pretext of a new provocation, to break out into open hoſtilities; but he encouraged his ſon-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia to make war on the Roman allies in his neighbourhood, and thereby laid the foundation of a quarrel which he might either adopt or decline at pleaſure. This prince accordingly, being then building a city, under the name of Tigranocerta, for which he wanted inhabitants, made an incurſion into the kingdom of Cappadocia, carried off from thence three hundred thouſand of the People to repleniſh his new ſettlement.

Soon after this infraction of the peace, Mithridates, in order to have the co-operation of ſome of the parties into which the Roman State was divided, entered into a treaty with Sertorius, and wiſhed, in concert with this general, to execute the project of a march, by a route afterwards practiſed by the Barbarians who invaded the Roman empire.

empire. From the ſhores of the Euxine it appeared eaſy to paſs over land to the Adriatic, and once more to repeat the operations of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal, by making war on the Romans in their own country. CHAP. I.

Sertorius, who had erected the ſtandard of the republic in Spain, gave refuge to the Roman exiles from every quarter, and was now at the head of a formidable power, compoſed of Italians as well as natives of that country. By his birth and abilities he had pretenſions to the higheſt preferments of the State, and had been early diſtinguiſhed as a ſoldier, qualified either to plan or to execute. He was attached to Marius in the time of the Cimbric war, and became a party with this leader in his quarrel with Sylla. His animoſity to the latter was increaſed by the mutual oppoſition of their intereſts in the purſuit of civil preferments. At the beginning of the civil war Sertorius took an active part, but ſhowed more reſpect to the conſtitution of his country, and more mercy to thoſe who were oppoſed to him, than either of his aſſociates Marius or Cinna. When his party were in poſſeſſion of the government, he was appointed to command in Spain, and, after the ruin of their affairs in Italy, withdrew into that Province. He was received as a Roman governor; but, ſoon after the other party prevailed in Italy, was attacked on their part by Caius Annius, who came with a proper force to diſlodge him. He had eſtabliſhed poſts on the Pyrenees for the ſecurity of his province; but the officer to whom they were entruſted being aſſaſſinated, and the ſtations deſerted, the enemy had free acceſs on that ſide. Not in condition to maintain himſelf any longer in Spain, he embarked with what forces he had at Carthagena, and continued for ſome years, with a ſmall ſquadron of Cilician galleys, to ſubſiſt by the ſpoils of Africa and the contiguous coaſts. In this ſtate of his fortunes he formed a project to viſit the Fortunate Iſlands, and if a ſettlement could be effected there, to bid farewel for ever to

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the Roman world; to its factions, its diviſions, and its troubles. But while he was about to ſet ſail in ſearch of this famous retreat in the ocean, he received an invitation from the unſubdued natives of Luſitania to become their leader. At their head his abilities ſoon made him conſpicuous. He affected to conſider the Luſitanians as the Senate and People of Rome, treating the eſtabliſhment of Sylla in Italy as a mere uſurpation. He himſelf took the enſigns of a Roman officer of State, ſelected three hundred of his followers, to whom he gave the title of Senate, and in all his tranſactions with foreign nations, aſſumed the name and ſtile of the Roman Republic. In treating with Mithridates he refuſed to cede the province of Aſia, or to purchaſe the alliance of that prince by any conceſſions injurious to the Roman empire, of which he affected to conſider himſelf and his Senate as the legal head.

While Sertorius was acting this farce, the report of his formidable power, the late acceſſion he had gained by the junction of ſome of the Marian forces under the command of Perperna, and his ſuppoſed preparations to make a deſcent upon Italy, gave an alarm at Rome. Metellus had been ſome time employed againſt him in Spain; but being ſcarcely able to keep the field, his oppoſition tended only to augment the reputation of his antagoniſt. The Conſuls lately elected were judged unequal to this war, and the thoughts of all men were turned on Pompey, who, though yet in no public character, nor arrived at the legal age of ſtate preferments, had the addreſs on this, as on many other occaſions, to make himſelf be pointed at as the only perſon who could effectually ſerve the republic. He was accordingly, with the title of Proconſul, joined to Metellus in the conduct of the war in Spain[6]. It no doubt facilitated the career of this young man's pretenſions, that few men of diſtinguiſhed abilities were

U C. 676. D. Junius Brutus, Mam. Emilianus Livianus.

[6] Claudius, in making this motion, alluding to the inſignificance of both Conſuls, ſaid, that Pompey ſhould be ſent pro Conſulibus.

now

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now in view to ſuſtain the fortunes of the republic. Such men, of whatever party, had always, in their turns, been the firſt victims of the late violent maſſacres; and the party of Sylla, which was now the republic, when conſidered as a nurſery of eminent men, had ſome diſadvantage, perhaps in the ſuperiority of its leader, who was himſelf equal to all its affairs, and taught others to conſide and obey, not to act for themſelves. Pompey was not of an age to have ſuffered from this influence. He came into the party in its buſieſt time, and had been entruſted with ſeparate commands. He had already obtained for himſelf part of that artificial conſideration which, though it cannot be ſupported without abilities, often exceeds the degree of merit on which it is founded; and this conſideration to the end of his life he continued to augment with much attention and many concerted intrigues. He had a genius for war, and was now about to improve it in the conteſt with Sertorius, an excellent maſter, whoſe leſſons were rough but inſtructive.

Pompey having made the levies deſtined for this ſervice, paſſed the Alps by a new route, and was the firſt Roman general who made his way into Spain through Gaul and the Pyrennees. Soon after his arrival, a legion that covered the foragers of his army was intercepted and cut off by the enemy. Sertorius was engaged in the ſiege of Laura. Pompey advanced to relieve it. Sertorius, upon his approach, took poſt on an eminence. Pompey prepared to attack him, and the beſieged had hopes of immediate relief. But Sertorius had made his diſpoſition in ſuch a manner, that Pompey could not advance without expoſing his own rear to a party that was placed to attack him. "I will teach this pupil of Sylla," he ſaid, "to look "behind as well as before him;" and Pompey, ſeeing his danger, choſe to withdraw, leaving the town of Laura to fall into the enemy's hands, while he himſelf continued a ſpectator of the ſiege, and of the deſtruction of the place. After this unſucceſsful be-

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ginning of the war, he was obliged to retire into Gaul for the winter[7].

U. C. 677. Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius Curio.

The following year, Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius Curio being Conſuls, Pompey ſtill remained in his command; and, having repaſſed the Pyrennees, directed his march to join Metellus. Sertorius lay on the Sucro[8], and wiſhed to engage him before the junction; and Pompey, on his part, being deſirous to reap the glory of a ſeparate victory, an action enſued, in which the wing on which Pompey fought was defeated by Sertorius; but the other wing had the victory over Perperna. As Sertorius was about to renew the action on the following day, he was prevented by the arrival of Metellus. "If the old woman had not interpoſed," he ſaid, "I ſhould have whipt the boy, "and ſent him back to his ſchools at Rome."

This war continued about two years longer with various ſucceſs, but without any memorable event, until it ended by the death of Sertorius, who, at the inſtigation of Perperna, was betrayed and aſſaſſinated by a few of his own attendants. Perperna, having removed Sertorius by this baſe action, put himſelf at the head of the army, and endeavoured to keep them united, at leaſt until he ſhould be able to purchaſe his peace at Rome. He was, however, deſerted by numbers of his own people, and at laſt ſurpriſed by Pompey, and ſlain. He had made offers to diſcloſe the ſecrets of the party, and to produce the correſpondence which many of the principal citizens at Rome held with Sertorius, inviting him to return into Italy, and promiſing to join him with a formidable power. The letters were ſecured by Pompey, and, without being opened, were burned. So maſterly an act of prudence, in a perſon who was yet conſidered as a young man, has been deſervedly admired. It ſerved to extinguiſh all the remains

[7] Plutarch. in Pompeio & Sertorio. Appian. Liv. Obſequens. Frontinus Stratagim. lib. ii. c. 5.

[8] The Xucar, which falls into the Bay of Valentia.

of

of the Marian faction, and reconciled men, otherwiſe diſaffected, to a ſituation in which they were aſſured of impunity and concealment.

While Pompey was thus gathering laurels in the field, C. Julius Cæſar, being about ſeven years younger, that is, twenty-three years of age, was returned from Aſia; and, to make ſome trial of his parts, laid an accuſation againſt Dolabella, late Proconſul of Macedonia, for oppreſſion and extortion in his province. Cotta and Hortenſius, appearing for the defendant, procured his acquittal. Cicero ſays, that he himſelf was then returned from a journey he had made into Aſia, and was preſent at this trial. The following year Cæſar left Rome, with intention to paſs ſome time under a celebrated maſter of rhetoric at Rhodes. In his way he was taken by pirates, and detained about forty days, until he found means to procure from Metellus a ſum of fifty talents [9], which was paid for his ranſom. He had frequently told the pirates, while yet in their hands, that he would puniſh their inſolence; and he now told them to expect the performance of his promiſe. Upon being ſet on ſhore, he aſſembled and armed ſome veſſels on the coaſt, purſued and took his captors. Leaving his priſoners where he landed, he haſtened to Junius Silanus, the Proconſul of Bythinia, and applied for an order to have them executed; but being refuſed by this officer, he made his way back with ſtill greater diſpatch, and, before any inſtructions could arrive to the contrary, had the pirates nailed to the croſs. Such lawleſs banditti had long infeſted the ſeas of Aſia and of Greece, and furniſhed at times no inconſiderable employment to the arms of the republic. Servilius Vatia, who afterwards bore the title of Iſauricus, had lately been employed againſt them; and, after clearing the ſeas, endeavoured likewiſe to deſtroy or ſecure their ports and ſtrong holds

[9] Near to 10,000 l.

on

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on ſhore. They, nevertheleſs, recovered this blow, and continued to appear at intervals in new ſwarms, and to the great interruption of commerce by ſea, and of all the communications in the empire.

Under the reformations of Sylla, which, by diſarming the tribunitian power, in a great meaſure ſhut up the ſource of former diſorders, the republic was now reſtored to ſome degree of tranquillity, and reſumed its attention to the ordinary objects of peace. The bridge on the Tiber, which had been erected of wood, was taken down and rebuilt with ſtone; bearing the name of Æmilius, one of the Queſtors under whoſe inſpection the fabric had been reared; and as a public work of ſtill greater conſequence, it is mentioned, that a treatiſe on agriculture, the production of Mago a Carthaginian, and in the language of Carthage, was, by the expreſs orders of the Senate, now tranſlated into Latin. At the reduction of Carthage, the Romans were yet governed by huſbandmen, and, amidſt the literary ſpoils of that city, this book alone, conſiſting of twenty-eight rolls or volumes, was ſuppoſed to merit public attention, and was ſecured for the State. A number of perſons ſkilled in the Punic language, together with Silanus, who had the principal charge of the work, were employed in tranſlating it [20].

The calm, however, which the republic enjoyed under the aſcendant of the ariſtocracy, was not altogether undiſturbed. In the Conſulate of Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius Curio, the Tribune Licinius made an attempt to recover the former powers of the office. He ventured, in preſence of both the Conſuls, to harangue the People, and exhorted them to reaſſume their antient rights. As a circumſtance which ſerves to mark the petulant boldneſs of theſe men, it is mentioned that the Conſul Octavius, on this occaſion, being ill, was muffled up, and covered with a dreſſing which brought

[20] Plin lib. xviii. c. 3.

flies

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flies in great numbers about him. His colleague Curio, having made a vehement ſpeech, at the cloſe of it, the Tribune called out to Octavius, "You never can repay your colleague's ſervice of this day; "if he had not been near you, while he made this ſpeech, and beat "the air ſo much with his geſticulations, the flies muſt by this time "have eaten you up"." The ſequel is imperfectly known; but the diſpute appears to have been carried to a great height, and to have ended in a tumult, in which the Tribune Licinius was killed.

Upon a review of Sylla's acts intended to reſtore the authority of the Senate, it may be queſtioned, whether that clauſe in the law relating to the Tribunes, by which all perſons having accepted of this office were excluded from any further preferment in the State, may not have had an ill effect, and required correction. It rendered the Tribunate an object only to the meaneſt of the Senators, who, upon their acceptance of it, ceaſing to have any pretenſions to the higher offices of State, were, by this means, deprived of any intereſt in the government, and exaſperated againſt the higher dignities of the commonwealth. Aurelius Cotta, one of the Conſuls that ſucceeded Cn. Octavius and Curio, moved perhaps by this conſideration, propoſed to have that clauſe repealed, and was warmly ſupported by the Tribune Opimius, who, contrary to the prohibition lately enacted, ventured to harangue the People; and for this offence, at the expiration of his office, was tried and condemned [12].

U. C. 678. L. Octavius, C. Aurelius Cotta.

By the defects which the People began to apprehend in their preſent inſtitutions, or by the part which their demagogues began to take againſt the ariſtocracy, the Roman State, after a very ſhort reſpite, began to relapſe into its former troubles, and was again to exhibit the curious ſpectacle of a nation divided againſt itſelf, broken and diſtracted in its councils, which nevertheleſs prevailed in all its ope-

[11] Cicero de Claris Oratoribus.

[12] Cicero, 3tio, in Verrem, & Pædianus, ibid.

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rations abroad, and gained continual acceſſions of empire, under the effect of convulſions which ſhook the commonwealth itſelf to its baſe; and, what is ſtill leſs to be paralleled in the hiſtory of mankind, was to exhibit the ſpectacle of a nation, which proceeded in its affairs abroad with a ſucceſs that may be imputed in a great meaſure to its diviſions at home.

War, in the detail of its operations, if not even in the formation of its plans, is more likely to ſucceed under ſingle men than under numerous councils. The Roman conſtitution, though far from an arrangement proper to preſerve domeſtic peace and tranquillity, was an excellent nurſery of ſtateſmen and warriors. To perſons brought up in this ſchool, all foreign affairs were committed with little reſponſibility and leſs controul. The ruling paſſion, even of the leaſt virtuous citizens, during ſome ages, was the ambition of being conſiderable, and of riſing to the higheſt dignities of the State at home. They enjoyed the condition of monarchs in the provinces; but they valued this condition only as it furniſhed them with the occaſion of triumphs, and contributed to their importance at Rome. They were factious and turbulent in their competition for power and honours in the capital; but, in order the better to ſupport that very conteſt, were faithful and inflexible in maintaining all the pretenſions of the State abroad. Thus Sylla, though deprived of his command by an act of the oppoſite party at Rome, and with many of his friends, who eſcaped from the bloody hands of their perſecutors, condemned and outlawed, ſtill maintained the part of a Roman officer of ſtate, and preſcribed to Mithridates, as might have been expected from him in the moſt undiſturbed exerciſe of his truſt. Sertorius, in the ſame manner, acting for the oppoſite faction, in ſome meaſure preſerved a ſimilar dignity of character, and refuſed to make conceſſions unworthy of the Roman republic. Contrary to the fate of other nations, where the ſtate is weak, while the conduct of individuals

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viduals is regular; here the State was in vigour, while the conduct of individuals was in the higheſt degree irregular and wild.

The reputation, as well as the arms of the Romans, procured them acceſſions of territory without labour, and without expence. Kingdoms were bequeathed to them by will; as that of Pergamus formerly by the will of Attalus; that of Cyrene by the will of Ptolomy Appion; and that of Bithynia, about this time, by the will of Nicomedes. To the ſame effect, princes and ſtates, where they did not make any formal ceſſion of their ſovereignty, did ſomewhat equivalent, by ſubmitting their rights to diſcuſſion at Rome, and by ſoliciting grants from the Romans, of which the world now ſeemed to acknowledge the validity, by having recourſe to them as the baſis of tenures by which they held their poſſeſſions. In this manner, the ſons of the laſt Antiochus, king of Syria, ſtated themſelves as ſubjects or dependants of the Roman People, having paſſed two years at Rome, waiting deciſions of the Senate, and ſoliciting a grant of the kingdom of Egypt, on which they formed ſome pretenſions.

In Aſia, by theſe means, the Roman empire advanced on the ruin of thoſe who had formerly oppoſed its progreſs. The Macedonian line, in the monarchy of Syria, was now broke off, or extinct. The kingdom itſelf, conſiſting of many provinces, began to be diſmembered, on the defeat of Antiochus at Sipylus, by the defection of provincial governors and tributary princes, who, no longer awed by the power of their former maſter, entered into a correſpondence with the Romans, and were by them acknowledged as ſovereigns. In this manner the ſtates of Armenia, long ſubject to the Perſians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, now became the ſeat of a new monarchy under Tigranes. And, to complete this revolution, the natives of Syria, weary of the degeneracy and weakneſs of their own court, of the irregularity of the ſucceſſion to the throne of their own kingdom; weary of the fre-

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quent competitions which involved them in blood, invited Tigranes to wield a ſceptre which the deſcendants of Seleucus were no longer in condition to hold. This prince, accordingly, extended his kingdom to both ſides of the Euphrates, and held Syria itſelf as one of its diviſions [13].

In theſe circumſtances, the Romans were left undiſturbed to reeſtabliſh their province in the Leſſer Aſia: and under the auſpices of Servilius, who, from his principal acquiſition in thoſe parts, had the name of Iſauricus, were extending their limits on the ſide of Cilicia, and were haſtening to the ſovereignty of that coaſt, when their progreſs was ſuddenly checked by the re-appearance of an enemy, who had already given them much trouble in that quarter.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, who appears to have revived in his own breaſt the animoſities of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal againſt the Romans, had never ceaſed, ſince the date of his laſt mortifying treaty with Sylla, to deviſe the means of renewing the war. Having attempted in vain to engage Sylla in a league with himſelf againſt the Romans, he made a ſimilar attempt on Sertorius in Spain. Affecting to conſider this fugitive, with his little Senate, as heads of the republic, he preſſed for a ceſſion of the Roman province in Aſia in his own favour, and in return offered to aſſiſt the followers of Sertorius with all his forces in the recovery of Italy. In this negotiation, however, he found, as has been already remarked, that whoever aſſumed the character of a Roman officer of ſtate, ſupported it with a like inflexible dignity. Sertorius refuſed to diſmember the empire, but accepted of the proffered aid from Mithridates, and agreed to ſend him Roman officers to aſſiſt in the formation and diſcipline of his army.

The king of Pontus, now bent on correcting the error which is common in extenſive and barbarous monarchies, of relying intirely

[13] Strabo, lib. xi. fine.

on

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on numbers, inſtead of diſcipline and military ſkill, propoſed to form a more regular army than that which he had aſſembled in the former war; and, however little ſucceſsful in his endeavours, meant to rival his enemy in every particular of their diſcipline, in the uſe of their weapons, and in the form of their legion. With troops beginning to make theſe reformations, and amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and ſixteen thouſand horſe, he declared war on the Romans, and, without reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of Cappadocia and Phrygia, beyond the bounds they had ſet to his kingdom. As he was to act both by ſea and by land, he began with cuſtomary oblations to Neptune and to Mars. To the firſt he made an offering of a ſplendid carriage, drawn by white horſes, which he precipitated and ſunk in the ſea; to the other he made a ſacrifice, which, as deſcribed by the hiſtorian [14], filled the imagination more than any of the rites uſually practiſed by antient nations. The king, with his army, aſcended the higheſt mountain on their route, formed on its ſummit a great pile of wood, of which he himſelf laid the firſt materials, and ordered the fabric to be raiſed in a pyramidical form to a great height. The top was loaded with offerings of honey, milk, oil, wine, and perfumes. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, the army around it began the ſolemnity with a feaſt, at the end of which the pile was ſet on fire, and in proportion as the heat increaſed, the army extended their circle, and came down from the mountain. The flames continued to aſcend for many days, and were ſeen, it is ſaid, at the diſtance of a thouſand ſtadia, or above a hundred miles [15].

After this ſolemnity was over, Mithridates endeavoured to animate and to unite in a common zeal for his cauſe the different nations that were collected from remote parts of the empire, to form his army. For this purpoſe he enumerated the ſucceſſes by which he

[14] Appian. [15] Ibid. de Bell. Mithridat.

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had raiſed his kingdom to its preſent pitch of greatneſs, and repreſented the numerous vices of the enemy with whom he was now to engage, their diviſions at home and their oppreſſion abroad, their avarice, and inſatiable luſt of dominion.

The Romans were ſome time undetermined whom they ſhould employ againſt this formidable enemy. Pompey, being ſtill in Spain, ſaw with regret this ſervice likely to fall to the ſhare of another; and he had his partizans at Rome who would have gladly put off the nomination of any general to this command, until he himſelf could arrive with his army to receive it. He accordingly about this time wrote a letter to the Senate, complaining, in petulant terms, of their neglect, and of the ſtraits to which the troops under his command were reduced for want of pay and proviſions, and threatening, if not ſpeedily ſupplied, to march into Italy. The Conſul Lucullus, apprehending the conſequence of Pompey's preſence in Italy, at the head of an army, and wiſhing not to furniſh him with any pretence for leaving his preſent province, had the army in Spain completely ſupplied, and, at the ſame time, took proper meaſures to ſupport his own pretenſions to the command in Aſia. From his rank as the Conſul in office, he had a natural claim to this ſtation; and from his knowledge of the country and of the war [15] with this very enemy, in which he had already borne ſome part under Sylla [17], was intitled to plead his qualifications and his merits.

[15] Vide Ciceronis in Lucullo, c. 1 & 2.

[17] Plutarch. in Lucull. initio. edit. Lond. 4to. vol. iii p. 137.

Cicero is often quoted to prove that Lucullus, at this time, was a mere novice in war, and owed the knowledge by which he came to be diſtinguiſhed, to ſpeculation and ſtudy, not to experience. It is obſerved by lord Bolingbroke, that Cicero had an intereſt in having it believed, that great officers might be formed in this manner; and it is probable, that he affected to conſider the part which was aſſigned to Lucullus by Sylla, as mere civil employment. He is mentioned as having charge of the coinage with which Sylla paid his army, and of the fleet with which he tranſported them into Aſia: but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe were the only operations confided by Sylla to a lieutenant of ſo much ability.

When

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When the provinces came to be diſtributed, the difficulties which preſented themſelves in Aſia were thought to require the preſence of both the Conſuls. The kingdom of Bythinia, which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans, was in danger of being invaded before they could obtain a formal poſſeſſion of this inheritance; at the ſame time that the enemy, by whom they were threatened, was not likely to limit his operations to the attack of that country. Of the Conſuls, Cotta was appointed to ſeize on the kingdom of Bythinia, and Lucullus to lead the army againſt Mithridates wherever elſe he ſhould carry the war. Cotta ſet out immediately for his province. Lucullus, being detained in making the neceſſary levies, followed ſome time afterwards; but before his arrival in Aſia, the king of Pontus had already invaded Bythinia, defeated the forces of Cotta, and obliged him to take refuge in Chalcedonia. The king of Pontus, being ſuperior both by ſea and by land, over-ran the country in the neighbourhood of this place; and, having broke the chain which ſhut up the mouth of the harbour, he entered and burnt ſome Roman gallies, which were ſtationed there. Not thinking it adviſeable to attack the town of Chalcedonia, he turned his forces againſt Cyzicus, a port on the Propontis, blocked up the place both by ſea and by land; and, being well-provided with battering engines, and the other neceſſaries of a ſiege, he had hopes of being ſoon able to reduce it by ſtorm. The inhabitants, nevertheleſs, prepared for their defence, in expectation of being ſpeedily relieved by the Romans.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when Lucullus arrived in Aſia; and having joined his new levies to the legions which had ſerved under Fimbria, and to the other troops already in the province, he aſſembled an army of about thirty thouſand men, with which he advanced to re-eſtabliſh Cotta in his province, and to relieve the town of Cyzicus. The king of Pontus, being elated by his ſucceſſes, and by the ſuperiority of his numbers, gave no attention to the motions of Lucul-

lus,

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lus, ſuffered him to get poſſeſſion of the heights in his rear, and to cut off his principal ſupplies of proviſions and forage. Truſting, however, that his magazines would not be exhauſted before he ſhould have forced the town of Cyzicus to ſurrender, he continued the ſiege. But his engines not being well ſerved, and the defence being obſtinate, his army began to be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and it became neceſſary to leſſen his conſumption. For this purpoſe he ſecretly moved away part of his cavalry. Theſe were intercepted by the Romans on their march, and cut off or diſperſed; and the king, being reduced with the remainder of his army to the greateſt diſtreſs, embarked on board one of his gallies, ordered the army to force their way to Lampſacus, while he himſelf endeavoured to eſcape with his fleet. The army being attacked by Lucullus, the greater part of them periſhed in paſſing the Aſopus and the Grannicus. The king himſelf, having put into Nicomedia, and from thence continuing his voyage through the Boſphorus to the Euxine, was overtaken on that ſea by a ſtorm, and loſt the greateſt part of his fleet. His own galley being ſunk, he himſelf narrowly eſcaped in a barge.

The whole force with which the king of Pontus had invaded Bythinia, being thus diſpelled like a cloud, Lucullus employed ſome time in reducing the towns into which any of the troops of Mithridates had been received; and having effectually deſtroyed the remains of the vanquiſhed army, took his route by Bythinia and Galatia towards Pontus. At his entrance into this kingdom was ſituated the town of Amyſus, a conſiderable fortreſs on the coaſt of the Euxine, into which the king had thrown a ſufficient force to retard his progreſs. Mithridates, under favour of the time he gained by the defence of this place, aſſembled a new army at Cabira, near the frontier of Armenia. Here he muſtered about forty thouſand foot, and a conſiderable body of horſe, and was ſoliciting the Scythians, Armenians, and all the nations of that continent to his aid. Lucullus,

in order to prevent, if poſſible, any further reinforcements to the enemy, committed the ſiege of Amyſus to Murena, and advanced with his army into the plains of Cabira. On this ground the Roman horſe received repeated checks from thoſe of the enemy, and were kept in continual alarm until their general, having time to obſerve the country, avoided the plains on which the king of Pontus, by means of his cavalry, was greatly ſuperior. Though very much ſtraitened for proviſions, Lucullus kept his poſition on the heights, until the enemy ſhould be forced to a general action. The ſkirmiſhes which happened between the foraging parties drew conſiderable numbers from the reſpective armies to engage; and the troops of Mithridates, having been routed in one of theſe partial encounters, the king took a reſolution to decamp in the night, and remove to a greater diſtance from the Romans. As ſoon as it was dark, the equipage and the attendants of the leading men in the camp, to whom he had communicated this reſolution, began to withdraw; and the army, greatly alarmed with that appearance, was ſeized with a panic, and could not be reſtrained from flight. Horſe and foot, and bodies of every deſcription crowded in diſorder into the avenues of the camp, and were trod under foot, or in great numbers periſhed by each other's hands. Mithridates himſelf, endeavouring to ſtop and to undeceive them, was carried off by the multitude.

The noiſe of this tumult being heard to a great diſtance, and the occaſion being known in the Roman camp, Lucullus advanced with his army to take advantage of the confuſion in which the enemy were fallen, and by a vigorous attack put many to the ſword, and haſtened their diſperſion.

The king was, by one of his ſervants, with difficulty mounted on horſeback, and muſt have been taken, if the purſuing party had not been amuſed in ſeizing ſome plunder, which he had ordered on purpoſe to be left in their way. A mule, loaded with ſome part of the

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the royal treaſure, turned the attention of his purſuers, while he himſelf made his eſcape.

In his flight he appeared to be moſt affected with the fate of his women. The greateſt number of them were left at the palace of Pharnacea, a place that muſt ſoon fall into the hands of the enemy. He therefore diſpatched a faithful eunuch with orders to put them to death, leaving the choice of the manner to themſelves. A few are particularly mentioned. Of two, who were his own ſiſters, Roxana and Statira, one died uttering execrations againſt her brother's cruelty, the other extolling, in that extremity of his own fortune, the generous care he took of their honour. Monimé, a Greek of Miletus, celebrated for her beauty, whom the king had long wooed in vain with proffers of great riches, and whom he won at laſt only by the participation of his crown, and the earneſt of the nuptial rites, had ever lamented her fortune, which, inſtead of a royal huſband and a palace, had given her a priſon, and a barbarous keeper. Being now told, that ſhe muſt die, and that the manner of her death was left to her own choice, ſhe unbound the royal fillet from her hair, and, uſing it as a bandage, endeavoured to ſtrangle herſelf. It broke in the attempt: "Bauble," ſhe ſaid, "it is not fit even for this!" then ſtretching out her neck to the eunuch, bid him fulfil his maſter's purpoſe. Berenicé of Chios, another Græcian beauty, had likewiſe been honoured with the nuptial crown; and, having been attended in her ſtate of melancholy elevation by her mother, who, on this occaſion, likewiſe reſolved to partake of her daughter's fate; they choſe to die by poiſon. The mother intreated that ſhe might have the firſt draught; and died before her daughter. The remainder of the doſe not being ſufficient for the queen, ſhe put herſelf likewiſe into the hands of the executioner, and was ſtrangled. By theſe deaths, the barbarous jealouſy of the king was gratified, and the future triumph of the Roman general deprived of its principal ornaments.

Lucullus,

CHAP. I.

Lucullus, after his late victory, having no enemy in the field to oppoſe him, paſſed through the country, and entered without moleſtation into many of the towns in the kingdom of Pontus. He found many palaces enriched with treaſure, and adorned with barbarous magnificence; and, as might be expected under ſuch a violent and diſtruſtful government, every where places of confinement crowded with priſoners of ſtate, whom the jealouſy of the king had ſecured, and whom his ſupercilious neglect had ſuffered to remain in cuſtody, even after his jealouſy was allayed.

Mithridates, from his late defeat, fled into Armenia, and claimed the protection of Tigranes, who, being married to his daughter, had already favoured him in his deſigns againſt the Romans.

This powerful prince, now become ſovereign of Syria as well as Armenia, ſtill continued his reſidence in the laſt of theſe kingdoms at Tigranocerta, a city he himſelf had built, filled with inhabitants, and diſtinguiſhed by his own name. On the arrival of Mithridates to ſue for his protection, Tigranes declined to ſee him, but ordered him a princely reception in one of the palaces.

Lucullus continued his purſuit of this flying enemy only to the frontier of Armenia, and from thence, ſending Publius Clodius, who was his brother-in-law, to the court of Tigranes, with inſtructions to require that Mithridates ſhould be delivered up as a lawful prey, he himſelf fell back into the kingdom of Pontus, and ſoon after reduced Amyſus, together with Sinopé, and other places of ſtrength, which were held by the troops of the king.

The inhabitants of theſe places had been originally colonies from Greece, and having been ſubdued by the Perſians, were, on the arrival of Alexander the Great, from reſpect to their origin, reſtored to their freedom. In imitation of this example, and agreeably to the profeſſion which the Romans ever made of protecting the liberties of Greece, Lucullus once more declared thoſe cities to be free. Having

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now ſufficient leiſure to attend to the general ſtate of the Roman provinces in Aſia, he found, that the collectors of the revenue, under pretext of levying the tax impoſed by Sylla, had been guilty of the greateſt oppreſſions. That the inhabitants, in order to pay this tax, borrowed money of the Roman officers and merchants at exorbitant intereſt; and, when the debts became equal to their whole effects, were then diſtrained for payment, under pain of impriſonment and even tortures: that private perſons were reduced to the neceſſity of expoſing their children to ſale, and corporations of ſelling the pictures, images, and other ornaments of their temples, in order to ſatisfy theſe inhuman creditors. Willing to reſtrain, or to correct theſe abuſes, the Proconſul ordered, that where the intereſt exacted was equal to the capital, the debt ſhould be cancelled; and in other caſes, fixed it at a moderate rate. Theſe acts of beneficence or juſtice to the provinces were, by the farmers of the revenue, repreſented as acts of oppreſſion and cruelty to themſelves, and were, among their connections, and the ſharers of their ſpoils at Rome, ſtated againſt Lucullus as ſubjects of complaint and reproach.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Eſcape and Revolt of the Gladiators at Capua.——Spartacus.——Action and defeat of Lentulus the Roman Conſul.——And of Caſſius the Prætor of Gaul.——Appointment of M. Craſſus for this Service.——Deſtruction of the Gladiators.——Triumph of Metellus and Pompey.——Conſulſhip of Pompey and Craſſus.——Tribunes reſtored to their former Powers.——Conſulate of Metellus and Hortenſius.——War in Crete.——Renewal of the war in Pontus and Armenia.——Defeat of Tigranes.——Negotiation with the King of Parthia.——Mutiny of the Roman Army.——Complaints of Pyracies committed in the Roman Seas.——Commiſſion propoſed to Pompey.——His Conduct againſt the Pirates.——His Commiſſion extended to Pontus.——Operations againſt Mithridates.——Defeat and Flight of that Prince.——Operations of Pompey in Syria.——Siege and Reduction of Jeruſalem.——Death of Mithridates.

CHAP. II.

U. C. 680. M. Teren. Varro, C. Caſſ. Varus.

SOON after the war, of which we have thus ſtated the event, had commenced in Aſia, Italy was thrown into great confuſion by the accidental eſcape of a few gladiators from the place of their confinement at Capua. Theſe were ſlaves trained up to furniſh their maſters with a ſpectacle, which, though cruel and barbarous, drew numerous crowds of beholders. It was at firſt introduced as a ſpecies of human ſacrifice at funerals, and the victims were now kept by the wealthy in great numbers for the entertainment of the People, and even for private amuſement. The handſomeſt, the moſt active, and the boldeſt of the ſlaves and captives were ſelected for this purpoſe. They were ſworn to decline no combat, and to ſhun no hardſhip, to which they were expoſed by their maſters; they were of

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different denominations, and accuſtomed to fight in different ways; but thoſe from whom the whole received their deſignation, employed the ſword and buckler, or target; and they commonly fought naked, that the place and nature of the wounds they received might the more plainly appear.

Even in this proſtitution of valour, refinements of honour were introduced. There were certain graces of attitude which the gladiator was not permitted to quit, even to avoid a wound. There was a manner which he ſtudied to preſerve in his fall, in his bleeding poſture, and even in his death. He was applauded, or hiſſed, according as he ſucceeded or failed in any of theſe particulars. When, after a tedious ſtruggle, he was ſpent with labour and with the loſs of blood, he ſtill endeavoured to preſerve the dignity of his character, dropt or reſumed the ſword at his maſter's pleaſure, and looked round to the ſpectators for marks of their ſatisfaction and applauſe [1].

Perſons of every age, condition, and ſex, attended at theſe exhibitions; and when the pair who were engaged began to ſtrain and to bleed, the ſpectators, being divided in their inclinations, endeavoured to excite, by their cries and acclamations, the party they favoured; and when the conteſt was ended, called to the victor to ſtrike, or to ſpare according as the vanquiſhed was ſuppoſed to have forfeited or to have deſerved his life [2]. With theſe exhibitions, which muſt create ſo much diſguſt and horror in the recital, the Romans were more intoxicated than any populace in modern Europe now are with the baiting of bulls, or the running of horſes, probably becauſe they were more deeply affected, and more violently moved.

[1] Cicer. Tuſculanarum, lib. ii. c. 17.

[2] Cicero pro Sexto, c. 27. Tuſcul. Quæſt. Spartacus, lib. ii. c. 17.

Spartacus,

Spartacus, a Thracian captive, who, on account of his ſtrength and activity, had been deſtined for this barbarous profeſſion, with about ſeventy or eighty of his companions, eſcaped from their place of confinement, and arming themſelves with ſuch weapons as accident preſented to them, retired to ſome faſtneſs on the aſcent of Mount Veſuvius, and from thence haraſſed the country with robberies and murders. "If we are to fight," ſaid the leader of this deſperate band, "let us fight againſt our oppreſſors, and in behalf of our own "liberties, not to make ſport for this petulant and cruel race of men." Multitudes of ſlaves from every quarter flocked to his ſtandard. The Præfect of Capua armed the inhabitants of his diſtrict againſt them, but was defeated.

This feeble and unſucceſsful attempt to quell the inſurrection, furniſhed the rebels with arms, and raiſed their reputation and their courage. Their leader, by his generoſity in rejecting his own ſhare of any booty he made, by his conduct and his valour, acquired the authority of a legal commander; and, having named Crixus and Oenomaus, two other gladiators, for his ſubordinate officers, he formed the multitudes that reſorted to him into regular bodies, employed a certain number to fabricate arms, and to procure the neceſſary accommodations of a camp, till at length he collected an army of ſeventy thouſand men, with which he commanded the country to a great extent. He had already ſucceſſively defeated the Prætors Clodius, Varinus, and Coſſinius, who had been ſent againſt him with conſiderable forces, ſo that it became neceſſary to order proper levies, and to give to the Conſuls the charge of repreſſing this formidable enemy.

Spartacus had too much prudence to think himſelf fit to contend with the force of the Roman State, which he perceived muſt ſoon be aſſembled againſt him. He contented himſelf, therefore, with a more rational ſcheme of conducting his army by the ridge of the Appenines,

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Appenines, till he ſhould gain the Alps from whence his followers, whether Gauls, Germans, or Thracians, might ſeparate, each into the country of which he was a native, or from which he had been originally brought.

U. C. 681. L. Gell. Poplicola, Cn. Corn. Lent. Clodianus.

While he began his progreſs by the mountains, in order to execute this project, the Conſuls, Gellius and Lentulus, had already taken the field againſt him. They at firſt ſurpriſed and cut off a conſiderable body under Crixus, who had fallen down from the heights in order to pillage the country. But Lentulus afterwards preſſing hard upon Spartacus, who led the main body of the rebels, brought on an action, in which the conſular army was defeated with conſiderable loſs. Caſſius too, the Prætor of Ciſalpine Gaul, having advanced upon him with an army of ten thouſand men, was repulſed with great ſlaughter.

In conſequence of theſe advantages, Spartacus might no doubt have effected his retreat to the Alps; but his army being elated with victory, and conſidering themſelves as maſters of Italy, were unwilling to abandon their conqueſt. He himſelf formed a new project of marching to Rome; and for this pupoſe deſtroyed all his uſeleſs baggage and cattle, put his captives to death, and refuſed to receive any more of the ſlaves, who were ſtill in multitudes reſorting to his ſtandard. He probably expected to paſs the Roman armies without a battle, and to force the city of Rome itſelf by an unexpected aſſault. In this he was diſappointed by the Conſuls, with whom he was obliged to fight in the Picenum; and, though victorious in the action, he loſt hopes of ſurpriſing the city. But ſtill thinking himſelf in condition to keep his ground in Italy, he only altered his route, and directed his march towards Lucania.

The Romans, greatly embarraſſed, and thrown into ſome degree of conſternation, by the unexpected continuance of an inſurrection which had given them much trouble, expoſed their armies to much

danger, with little proſpect of honour; not being courted, as uſual, for the command, they impoſed it on Marcus Craſſus, then in the rank of Prætor, and ſuppoſed to be a perſon of conſequence, more on account of his wealth than of his abilities; though in this ſervice, after others had failed, he laid the foundation of a more favourable judgment. They at the ſame time ſent orders to Pompey, who had finiſhed the war in Spain, to haſten into Italy with his army; and to the Proconſul of Macedonia, to embark with what forces could be ſpared from his province.

Craſſus aſſembled no leſs than ſix legions, with which he joined the army which had been already ſo unſucceſsful againſt the revolt. Of the troops who had miſbehaved he is ſaid to have executed, perhaps only decimated, four thouſand, as an example to the new levies, and as a warning of the ſeverities they were to expect for any failure in the remaining part of the ſervice.

Upon his arrival in Lucania he cut off ten thouſand of the rebels who were ſtationed at a diſtance from the main body of their army, and he endeavoured to ſhut up Spartacus in the peninſula of Brutium, or head of land which extends to the Straits of Meſſina. The gladiators deſired to paſs into Sicily, where their fellow-ſufferers, the ſlaves of that iſland, were not yet intirely ſubdued, and where great numbers at all times were prepared to revolt; but they were prevented by the want of ſhipping. Craſſus at the ſame time undertook a work of great labour, that of intrenching the land from ſea to ſea with a ditch fifteen feet wide, and as many deep, extending, according to Plutarch, three hundred ſtadia, or above thirty miles. Spartacus endeavoured to interrupt the execution of this undertaking; but being repulſed in every attack, his followers began to deſpond, and entertained thoughts of ſurrendering themſelves. In order to ſupply by deſpair what they loſt in courage, he put them in mind that they fought not upon equal terms with their enemies; that they muſt either

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either conquer or be treated as fugitive ſlaves; and, to enforce his admonitions, he ordered one of his captives to be nailed to the croſs in ſight of both armies. "This," he ſaid to his own people, "is "an example of what you are to ſuffer if you fall into the ene-"my's hands."

Whilſt Craſſus was buſy completing his line, Spartacus prepared to force it; and, having provided faggots and other materials for this purpoſe, filled up the ditch at a convenient place, and paſſed it in the night with the whole body of his followers. He directed his march to Apulia, but was purſued, and greatly haraſſed in his flight.

Accounts being received at once in the camp of Craſſus and in that of Spartacus, that freſh troops were landed at Brunduſium from Macedonia, and that Pompey was arrived in Italy, and on his march to join Craſſus, both armies were equally diſpoſed to hazard a battle; the gladiators, that they might not be attacked at once by ſo many enemies as were collecting againſt them; and the Romans under Craſſus, that Pompey might not ſnatch out of their hands the glory of terminating the war. Under the influence of theſe different motives, both leaders drew forth their armies; and when they were ready to engage, Spartacus, with the valour rather of a gladiator than of a general, alighting from his horſe, and ſaying aloud, in the hearing of his followers, "If I conquer to-day, I ſhall be better mount-"ed; if not, I ſhall not have occaſion for a horſe," he plunged his ſword into the body of the animal. With this earneſt of a reſolution to conquer or to die, he advanced towards the enemy; directing the diviſion in which he himſelf commanded to make their attack where he underſtood the Roman general was poſted. He intended to decide the action by forcing the Romans in that quarter; but after much bloodſhed, being mangled with wounds, and ſtill almoſt alone in the midſt of his enemies, he continued to fight till he was killed; and the victory of courſe declared for his enemy. About a thouſand of the Romans

were ſlain; of the vanquiſhed the greateſt ſlaughter, as uſual in antient battles, took place after the flight began. The dead were not numbered; about ſix thouſand were taken, and, in the manner of executing the ſentence of death on ſlaves, they were nailed to the croſs in rows, that lined the way from Capua to Rome. Such as eſcaped from the field of battle, being about five thouſand, fell into the hands of Pompey, and furniſhed a pretence to his flatterers for aſcribing to him the honour of terminating the war.

The mean quality of the enemy, however, in the preſent caſe, precluded even Craſſus from the honour of a triumph; he could have only an ovation or military proceſſion on foot. But inſtead of the myrtle wreath, uſual on ſuch occaſions, he had credit enough with the Senate to obtain the laurel crown [3].

Pompey too arrived at the ſame time with new and uncommon pretenſions, requiring a diſpenſation from the law and eſtabliſhed forms of the commonwealth. The war he had conducted in Spain being of the nature of a civil war againſt Roman citizens or ſubjects, with a Roman general at their head, did not give a regular claim to a triumph: Pompey himſelf was yet under the legal age, and had not paſſed through any of the previous ſteps of Queſtor, Ædile and Prætor; yet on the preſent occaſion he not only inſiſted on a triumph, but put in his claim likewiſe to an immediate nomination to the office of Conſul.

It now became extremely evident, that the eſtabliſhed honours of the State, conferred in the uſual way, were not adequate to the pretenſions of this young man: that he muſt have new and ſingular appointments, or thoſe already known beſtowed on him in ſome new and ſingular manner. His enemies obſerved, that he avoided every occaſion of fair competition; that he took a rank of importance

[3] A. Gellius, lib. v.

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which he did not ſubmit to have examined; and that he ever aſpired to ſtand alone, or in the firſt place of public conſideration and dignity. His partizans, on the contrary, ſtated the extraordinary honours which had been done to him, as the foundation of ſtill farther diſtinctions*. In enumerating his ſervices upon his return from Spain, they reckoned up, according to Pliny, eight hundred and ſeventy-one towns, from the Pyrennees to the extremities of that country, which he had reduced; obſerved that he had ſurpaſſed the glory of all the officers who had gone before him in that ſervice; and, in conſequence of theſe repreſentations, though ſtill in a private ſtation, he was admitted to a triumph, or partook with Metellus in this honour.

Pompey had hitherto, in all the late diſputes, taken part with the ariſtocracy; but not without ſuſpicion of aiming too high for republican government of any ſort. While he ſupported the Senate, he affected a degree of pre-eminence above thoſe who compoſed it, and was not content with equality, even among the firſt Nobles of his country. He acquieſced, nevertheleſs, in the mere ſhew of importance, without aſſuming a power which might have engaged him in conteſts, and expoſed his pretenſions to too near an inſpection. Upon his approach at the head of an army from Spain, the Senate was greatly alarmed; but he gave the moſt unfeigned aſſurances of his intention to diſband his army as ſoon as they ſhould have attended his triumph. The Senate accordingly gave way to this irregular pretenſion, and afterwards to the pretenſion, ſtill more dangerous, which, without any of the previous conditions which the law required, he made to the Conſulate. Craſſus, who had been Prætor in the preceding year, now ſtood for the ſame office, entered into a concert with Pompey, and, notwithſtanding their mutual jealouſy of each other, they joined their intereſts, and were elected together.

U. C. 683. M. Licin. Craſſus, Cn. Pomp. Magnus.

* Vid. Cicer. pro Lege Manilia.

Under

Under the adminiſtration of theſe officers ſome important laws are ſaid to have paſſed, although moſt of the particulars have eſcaped the notice of hiſtorians. It appears that Pompey now began to pay his court to the People; and, though he profeſſed to ſupport the authority of the Senate, wiſhed to have it in his power, on occaſion, to take the ſenſe of what was called the aſſembly of the People againſt them, or, in other words, to counteract them by means of the popular tumults which bore this name.

The Tribunes, Quinctius and Palicanus, had for two years ſucceſſively laboured to remove the bars which had, by the conſtitution of Sylla, been oppoſed to the tribunitian power. They had been ſtrenuouſly reſiſted by Lucullus and others, who held the office of Conſul, during the dependence of the queſtions which had ariſen on that ſubject. By the favour of Pompey and Craſſus, however, the Tribunes obtained a reſtitution of the privileges which their predeceſſors, in former times of the republic, had ſo often abuſed; and, together with the ſecurity of their ſacred and inviolable character, and their negative in all proceedings of the State, they were again permitted to propoſe laws, and to harangue the people; a dangerous meaſure, by which Pompey at once rendered fruitleſs that reformation which was the only apology for the blood ſo laviſhly ſhed, not only by Sylla, but likewiſe by himſelf. Caius Julius Cæſar, at the ſame time, having the rank of Legionary Tribune conferred upon him by the choice of the People, was extremely active in procuring thoſe popular acts; a policy in which he was more conſiſtent with himſelf than Pompey, and only purſued the courſe of the party with which he embarked in his youth [5].

Under this Conſulate, and probably with the encouragement of Pompey, the law of Sylla, reſpecting the judicatures, was, upon the

[5] Suetonius in C. Jul. Cæſar. lib. i.

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Lex Aurelia Judiciaria.

motion of the Prætor, Aurelius Cotta, likewiſe repealed; and it was permitted to the Prætors to draught the judges in equal numbers from the Senate, the knights, and a certain claſs of the People [6], whoſe deſcription is not clearly aſcertained. This was, perhaps, a juſt correction of Sylla's partiality to the Nobles; and, if it had not been accompanied by the former act, which reſtored the tribunitian power, might have merited applauſe.

In the mean time, corruption advanced among all orders of men with a haſty pace; in the lower ranks, contempt of government; among the higher, covetouſneſs and prodigality, with an ardour for lucrative provinces, and the opportunities of extortion and flagrant abuſe. As the offices of State at Rome began to be coveted with a view to the appointments abroad, with which they were followed, Pompey, in order to diſplay his own diſintereſtedneſs, with an oblique reproof to the Nobility who aſpired to magiſtracy with ſuch mercenary views, took a formal oath in entering on his Conſulate, that he would not, at the expiration of his office, accept of any government in the provinces; and by this example of generoſity in himſelf, and by the cenſure it implied of others, obtained great credit with the People, and furniſhed his emiſſaries, who were ever buſy in ſounding his praiſe, with a pretence for enhancing his merit. It may, however, from his character and policy in other inſtances, be ſuſpected, that he remained at Rome with intention to watch opportunities of raiſing his own conſideration, and of obtaining, by the ſtrength of his party, any extraordinary truſt or commiſſion of which the occaſion ſhould ariſe.

Pompey, in the adminiſtration of his Conſulate, had procured the revival of the Cenſors functions. Theſe had been intermitted about ſixteen years, during great part of which time the republic had been

[6] Tribuni Erarii.

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in a ſtate of civil war; and the prevailing parties, in their turns, mutually had recourſe to acts of baniſhment, confiſcations, and military executions againſt each other. In ſuch times, even after the ſword was ſheathed, the power of Cenſor, in the firſt heat of party-reſentment, could not be ſafely intruſted with any of the citizens; and the attempts which were now made to revive it, though in appearance ſucceſsful, could not give it a permanent footing in the commonwealth. The public was arrived at a ſtate in which men complain of evils, but cannot endure their remedies.

L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, being entruſted, in the capacity of Cenſors, to make up the rolls of the People, muſtered four hundred and fifty thouſand citizens. They purged the Senate with great ſeverity, having expunged ſixty-four from the rolls, and among thoſe C. Antonius, afterwards Conſul, aſſigning as their reaſon, that he, having the command on the coaſts of Aſia and Greece, had pillaged the allies, and mortgaged and ſquandered his own eſtate. But what moſt diſtinguiſhed this Cenſorſhip was an incident, for the ſake of which, it is likely, the ſolemnity of the Cenſus had been now revived.

It was cuſtomary on thoſe occaſions for the Knights to paſs in review, each leading his horſe before the Cenſors. They were queſtioned reſpecting their age, their ſervices, and the perſons under whoſe command they had ſerved; and if they had already ſerved the ten years preſcribed by law, they received an exemption from future ſervices, and were veſted with the privileges which were annexed to this circumſtance. At this part of the ceremony the People were ſurpriſed to ſee their Conſul, Pompey the Great, deſcending into the market-place, leading his horſe in quality of a ſimple knight, but dreſſed in his conſular robes, and preceded by the lictors. Being queſtioned by the Cenſor, whether he had ſerved the ſtated number of years, he anſwered that he had, and all of them in armies com-

manded

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manded by himſelf. This farce was received with loud acclamations of the People; and the Cenſors having granted the cuſtomary exemption, roſe from their ſeats, and, followed by a great multitude, attended this equeſtrian Conſul to his own houſe [7].

It is obſerved that Craſſus and Pompey, although they entered on office in concert, yet differed in the courſe of their adminiſtration on ſubjects which are not particularly mentioned. As Craſſus was in poſſeſſion of great wealth, he endeavoured, by his liberalities, to vie with the impoſing ſtate and popular arts of his colleague. He gave an entertainment to the whole People at ten thouſand tables, and diſtributed three months proviſion of corn. To account for his being able to court the People in this manner, it is ſaid, that he inherited from his father a fortune of three hundred talents, or near ſixty thouſand pounds; that he increaſed it, by purchaſing at a low price the eſtates of thoſe who were proſcribed in the late troubles, and by letting for hire the labour of a numerous family of ſlaves, inſtructed in various arts and callings; and was become ſo rich by theſe means, that when, ſome time after this date, he was about to depart for Aſia, and conſecrated the tenth part of his eſtate to Hercules, he was found to poſſeſs ſeven thouſand one hundred talents, or about one million three hundred and ſeventy thouſand and three hundred pounds ſterling [8].

Pompey, at the expiration of his year in the Conſulſhip, in obſervance of the oath he had taken, remained at Rome in a private ſtation; but, agreeably to the character he formerly bore, maintained the reſerve and ſtateline[illegible] of a perſon raiſed above the condition of a citizen, or even above that of the firſt Senators of conſular rank. Other candidates for conſideration and public honours endeavoured, by their talents and eloquence, to make themſelves neceſſary to thoſe who had

[7] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[8] Plutarch. in Craſſo. As the intereſt of money was prohibited at Rome, under the denomination of uſury, but in fact was unlimited, the annual returns from ſuch a capital muſt have been immenſe.

affairs to ſolicit with the public, or even to make themſelves feared. They laboured to diſtinguiſh themſelves as able advocates or formidable accuſers at the bar, and to ſtrengthen their intereſt by procuring the ſupport of thoſe to whom their talents either were or might become of importance. Pompey, on the contrary, ſtating himſelf as an exception to common rules, avoided the courts of juſtice and other places of ordinary reſort, did not commit his talents to the public judgment, nor preſent his perſon to the public view; took the reſpect that was paid to him as a right; ſeldom went abroad, and never without a numerous train of attendants [9]. He was formed for the ſtate of a prince, and might have ſtolen into that high ſtation even at Rome, if men, born to equality, could have ſuffered an elevation which was not ſupported by adequate abilities; or had been willing, when troubled with faction, to forego their own importance, in order to obtain peace and the comforts of a moderate government. The pretenſions of Pompey, however, were extremely diſagreeable to the Senate, and not otherwiſe acceptable to the People, than as they tended to mortify the pride of that order of men.

U. C. 684. Q. Hortenſius, Q. Cæcil. Metellus Creticus.

The Conſulate of Craſſus and Pompey was ſucceeded by that of Q. Hortenſius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus. In the diſtribution of provinces, Crete, with the command of an armament to be ſent into that iſland, fell to the lot of Hortenſius; but this citizen, having acquired his conſideration by his eloquence in pleading the cauſes of his friends, and being accuſtomed to the bar, perhaps in a degree that interfered with his military character, declined to accept of this government; leaving it, together with the command of the army that was to be employed in the reduction of the iſland, to his colleague Metellus, who afterwards received the appellation of Creticus, from the diſtinction he acquired in this ſervice.

[9] Plutarch. in Vit. Pomp.

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The Cretans, and moſt of the other ſeafaring people on the confines of Aſia and Europe, had in the late war taken an active part againſt the Romans. They had, by the influence of Mithridates, and by their own diſpoſition to rapine and piracy, been led to prey upon the traders, and upon the carriers of the revenue that were frequently paſſing from the provinces to Rome. The deſire of ſharing in the profits that were made by this ſpecies of war, had filled the ſea with pirates and freebooters, againſt whom the Romans ſent forth a ſucceſſion of officers, with extenſive commands, on the coaſts both of Aſia and Europe. Among others, M. Antonius had been employed in this ſervice, and was accuſed of abuſing his power, by oppreſſing the Sicilians and the people of other maritime provinces, who were innocent of the crimes he was employd to repreſs. In a deſcent on the iſland of Crete he was defeated and killed [19], and left the Romans engaged with the people of that iſland in a war which was thought to require the preſence of one of the Conſuls. The lot, as has been obſerved, fell on Hortenſius, but was transferred to his colleague Metellus.

U. C. 685. L. Cæc. Metellus. Q. Mar. Rex.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, and ſuch the deſtination of the Roman officers, when Lucullus received from Tigranes a return to the demand which he made of having Mithridates delivered up as his priſoner. This prince, at the arrival of Clodius, who bore the meſſage, had made a progreſs to the coaſts of Phœnicia, and to the farther extremities of his empire. To verify the ſtate and title which he aſſumed of King of Kings, he affected, when he mounted on horſeback, to have four captive ſovereigns to walk by his ſtirrup, and obliged them, on other occaſions, to perform every office of menial duty and ſervile attendance on his perſon. Lucullus, inſtead of the ſtile which was affected by this prince, had accoſted him in his letter

[19] Pædianus in Orat. in Verrem.

only

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only with the ſimple title of king. His meſſenger, however, was admitted to an audience, and made his demand that Mithridates, a vanquiſhed prince, whoſe territories were already in the poſſeſſion of the Romans, ſhould be delivered up to adorn the victor's triumph. This, if refuſed, ſaid the bearer of the meſſage, the Roman general would be intitled to extort by force, and would not fail, with a mighty army for that purpoſe, to purſue his fugitive wherever he was received and protected. Tigranes, unuſed even to a plain addreſs, much leſs to inſult and threats, heard this demand with real indignation; and though, with an appearance of temper, he made offer of the cuſtomary preſents and honours to the perſon who delivered it, he took his reſolution againſt the Romans, and, from having barely permitted Mithridates to take refuge in his kingdom, determined to eſpouſe his cauſe. He gave for anſwer to Clodius, that he would not deliver up the unfortunate king, and that, if the Romans invaded his territories, he knew how to defend them. He ſoon afterwards admitted Mithridates into his preſence, and determined to ſupport him with the neceſſary force againſt his enemies.

Upon receiving this anſwer from Tigranes, Lucullus reſolved without delay to march into Armenia. He choſe for this expedition two legions and a body of horſe, on whom he prevailed, though with ſome difficulty, to enter on a new war at a time when they flattered themſelves that their labours were ended, and that the rewards they expected were within their reach. With haſty marches he arrived on the Euphrates, and paſſed that river before the enemy were aware of his approach. Tigranes treated the firſt reports of his coming with contempt, and ordered the perſon who preſumed to bring ſuch accounts to be puniſhed. But being aſſured, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, that an enemy was actually on his territories, he ſent Metrodorus, one of his generals, at the head of a conſiderable force, with orders to take alive the perſon of Lucullus, whom he

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was desirous to see, but not to spare a man of the whole army besides.

With these orders, the Armenian general set out on the road by which the Romans were supposed to advance, and hastened to meet them. Both armies, on the march, had intelligence of each other. Lucullus, upon the approach of the enemy, halted, began to intrench, and, in order to gain time, detached Sextilius, with about three thousand men, to observe the Armenians, and, if possible, without risking an action, to amuse them till his works were completed. But such was the incapacity and presumption of the enemy, that Sextilius, being attacked by them, gained an entire victory with but a part of the Roman army; Metrodorus himself being killed, his army was put to the rout with great slaughter.

After this victory Lucullus, in order the more effectually to alarm and to distract the Armenians, separated his army into three divisions. With one he intercepted and dispersed a body of Arabs, who were marching to join the king; with another he surprised Tigranes himself, in a disadvantageous situation, and obliged him to fly with the loss of his attendants, equipage, and the baggage of his army. At the head of the third division he himself advanced to Tigranocerta, and invested that place.

After these disasters Tigranes made an effort to assemble the force of his kingdom; and bringing into the field all the troops of his allies, as well as his own, he mustered an army of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy-armed foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and twenty thousand archers and slingers. He was advised by Mithridates not to risk a battle, but to lay waste the country from which the Romans were supplied with provisions, oblige them to raise the siege of Tigranocerta, and repass the Euphrates, with the disadvantage of having an enemy still in force to hang on their rear. This counsel

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counsel of Mithridates, founded in the experience he had so dearly bought, was ill suited to the presumption of the king. He therefore advanced towards the Romans, impatient to relieve his capital, and the principal seat of his magnificence. Lucullus, trusting to the specimens he had already seen of the Armenian forces, ventured to divide his army, and, without raising the siege, marched with one division to meet this numerous enemy. In the action that followed, the Armenian horse being in the van, were defeated and driven back on the foot of their own army, threw them into confusion, and gave the Romans an easy victory, in which, with very inconsiderable loss to themselves, they made a great slaughter of the enemy. The king himself, to avoid being known in his flight, unbound the royal diadem from his head, and left it to become a part in the spoils of the day.

Mariæus, who commanded in Tigranocerta, hearing of his master's defeat, and fearing a revolt of the Greeks and other foreigners, who had been forced to settle at that place, ordered them to be searched and disarmed. This order they looked on as the prelude to a massacre, and crowding together, defended themselves with the staves and other weapons they could seize. They surrounded a party that was sent to disperse them, and having by that means got a supply of arms, they took possession of a tower which commanded one of the principal gates, and from thence invited the Romans to enter the place. Lucullus accordingly seized the opportunity, and became master of the city. The spoil was great; Tigranes having collected here, as at the principal seat of his vanity, the wealth and magnificence of his court.

Mithridates, who had been present in the late action, met the king of Armenia in his flight; and, having endeavoured to re-establish his equipage and his retinue by a participation of his own, exhorted him not to despair, but to assemble a new force, and to persist in the war. They agreed, at the same time, on an embassy to the king of

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Parthia, with offers of reconciliation on the part of Tigranes, who, at this time, was at war with that prince, and of ſatisfaction on the ſubjects in conteſt between them, provided the Parthians would join in the confederacy againſt the Romans. They endeavoured to perſuade the king, that he was by no means an unconcerned ſpectator in the preſent conteſt; that the quarrel which the Romans now had with the kings of Armenia and Pontus, was the ſame with that which they formerly had with Philip and with Antiochus; and which, if not prevented, they would ſoon have with Arſaces, and was no other than his being poſſeſt of a rich territory, which tempted their ambition and avarice. Thoſe republicans, they ſaid, originally had not any poſſeſſions of their own, and were grown rich and great only by the ſpoils of their neighbours. From their ſtrong hold in Italy, they had extended their empire on the Weſt to the coaſt of the ocean; and, if not ſtopped by the powerful monarchies that lay in their way, were haſtening to reach a ſimilar boundary on the Eaſt. The king of Parthia, they added, might expect to be invaded by theſe inſatiable conquerors, and muſt now determine whether he would engage in a war joined with ſuch powerful allies, of whom one by his experience, the other by his reſources, might enable him to keep the danger at a diſtance from his own kingdom[13], or wait until theſe powers being overthrown, and become an acceſſion to the Roman force, he ſhould have the conteſt to maintain in his own territory ſingly and unſupported from abroad. To theſe repreſentations Arſaces ſeemed to give a favourable ear, agreed to the propoſed confederacy, on condition that Meſopotamia, which he had formerly claimed, was now delivered up to him. At the ſame time he endeavoured to amuſe Lucullus with offers of alliance againſt the king of Armenia.

[13] Letter of Mithridates in the Fragments of Salluſt.

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In this conjuncture it probably was, that Lucullus, in the apprehenſion of being ſuperſeded and deprived of the honour of terminating the war, made his report that the kingdom of Mithridates was now in his poſſeſſion, and that the kingdom of Tigranes was alſo in his power; and therefore, that the Senate ſhould, inſtead of a ſucceſſor, ſend the uſual commiſſion to ſettle the form of the province, and to make a proper eſtabliſhment to preſerve the territories which he had already ſubdued. But after theſe repreſentations were diſpatched, it became apparent that the king of Parthia had deceived him with falſe profeſſions, while he actually made great progreſs in his treaty with the kings of Armenia and Pontus, and meant to ſupport them with all his force. In reſentment of this act of treachery, and to prevent the effects of it, Lucullus propoſed to carry the war into Parthia; and, for this purpoſe, ordered the legions that were ſtationed in Pontus to march without delay into Armenia. CHAP. II.

Theſe troops, however, already tired of the ſervice, and ſuſpecting that they were intended for ſome diſtant and hazardous enterpriſe, broke out into open mutiny, and refuſed to obey their officers. This example was ſoon afterwards followed by other parts of the army; and the general was obliged to confine his operations to the kingdom of Armenia. He endeavoured, by paſſing the mountains near to the ſources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, to penetrate as far as Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom. By this march he forced Tigranes once more to hazard a battle, and obtained a victory; but his own army, notwithſtanding their ſucceſs, were ſo much diſcouraged with the change of climate, which they experienced in aſcending the mountains of Armenia, and with the early and ſevere approach of winter in thoſe high lands, that they again mutinied, and obliged their general to change the plan of his operations. He turned his march to the ſouthward, fell down on Meſopotamia, and, after a ſhort ſiege, made himſelf maſter of Niſibis, a rich city in that territory, where,

with

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with other captives, he took Gutas, brother to the king, who commanded in the place.

Here, however, the mutinous ſpirit ſtill continuing to operate in the Roman army, it began to appear, that the general, who had ſo often overcome the kings of Pontus and Armenia, was better qualified to contend with an enemy, than to win or to preſerve the good-will of his own troops. A report being ſpread that he was ſoon to be recalled, he, from that moment, loſt the ſmall remains of his authority; the legions deſerted their colours, and treated, with contempt or indifference, all the attempts he made to retain them.

This mutiny began in that part of the army, which, having been tranſported into Aſia, under the command of Valerius Flaccus, had murdered this general, to put themſelves under the command of Fimbria, and afterwards deſerted their new leader to join with Sylla. Such crimes, under the late unhappy diviſions of the republic, either remained unpuniſhed, or were ſtated as merits with the party in whoſe favour the crime was committed. Theſe legions, however, were, by Sylla, who was not willing to employ ſuch inſtruments, or to intruſt his own, or the fate of the commonwealth in ſuch hands, left in Aſia, under pretence of ſecuring the province; and they accordingly made a conſiderable part in the armies ſucceſſively commanded by Murena and by Lucullus. The diſpoſition which they now ſhewed, and that of the whole army, to diſorder and mutiny, was greatly excited by the factious ſpirit of Publius Clodius, the relation of Lucullus, who, having himſelf taken offence at the general, gave this ſpecimen of his future conduct in the State, by endeavouring to ſtir up rebellion among the troops. "We who "have already undergone ſo many hardſhips," he ſaid, "are ſtill "kept on foot to eſcort the camels that carry the treaſures of our gene-"ral, and made to purſue, without end, a couple of barbarous princes, "that lead us over deſarts, or uncultivated waſtes, while the ſol-"diers

" diers of Pompey, after a few campaigns in Spain, or in Italy, are " enjoying the fruits of their labour in comfortable ſettlements, pro- " cured by the favour of their leader."

Lucullus was ſo much aware of the decline of his authority, that he did not chuſe to expoſe it, by attempting to effect even a mere change of poſition. He hoped, that while he iſſued no orders of any moment, the reſolution of his army not to obey him might remain a ſecret to the enemy. This ſtate of his affairs, however, ſoon became known to Mithridates, and filled him with hopes of being able to recover his kingdom. That he might not ſuffer the opportunity to eſcape him, he fell back into Pontus, with what troops he had then under his command, and, by his authority and influence over his own ſubjects, ſoon augmented his force, penetrated among the ſcattered quarters of the Romans, who were left to occupy the country, and ſeparately ſurpriſed or deſtroyed conſiderable bodies of their troops. Among theſe, he attacked and defeated Fabius, the officer who was truſted with the general command in that kingdom; and though now turned of ſeventy, expoſed his own perſon in the action, and received a wound which ſtopped him in the purſuit, and by that means prevented the full effect of his victory.

Lucullus, being informed of what had paſſed in Pontus, had influence enough with the army to put them in motion towards that kingdom with ſome appearance of order; but before his arrival, Mithridates had ſhut up Fabius in Cabira, and defeated Triarius with conſiderable ſlaughter. Here again the old man was wounded; and, to ſatisfy the army that he was not dead, was raiſed up into view, and remained in ſight of the army while his wound was dreſſed. In this laſt defeat the Romans loſt twenty-four legionary Tribunes, one hundred and fifty Centurions, and ſeven thouſand men.

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It was not doubted, however, that Lucullus, on his arrival, if the army had been diſpoſed to act under him, would have been able ſoon to retrieve his affairs: but he was at this time ſuperſeded; and it was known in the army, that Acilius Glabrio was ſet out from Rome to aſſume the command. The legions therefore, under pretence that Lucullus was no longer their general, and that they themſelves, by a decree of the People, had received their diſmiſſion, refuſed to obey him; and the men of his army, in great numbers, actually took the route of Cappadocia on their return to Italy.

This was the ſtate of affairs when the commiſſioners, who, upon the report of Lucullus, had been ſent by the Senate to ſettle the kingdom of Pontus in the form of a province, actually arrived. They found the Proconſul deſtitute of power in his own camp, and Mithridates, whom they believed to be vanquiſhed, again maſter of his own kingdom, and joining to the experience of old age all the ardour and enterpriſe of youth [11].

The Roman army in Aſia, as a prelude to their preſent defection, had been taught to upbraid the parſimony of their own general by a compariſon with the liberality and munificence of Pompey, and in this compariſon ſhowed a diſpoſition to change their leader, which, it is not doubted, Pompey, by his intrigues, and with the aid of his agents, greatly encouraged. He could in reality ill brook the private ſtation to which, by his late oath, in entering on the Conſulate, he had bound himſelf. He ſtudied to ſupport the public opinion of his importance, and wiſhed for an occaſion to derive ſome advantage from it; but nothing had occurred for two years that was worthy of the high diſtinction to which he aſpired. The command in Aſia he coveted the more, that it was ſecured to Lucullus by the ſplendor of his own ſucceſſes, and by the unanimous judgment of the Senate

[11] Appian. Bell. Mithridat. Plutarch. in Lucullo. Dio Caſſius.

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and Nobles, who knew his faithful attachment to their order, and his fidelity to the ariſtocratical part of the conſtitution. The difficulties in that ſervice were over, and nothing but the glory of terminating the war remained. Pompey, either from envy to Lucullus, or from a deſign to open a way to this glory for himſelf, contributed to the nomination of Glabrio, and to the nomination of the Prætors, who were ſent with ſeparate commands into the provinces of Aſia and Bythinia. If, upon this change, the war ſhould become unſucceſsful, or languiſh, he had hopes to be called for by the general voice of the People, as the only perſon fit to bring it to a happy concluſion. Meantime a project was ſtarted, which was likely to place him near to this ſcene of action, and to facilitate his removal, if judged expedient, to the command of the army in Pontus.

The pirates ſtill continued to infeſt the ſeas, and were daily riſing in their preſumption, and increaſing in their ſtrength. They received continual acceſſions of numbers from thoſe, who, by the unſettled ſtate of Aſia, were forced to join them for ſubſiſtence. The impunity which they enjoyed during the diſtractions of the Roman commonwealth, and the profits they made by their depredations encouraged many who frequented the ſeas to engage in the ſame way of life. They had been chaced, and numbers of them taken by M. Antonius the orator, by Servilius Iſauricus, and, laſt of all, by C. Antonius, the father of him who, in the capacity of Triumvir, is to become ſo conſpicuous in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But they had their retreats; and, upon the leaſt remiſſion of vigilance in the Roman officers, they again multiplied apace, put to ſea in formidable ſquadrons, and embarked ſuch numbers of men, as not only enabled them to ſcour the ſeas, but likewiſe to make deſcents on the coaſts, to enter harbours, deſtroy ſhipping, and pillage the maritime towns. They even ventured to appear off the mouth of the Tiber, and to plunder the town of Oſtia. All the coaſts of

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the empire were open to their depredations. The Roman magiſtrates were made priſoners in paſſing to and from their provinces; and citizens of every denomination, when taken by them, were forced to pay ranſom, kept in captivity, or put to death. The ſupply of proviſions to Italy was rendered extremely difficult, and the price in proportion enhanced. Every report on theſe ſubjects was exaggerated by the intrigues of Pompey, who perceived, in this occaſion of public diſtreſs, the object of a new and extraordinary commiſſion to himſelf.

Frequent complaints having been made, and frequent deliberations held on this ſubject in the Senate, Gabinius, one of the Tribunes, at laſt propoſed, that ſome officer of Conſular rank ſhould be veſted, during three years, with abſolute powers, in order to put an effectual ſtop to theſe outrages, and to eradicate the cauſe of them, ſo as to ſecure for the future the inhabitants of the coaſt, as well as to protect the navigation of the ſeas. As Gabinius was known to be in concert with Pompey, the deſign of the propoſition was manifeſt; and it was received in the Senate with a general averſion. "For "this," it was ſaid, "Pompey has declined the ordinary turn of "Conſular duty upon the expiration of his office, that he might "lie in wait for extraordinary and illegal appointments." Gabinius being threatened with violence if he ſhould perſiſt in his motion, thought proper to withdraw from the aſſembly.

A report was immediately ſpread in the city, that the perſon of the Tribune Gabinius had been actually violated; multitudes aſſembled at the doors of the Senate-houſe, and great diſorders were likely to follow; it was judged prudent for the Senate to adjourn; and the members, dreading ſome inſult from the populace, retired by ſeparate ways to their own houſes. Gabinius, without farther regard to the diſſent of the Senate, prepared to carry his motion to the People; but the other nine Tribunes were inclined to oppoſe him. Trebellius and Roſcius, in particular, promiſed, by their negative,

gative, to put a ſtop to any farther proceedings on that buſineſs. Pompey, in the mean time, with a diſſimulation which conſtituted part of his character, affected to diſapprove of the motion, and to decline the commiſſion with which it was propoſed to veſt him. He had recourſe to this affectation, not merely as the fitteſt means on the preſent occaſion to diſarm the envy of the Nobles, and to confirm the People in their choice; but ſtill more as a manner of proceeding which ſuited his own diſpoſition, no leſs deſirous to appear forced and courted into high ſituations, than ſolicitous to gain and to hold them. He thus provoked the citizens of his own rank, no leſs by the ſhallow arts which he practiſed to impoſe on the public, than by the ſtate which he aſſumed. He could ſcarcely expect to find a ſupport in the order of Nobles, and leaſt of all among thoſe who were likely to become the perſonal rivals of his fortune in the commonwealth: and yet it is mentioned, that Julius Cæſar, now about two-and-thirty years of age, and old enough to diſtinguiſh his natural antagoniſts in the career of ambition, took part with the creatures of Pompey on this occaſion. He was diſpoſed to court the People, and to oppoſe the ariſtocracy; either of which principles may explain his conduct in this inſtance. He had himſelf already incurred the diſpleaſure of the Senate, but more as a libertine than as a diſturber of the State, in which he had not hitherto taken any material part. In common with the youth of his time, he diſliked the Senators, on account of the remaining auſterity of their manners, no leſs than the inferior people diſliked them on account of their ariſtocratical claims to prerogative. But whatever we may ſuppoſe to have been his motives, Cæſar, even before he ſeemed to have formed any ambitious deſigns of his own, was ever ready to abet thoſe of every deſperate adventurer who counteracted the authority of the Senate, or ſet the orders of government at nought; and ſeemed to be actuated by a ſpecies of inſtinct, which ſet him at variance

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with thoſe forms of a civil nature, which checked the licence of faction [12].

On the day on which the queſtion on the motion of Gabinius was to be put to the People, Pompey appeared in the Comitium; and, if we may judge from the ſpeech which is aſcribed to him, employed a diſſimulation and artifice ſomewhat too groſs even for a popular aſſembly. He took occaſion to thank the People for the honours he had ſo often received; but complained, that, having already toiled ſo much in the public ſervice, he ſtill ſhould be deſtined for new labours. "You have forgotten," he ſaid, "the dangers I "encountered, and the fatigues I underwent, while yet almoſt a "boy, in the war with Cinna, in the wars in Sicily and in Africa, "and what I ſuffered in Spain, before I was honoured with any "magiſtracy, or was of age to have a place in the Senate. But I "mean not to accuſe you of ingratitude; on the contrary, I have "been fully repaid. Your nomination of me to conduct the war "with Sertorius, when every one elſe declined the danger, I con"ſider as a favour; and the extraordinary triumph you beſtowed in "conſequence of it, as a very great honour. But I muſt entreat "you to conſider, that continued application and labour exhauſt the "powers of the mind as well as thoſe of the body. Truſt not to "my age alone, nor imagine that I am ſtill a young man, merely "becauſe my number of years is ſhort of what others have attained. "Reckon my ſervices and the dangers to which I have been expoſed; "they will exceed the number of my years, and ſatisfy you, that "I cannot longer endure the labours and cares which are now "propoſed for me. But if this be not granted me, I muſt beg "of you to conſider what loads of envy ſuch appointments are "likely to draw upon me from men, whoſe diſpleaſure, I know,

[12] Zonaras, An. lib. x. c. 3.

"you

" you neither do, nor ought to regard, although to me their envy
" would be a great misfortune: and I confefs, that, of all the diffi-
" culties and dangers of war, I fear nothing fo much as this. To
" live with envious perfons; to be called to account for mifcarriage,
" if one fails in public affairs; to be envied, if one fucceeds; who
" would chufe to be employed on fuch conditions? For thefe, and
" many other reafons, I pray you to leave me at reft; leave me to
" the care of my family, and of my private affairs. As for the pre-
" fent fervice, I pray you to chufe, among thofe who defire the em-
" ployment, fome proper perfon; among fo many, you cannot fure-
" ly be at a lofs. I am not the only perfon that loves you, or that
" has experience in military affairs. There are many, whofe names,
" to avoid the imputation of flattery, I will not mention."

To this fpeech Gabinius replied; and, affecting to believe the fincerity of Pompey's declarations, obferved, that it was agreeable to the character of this great man, neither to defire command, nor rafhly to accept of what was preffed upon him. " They who are
" beft able to furmount difficulties," he faid, " are likewife leaft
" inclined to engage in them. But it is your bufinefs, fellow-citi-
" zens, to confider, not what is agreeable to Pompey, but what is
" neceffary to your own affairs; not to regard thofe who court you
" for offices, but thofe who are fit to difcharge the duties of them.
" I wifh we had many perfons of this defcription, befides the man I
" have propofed to your choice. Did we not all wifh for fuch per-
" fons likewife, when we fearched among the young and the old for
" fome one whom we could oppofe to Sertorius, and found none
" but himfelf? But wifhes cannot avail us; we muft take men as
" they are; we cannot create them. If there be but one man formed
" for our purpofe, with knowledge, experience, and good fortune,
" we muft lay hold of him, and feize him, if neceffary, even by
" force. Compulfion here is expedient and honourable for both
" parties;

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" parties; for thoſe who employ it, becauſe it is to find them a
" perſon who can conduct their affairs; for him who ſuffers it,
" becauſe he is to have an opportunity of ſerving his country, an
" object for which no good citizen will refuſe to expoſe his perſon,
" or to ſacrifice his life.

" Do you think that Pompey, while yet a boy, was fit to command
" armies, to protect your allies, to reduce your enemies, to extend
" your empire; but that now in the prime of life, ripe in wiſ-
" dom and experience, he can ſerve you no longer? You em-
" ployed the boy, you ſuffer the man to be idle. When a private
" citizen of Equeſtrian rank, he was fit for war and affairs of ſtate;
" now he is a Senator, he is fit for nothing! Before you had any
" trial of him, you made choice of him for the moſt important truſt;
" now that you have experience of his ability, of his conduct, and
" of his ſucceſs, you heſitate. Is the preſent occaſion leſs preſſing
" than the former? Is the antagoniſt of Sertorius not fit to contend
" with pirates? But ſuch abſurdities cannot be received by the Ro-
" man People. As for you, Pompey, ſubmit to the will of your
" fellow-citizens. For this you was born, for this you was edu-
" cated. I call upon you as the property of your country; I call
" upon you as its defence and ſafe-guard; I call upon you to lay
" down your life, if neceſſary. This I know, if your country re-
" quire it, you will not, you cannot refuſe.

" But it is ridiculous to accoſt you in this manner; you, who
" have proved your courage and your love to your country in ſo
" many and ſuch arduous trials. Be ruled by this great aſſembly.
" Deſpiſe the envy of a few, or ſtudy the more to deſerve the ge-
" neral favour. Let the envious pine when they hear of your
" actions, it is what they deſerve. Let us be delivered from the
" evils that ſurround us, while you proceed to end your life as you
" began it, with ſucceſs and with glory."

When

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When Gabinius had finiſhed his ſpeech, Trebellius, another of the Tribunes, attempted to reply; but ſuch a clamour was immediately raiſed by the multitude that he could not be heard. He then, by the authority of his office, forbad the queſtion; and Gabinius inſtantly propoſed to have the ſenſe of the Tribes, Whether Tribellius had not forfeited the character of Tribune? Seventeen Tribes were of this opinion, and the eighteenth would have made the majority, when Trebellius thought proper to withdraw his negative. Roſcius, another of the Tribunes, intimated by ſigns (for he could not be heard) that a ſecond ſhould be joined with Pompey in this commiſſion. But the clamour was renewed, and the meeting likely to end in riot and violence. Then all oppoſition to the motion was dropt. In this ſtate of affairs, Gabinius, truſting that, in the preſent humour of the People, no man would dare to oppoſe the meaſure, and wiſhing to increaſe the honour of Pompey's nomination, by the ſeeming concurrence of ſome of the more reſpectable citizens, called upon Catulus, who was then firſt on the roll of the Senate, to deliver his opinion, and led him up into the roſtra for this purpoſe.

This citizen, by the equability of his conduct, and by his moderation in ſupport of the ariſtocracy had great authority even with the oppoſite party. He began his ſpeech to the People with profeſſions of public zeal, which obliged him to deliver with plainneſs what he thought was conducive to their good, and which intitled him to a deliberate hearing, before they ſhould pronounce on the merits of what he was about to deliver. "If you liſten," he ſaid, "ſomething may ſtill be offered "to inform your judgment; if you break forth again into diſorders "and tumults, your capacity and good underſtanding will avail you "nothing. I muſt begin with declaring my opinion, that powers "ſo great, and for ſo long a time, as are now propoſed for Pompey, "ſhould not be committed to any ſingle citizen.

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" The precedent is contrary to law, and in itſelf, in the higheſt
" degree, dangerous to the State. Whence came the uſurpations of
" Marius, but from the habit of continued command; from his
" being put at the head of every army, entruſted with every war,
" and no leſs than ſix times re-elected Conſul in the ſpace of a few
" years? What inflamed to ſuch a degree the arrogant ſpirit of
" Sylla, but the continual command of armies, and the continual
" power of Dictator? Such is human nature, that, in age as well as
" in youth, we are debauched with power; and if inured for any
" time to act as ſuperiors, we cannot ſubmit afterwards to the equal
" and moderate ſtation of citizens.

" I ſpeak not with any particular reference to Pompey; I ſpeak
" what the law requires, and what I am ſure is for your good. If
" high office and command be an honour, every one who has pre-
" tenſions ſhould enjoy them in his turn; if they be a load or a
" burden, every one ought to bear his part. Theſe are the laws of
" juſtice and of republican government. By obſerving them, republics
" have an advantage over every other ſtate. By employing many
" men in their turns, they educate and train many citizens for the
" public ſervice, and have numbers amongſt whom they may chuſe
" the fitteſt to ſerve on every particular emergence. But if we ſuffer
" one or a few to engroſs every office of public ſervice or public
" truſt, the liſt of thoſe who are qualified for any ſuch truſt will de-
" creaſe in proportion. If we always employ the ſame perſon in
" every public ſervice, we ſhall ſoon have no other perſon to employ.
" Why were we ſo much at a loſs for experienced commanders when
" Sertorius appeared to threaten Italy with an invaſion? Becauſe
" command, for a conſiderable time before that period, had been en-
" groſſed by a few, and thoſe few alone had any experience. Al-
" though, therefore, I have the higheſt opinion of Pompey's abilities

" for this ſervice, I muſt prefer to his pretenſions the public utility
" and the expreſs declaration of the laws.

" You annually elect Conſuls and Prætors: to what purpoſe? to
" ſerve the State? or to carry for a few months the enſigns of power?
" If to ſerve the State, why name private perſons with unprecedented
" commiſſions to perform what your magiſtrates are either fit to per-
" form, or are not fit to have been elected?

" If there be any uncommon emergency that requires more than
" the ordinary exertions of government, the conſtitution has provided
" an expedient. You may name a Dictator. The power of this
" officer has no bounds, but in reſpect to the place in which it is to
" be exerciſed, and to the time during which it is to laſt. It is
" to be exerciſed within the limits of Italy, where alone the vitals
" of the State can be expoſed to any great or preſſing attack; it is
" limited to ſix months, a *ſufficient* period in which to remove the
" cauſe of any ſudden alarm. But this unlimited power, which is
" now propoſed for ſo long a time, and over the whole empire, muſt
" end in calamities, ſuch as this and other nations have ſuffered
" from the ambition and uſurpation of arbitrary and ſeditious men.

" If you beſtow unlimited power by ſea and by land on a ſingle
" man, in what manner is he to exerciſe his power? Not by him-
" ſelf in perſon, for he cannot be every where preſent; he muſt
" have lieutenants or ſubſtitutes who act under his orders. He can-
" not even attend to what is paſſing at once in Egypt and in Spain,
" in Africa, Syria, and in Greece. If ſo, then why may not thoſe
" who are to act be officers named by you, and not by any interme-
" diate perſon; accountable to you, and not to another; and in the
" dangers they run, animated with the proſpect of honour to them-
" ſelves, not to a perſon who is unneceſſarily interpoſed between
" them and their country? Gabinius propoſes to inveſt this officer
" with authority to name many lieutenants; I pray you conſider,

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"whether theſe officers ſhould depend upon any intermediate perſon, "or upon yourſelves alone? and whether there be ſufficient cauſe to "ſuſpend all the legal powers, and to ſuperſede all the magiſtrates in "the commonwealth, and all the governors of provinces in every "part of your empire, in order to make war on pirates?"

So much of what Catulus is ſuppoſed to have delivered on this occaſion is preſerved among the fragments of Dion Caſſius. It is mentioned by others, that the audience expreſſed their good-will and reſpect for this Senator in a compliment which they paid to him, probably near the cloſe of his ſpeech, when urging ſome of his former arguments, he aſked, "If this man to whom alone, by thus "employing him in every ſervice, you give an opportunity of "learning the profeſſion of a ſtateſman or ſoldier, ſhould fall, to "whom will you next have recourſe?" The People anſwered, with a general acclamation, *To yourſelf*[13]. They revered, for a moment, the candour and ability of this eminent citizen, but could not withſtand the arts of Pompey, and the tide of popularity, which then ran ſo much in his favour.

This day being far ſpent in debate, another day was appointed in which to collect the votes, when a decree paſſed to veſt Pompey with the ſupreme command over all the fleets and armies of the republic, in every ſea without diſtinction or limit, and on every coaſt within four hundred ſtadia, or fifty miles of the ſhore. This commiſſion took place in Italy, and extended throughout every province, during three years from the time of paſſing the edict.

As Pompey owed theſe extraordinary powers intirely to the Tribune Gabinius, he intended to have employed him next in command to himſelf; but the law which excluded the Tribunes from ſucceeding to any ſuch commands, in the firſt year after the expiration of

[13] Cicero pro Lege Manlia.

their

their office, ſtood in the way of this choice; and Pompey did not perſiſt in it. CHAP. II.

Upon the publication of an edict inveſting an officer of ſuch renown with ſo high powers for reſtoring the navigation of the ſeas, corn and every other article of importation at Rome conſiderably fell in their price. The friends of Pompey already triumphed in the ſucceſs of their meaſure, and he himſelf ſoon after, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of the enemy oppoſed to him, gained much credit by the rapid, deciſive and effectual meaſures he took to obtain the end of his appointment. Although it was the middle of winter, a ſeaſon too rough, even in the Mediterranean, for ſuch ſhipping as was then in uſe, he gave orders to arm and put to ſea as many veſſels as could be collected on every part of the coaſt. In a little time he had returns of two hundred and ſeventy gallies fit for ſervice, one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe embodied on the coaſts to which his command extended. That the pirates might be every where attacked at once, and find no refuge by changing their uſual places of retreat, he divided the maritime parts of the empire into ſeparate diſtricts, appointed lieutenants with full powers in each, aſſigned their ſtations, and allotted their quotas of ſhipping and troops. He himſelf, with a ſquadron of ſixty ſhips, propoſed to viſit every quarter, and to give his preſence where it ſhould be moſt required. He began with the coaſts of Spain and Gaul, and the ſeas of Sardinia and Corſica; and in paſſing from thence, while the fleet coaſted round the peninſula of Italy, he himſelf went on ſhore, and travelled by land to meet them at Brundiſium. In this journey, upon his approach to Rome, he enjoyed, in all reſpects, the ſtate of a great monarch, was received with acclamations by the People, and was courted by multitudes of every condition who went forth to receive him. All his complaints and repreſentations were received as commands. The Conſul Piſo, being ſuppoſed not to forward his levies

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with ſufficient alacrity, would have been degraded, if Pompey himſelf had not interpoſed to prevent a motion which the Tribune Gabinius intended to make for this purpoſe.

The fleet being arrived at Brundiſium, Pompey haſtened to join it, and from thence paſſed by the ſtations of his ſeveral lieutenants in the ſea-ports of Macedonia and Greece, to the coaſts of Pamphylia and Cilicia, which were the principal reſort of the pirates. Such of theſe banditti, as he took in his way, were treated with mildneſs; and this circumſtance, together with the great preparations which were reported from every quarter to be making againſt them, with the ſmall hopes they had of being able to eſcape, induced them, in great numbers, to ſurrender themſelves. In the bay of Cilicia he found a ſquadron of their ſhips aſſembled, and ready to cover the harbours at which they had been accuſtomed to collect their ſtores, and to lodge their booty. They ſeparated, however, upon his appearance, took refuge in different creeks of that mountainous coaſt, and afterwards ſurrendered at diſcretion, delivering up all the forts they had erected, with all their ſtores of timber, cordage, and ſails, of which they had made a conſiderable proviſion.

By theſe means the war was finiſhed about the middle of ſummer, ſix months after the nomination of Pompey to this command. In that time ſeventy-two gallies were ſunk, three hundred and ſix were taken, and a hundred and twenty piratical harbours or ſtrong-holds on ſhore were deſtroyed. Ten thouſand of the pirates were killed in action, and twenty thouſand, who had ſurrendered themſelves, remained priſoners at the end of the war. Theſe Pompey, having ſufficiently deprived of the means of returning to their former way of life, tranſplanted to different parts of the continent, where the late or preſent troubles, by thinning the inhabitants, had made room for them. Upon this occaſion he repeopled the city of Soli in Cilicia, which had been lately laid waſte, and forcibly emptied of its

inhabitants by Tigranes, to repleniſh his newly eſtabliſhed capital of Tigranocerta in Armenia. After this re-eſtabliſhment of Soli, the place, in honour of its reſtorer, came to be known by the name of Pompeiopolis [14].

Whilſt Pompey was thus employed in diſpoſing of the pirates on the coaſt of Cilicia, he received a meſſage from Lappa in the iſland of Crete, now beſieged by Metellus, intimating that the people of this place, although they held out againſt Metellus, were willing to ſurrender to Pompey. This ſort of preference implying eſtimation and popular regard, was one of the temptations which Pompey was ſuppoſed unable to reſiſt; he accordingly, without conſulting with Metellus, ſent an officer to receive the ſurrender of Lappa.

Metellus had now been near two years in the iſland of Crete, had almoſt entirely reduced it, and had a near proſpect of that triumph, which he afterwards actually obtained, with the title of Creticus, on account of this conqueſt. Pompey's commiſſion, as commander in chief of all the ſea and land forces of Rome within fifty miles of the coaſt, no doubt, extended to this iſland; but it was juſtly reckoned invidious to interfere in the province of a Proconſul, whoſe appointment preceded his own. And this ſtep revived all the former imputations againſt him, that he conſidered himſelf as every one's ſuperior, ſtrove to ſuppreſs every growing fame, and threw his perſonal conſideration as a bar in the way of every riſing merit. Metellus, ſtung with reſentment, and truſting to the ſupport of the Senate, ventured to contemn his orders; even after Octavius, who had been ſent by Pompey to take the inhabitants of Lappa under his protection, had entered the town, and in his name commanded Metellus to deſiſt from the attack of a place already in poſſeſſion of the Romans. He nevertheleſs continued the ſiege, forced the town to ſurrender, and threatening to treat Octavius himſelf as a rebel,

[14] Dion. Caſſius, lib. xxxvi. c. 20.

obliged

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obliged him to leave the iſland. The Senate, without otherwiſe deciding the controverſy which was likely to ariſe on this ſubject, afterwards acknowledged Metellus as the conqueror of Crete, and decreed him a triumph in that capacity [15].

The diſpute, however, at this time, might have led to diſagreeable conſequences, if Pompey, while he was preparing to paſs into Crete againſt Metellus, had not found another object of more importance to his plan of greatneſs [16]. Lucullus had always appeared to him a more formidable rival in power and conſideration than Metellus, and the war in Pontus and Armenia likely to furniſh a more ample field of glory than the deſtruction of pirates.

Mithridates, though once nearly vanquiſhed, was, by means of the diſtractions which, commmunicating from the popular factions at Rome, had infected the army of Lucullus, enabled to renew the war with freſh vigour. Knowing that the Roman general was no longer obeyed, he not only returned, as has been mentioned, into his own kingdom, but, together with Tigranes, began to act on the offenſive, and made excurſions even into Cilicia. Acilius Glabrio, the Proconſul appointed to ſucceed in the command of the Roman army, hearing the bad ſtate of affairs, ſtopped ſhort in Bithynia, and even refuſed to furniſh Lucullus with the reinforcements he had brought from Italy. In theſe circumſtances the province of Aſia, likely to become a principal ſource of revenue to the commonwealth, was in imminent danger of being wreſted from their hands. The friends of Pompey ſeized the opportunity to obtain a farther enlargement of his powers. Manilius, one of the Tribunes, in concert with Gabinius, moved the People to extend his commiſſion to the provinces of Phrygia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus; and of courſe to commit the war in Armenia and Pontus to his direction.

[15] Liv. Epit. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Dion. Caſſ. lib. xxxv.
[16] Dion. Caſſ. lib. xxxvi. c. 28.

This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Catulus, Hortenſius, and all the principal members of the Senate. It was ſupported by Marcus Tullius Cicero and by Caius Julius Cæſar, who both intended, on this occaſion, to court the popular party, by eſpouſing the cauſe of a perſon ſo much in favour with the People.

Cicero was one of the firſt of the Romans who reſted his conſideration intirely on civil accompliſhments, and who became great by the ſervices he was qualified to render his friends in a civil capacity, without any pretenſions to the merit of a ſoldier. The character of a pleader was become one of the moſt powerful recommendations to public notice, and one of the ſureſt roads to conſequence and civil preferments. Cicero, with a fine genius and great application, was ſuppoſed to excel all who had gone before him in this line of purſuit. His talents were powerful inſtruments in his own hands; they rendered him neceſſary to others, and procured him the courtſhip of every party in its turn. He was underſtood to favour the ariſtocracy, and was inclined to ſupport the Senate, as the great bulwark of the State, againſt the licence of the populace, and the violence of factious leaders. But being now Prætor, with a near proſpect of the Conſulate, he ſacrificed much to his ambition in the purſuit of preferments, which were new in his family, and which the antient nobility were diſpoſed to envy him. His ſpeech, upon the motion of Manilius, was the firſt he had ever made in a political character: it is ſtill extant, and does more honour to his talents as a pleader, than to his ſteadineſs in ſupport of the conſtitution and government of his country [17]. He turned aſide, by artful evaſions, the wiſe councils of Hortenſius and Catulus; and, under pretence of ſetting forth the merits of Pompey, and of ſtating precedents in his favour, dazzled his audience, by enumerating the irregular ho-

[17] Cicer. Orat. pro Lege Manilia.

nours

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nours which they themſelves had already conferred on this object of their favour.

'With ſuch able advocates, in a cauſe to which the People were already ſo well diſpoſed, the intereſt of Pompey could not miſcarry; and an addition was accordingly made to his former commiſſion, by which he became in reality ſovereign of the faireſt part of the empire. Upon the arrival of this news in Cilicia, where he then was, he affected ſurpriſe and diſpleaſure. "Are my enemies," he ſaid, "never "to give me any reſpite from war and trouble?" He had talents, undoubtedly, ſufficient to ſupport him in the uſe of means leſs indirect; but a diſpoſition to artifice, like every other ruling paſſion, will ſtifle the plaineſt ſuggeſtions of reaſon, and ſeems to have made him forget, on the preſent occaſion, that his own attendants at leaſt had common penetration. They turned away from the farce which he acted with ſhame and diſguſt[13]; and he himſelf made no delay in ſhowing the avidity with which he received what he thus affected to diſlike; laid aſide all thoughts of other buſineſs; immediately diſpatched his orders to all the provinces that were now ſubjected to his power; and, without paſſing his mandates through the hands of Lucullus, ſummoned Mithridates, then with an army of between thirty and forty thouſand men on the frontier of Pontus, to ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion. This prince, being then in treaty with Phraates, who had lately ſucceeded his father Arſaces in the kingdom of Parthia, and being in expectation of a powerful ſupport from that quarter, refuſed to liſten to this imperious meſſage: being diſappointed in his hopes of aſſiſtance from the Parthians, and finding that Phraates had joined in a league with his enemies, he at firſt endeavoured to pacify the Roman general; but finding that his advances for this purpoſe had no effect, he prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance.

[13] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

Pompey

CHAP. II.

Pompey ſet out for Pontus, and in his way had an interview with Lucullus, who was then in Galatia. They accoſted each other at firſt with laboured expreſſions of reſpect and of compliment on their reſpective ſervices, but ended with diſputes and ſharp altercations. Pompey accuſed Lucullus of precipitation, in ſtating the kingdom of Pontus as a Roman province, while the king himſelf was alive and at liberty. Lucullus ſuſpected that the late mutiny had been fomented by the emiſſaries of Pompey, to make way for his own ſucceſſion to the command. He perſiſted in maintaining the propriety of the report which he had made to the Senate, and in which he had repreſented the kingdom of Pontus as conquered, and in which he had deſired that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent as uſual to ſecure the poſſeſſion; obſerved, that no province could be kept, if the troops ſtationed to preſerve it refuſed to obey their general; that if ſuch diſorders were made the engine of politics in the competition of candidates for office, the republic had worſe conſequences to fear than the loſs of any diſtant province; that although the fugitive king had taken advantage of the factions at Rome and in the army, to put himſelf again at the head of ſome forces, he had not yet recovered any conſiderable portion of his kingdom, nor been able to diſturb the commiſſioners of the Senate, who were employed in ſettling the province; that there was nothing left for a ſucceſſor, but the invidious taſk of ſnatching at the glory which had been won by another.

From this conference Pompey entered on the command with many indications of animoſity to Lucullus; he ſuſpended the execution of his orders; changed the plan of his operations; remitted the puniſhments, and recalled the rewards he had decreed to particular perſons, in a manner which ſeemed to juſtify the ſuſpicion of his having encouraged the late diſorders, ſuffering them to paſs with impunity; and treating with the uſual confidence even the legions which had refuſed to obey the orders of their general. His own

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authority, however, ſeemed to be ſecured by the animoſity of the army to their late commander, and by their deſire to contraſt their own conduct, and the ſucceſs of the war under their preſent leader, with that which had taken place under his predeceſſor. Finding himſelf, therefore, at the head of numerous and well-affected forces, both by ſea and by land, he lined the whole coaſt of the Egean and Euxine Sea with his galleys, and, at the head of a great army, advanced in ſearch of the enemy.

Mithridates, upon the approach of Pompey, continued retiring before him towards the Leſſer Armenia, laid waſte the country through which the Roman army was to paſs, and endeavoured to diſtreſs them by the want of proviſions and forage.

For ſeveral days ſucceſſively the armies encamped in ſight of each other. Mithridates choſe his ſtations, ſo that he could not be ſafely attacked; and as his object was tó paſs the Euphrates without being forced to a battle, he generally decamped in the night, and, by his ſuperior knowledge of the country, paſſed through ways in which the Roman army could not haſtily follow without manifeſt danger of ſurprize. Pompey, ſenſible that, upon this plan of operations, the king of Pontus muſt effect his retreat, took a reſolution to paſs him by a forced march, not in the night, but in the heat of the day, when the troops of Aſia were moſt inclined to repoſe. If he ſhould ſucceed in this deſign, and get between their army and the Euphrates, he hoped to force them to a battle, or oblige them to change their route. He accordingly, on the day he had choſen for this attempt, doubled his march, paſſed the enemy's camp at noon-day unobſerved, and was actually poſted on their route, when they began to decamp, as uſual, on the following night. In the encounter which followed, having all the advantages of a ſurprize, and in the dark, againſt an army on its march, and little accuſtomed to order, he gained a deciſive victory,

tory, in which he cut off or diſperſed all the forces on which the king of Pontus relied for the defence of his kingdom [n].

Mithridates eſcaped with a few attendants; and, in this extremity, propoſed to throw himſelf again into the arms of Tigranes; but was refuſed by this prince, who was himſelf then attacked by a rebellion of his own ſon. Upon this diſappointment he fled to the northward, paſſing by the ſources of the Euphrates to the kingdom of Colchis, and from thence, by the eaſtern coaſts of the Euxine, to the Scythian Boſphorus, now the Straits of Coſſa, in order to take refuge in the Cherſoneſus, or Crim Tartary, at Panticapæa, the capital of a kingdom which he himſelf had acquired, and which he had beſtowed on Machares, one of his ſons. Upon his preſenting himſelf at this place, he found that Machares had long ſince abandoned his father's fortunes; and, upon hearing of the ill ſtate of his affairs on his firſt flight from Lucullus into Armenia, had ſent, as an offering of peace, a golden crown to that general, and ſued for the protection of the Romans. The father, highly provoked with this act of puſillanimity or treachery, aſſembled a force among his Scythian allies, and, deaf to all offers of ſubmiſſion or intreaties of this undutiful ſon, dragged him from the throne, and either ordered him to be put to death, or made his ſituation ſo painful, that he thought proper to put an end to his own life.

In this manner Mithridates entered anew on the poſſeſſion of a kingdom, in which he had not only a ſafe retreat, but likewiſe the means of executing new projects of war againſt his enemies. By the maxims of the Romans, no kingdom was ſuppoſed to be conquered, till the king was either killed, taken, or forced to ſurrender himſelf; and Pompey, by this flight of the king of Pontus, found himſelf under a neceſſity either of purſuing him into his preſent retreat, or of doing

[n] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvi. c. 32.

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what he had blamed in Lucullus, by making his report of a conqueſt before it was fully completed. While he was deliberating on the meaſures to be taken in theſe circumſtances, he was invited by Tigranes, ſon to the king of Armenia, then in rebellion againſt his father, to enter with his army into that kingdom, and to give judgment on the differences ſubſiſting between the father and the ſon.

In conſequence of this invitation, Pompey marched into Armenia, joined the rebel prince, and, under pretence of ſupporting the ſon, was about to ſtrip the father of his kingdom, when this monarch, with an exceſs of meanneſs, proportioned to the preſumption with which he had enjoyed his proſperity, now reſolved to caſt himſelf intirely upon the victor's mercy. For this purpoſe he deſired to be admitted into Pompey's preſence, and, with a few attendants, preſented himſelf for this purpoſe. Being told, at the entrance of the camp, that no ſtranger could paſs on horſeback, he diſmounted, and was conducted on foot to the general's tent. Sill bearing the diadem on his head, he took it from thence, and offered to lay it on the ground at Pompey's feet; but was told with great courteſy, that he might reſume it; that, by ſubmitting himſelf to the generoſity of the Romans, he had not loſt a kingdom, but gained a faithful ally [20]. At the ſame time, under pretence of reimburſing the expence of the war, a ſum of ſix thouſand talents, or about one million one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling, was exacted from him; and he himſelf, to this great ſum which was paid to the State, added a gratuity to the army of a talent [21] to each of the Tribunes, ten minæ [22] to each of the Centurions, and half a mina [23] to each private man.

Pompey, in diſpoſing of the two Armenias, which were now in his power, allotted Sophene, or the Leſſer Armenia, on the right of the Euphrates, to Tigranes the ſon, reſerving Syria and Phœnicia, to

[20] Dio Caſſ. lib. xxxvi. c. 35. Plutarch. in Pompeio. [21] 93l. 15s. [22] 32l. 5s. 10d.
[23] 1l. 12s. 3½d. Vid. Arbuthnot of Antient Coins.

which

which Antiochus, the laſt repreſentative of the Macedonian line, had been reſtored by Lucullus, together with Cilicia and Galatia, to the diſpoſal of the Romans.

Tigranes the father with great ſubmiſſion acquieſced in this partition; but the ſon, who probably expected to have been put in poſſeſſion of the whole of his father's kingdom, was greatly diſcontented, and, while Pompey was yet in Armenia, entered into a correſpondence with the king of Parthia, and ſolicited his aſſiſtance to overturn this eſtabliſhment. On account of theſe practices, whether real or ſuppoſed, the ſon was taken into cuſtody, carried into Italy, and made a part in the ornaments of the victor's triumph [21].

The Roman general, having in this manner diſpoſed of the kingdom of Armenia, and ſecured the permanency of his ſettlement by the confinement of the rebel prince, reſumed the thoughts of purſuing Mithridates into his preſent retreat. For this purpoſe he left Afranius in Armenia, with a force ſufficient to ſecure his rear, and to prevent any diſturbance on this ſide of the Euphrates. He himſelf paſſed the Araxes, and wintered on the Cyrus, or the Cyrnus, on the confines of Albania and Iberia. In the following ſummer, having defeated the natives of thoſe countries in repeated encounters, he advanced to the mouth of the Phaſis, where he was joined by his fleet, then plying in the Euxine Sea, under the command of Servilius. Here he appears to have deliberated, whether he ſhould attempt to purſue Mithridates any farther; but upon conſidering the difficulties of the voyage, and of the march along a coaſt and a country intirely unknown, unfurniſhed with any ſafe harbour for his ſhips, or even with any means of ſubſiſtence to his army by land, he took his reſolution to return, and to avail himſelf, in the beſt manner he was able, of the poſſeſſions which had been abandoned to him by the flight of

[21] Plutarch. in Pompeio, ad p. 458.

the

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the king[20]. With this reſolution he directed his march, by the coaſt, back into the kingdom of Pontus; and, finding no reſiſtance, took all his meaſures as in a conquered province. At one place he found a conſiderable treaſure, which Stratonicé, one of the concubines of the king, by whom he had a ſon named Xiphares, diſcloſed to him, on condition that, if the chance of war ſhould throw Xiphares into the hands of the conqueror, his life ſhould be ſpared. But this unhappy ſon was expoſed to other dangers beſides thoſe the mother apprehended. Mithridates, upon hearing of the price which was paid for his life, ordered him to be ſlain. "That woman," he ſaid, "ſhould have likewiſe bargained with me in favour of her ſon." At other places the Roman army found the veſtiges of great magnificence, joined to monuments of ſuperſtition and of cruelty. They found ſome productions of an art, in which the king was ſuppoſed to be maſter, relating to the compoſition of poiſons, and of their antidotes, and ſome records of dreams, together with the interpretations[21], which had been given by his women.

From Pontus, Pompey, having made a proper diſpoſition of the fleet in the Euxine, to cover the coaſt from any attempts which Mithridates might make from the Boſphorus and oppoſite coaſts, ſet out for the kingdom of Syria, which he now determined to ſeize in behalf of the Romans. Lucullus had already, agreeably to the policy of his country, and under pretence of ſetting the Syrians free, ſeparated their kingdom from the other poſſeſſions of Tigranes: but the pretence upon which he acted in this matter being ſufficient to prevent his ſeizing upon Syria as a Roman province, he was content with reſtoring it to Antiochus, the laſt pretender of the Macedonian line, who had lived eighteen years in the greateſt obſcurity in Cilicia. Pompey now propoſed to complete the tranſaction, by ſeizing for the

[20] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 37. c. 3. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridat.
[21] Plutarch. in Pomp. p. 462.

Romans themſelves, what the other affected only to reſtore to the lawful owner [24]; and this intended owner now pleaded in vain againſt the Romans that right of deſcent from the Macedonian line, which Lucullus had employed with ſo much force to ſupplant Tigranes [25].

On the march into Syria Pompey, either in perſon or by his lieutenants, received the ſubmiſſion of all the principalities or diſtricts in his way, and made the following arrangements. The Leſſer Armenia, once intended for Tigranes the ſon, he gave to Dejotarus, king of Galatia [26], who afterwards was long continued on the frontier of the empire as a faithful dependant, and with poſſeſſions which ſerved as a barrier againſt hoſtile invaſions from that quarter. Paphlagonia was given to Attalus and Pylæmenus, who were likewiſe liberal tributaries to the Roman officers, and vigilant guards on the frontiers of the empire. Upon his arrival at Damaſcus, he had many applications from the late ſubjects or dependants of the Syrian monarchy; among others, from Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, two brothers contending for the ſovereignty of Judea, who now repaired to him for judgment, and requeſted the interpoſition of his power in behalf of the party he ſhould be pleaſed to favour.

Of theſe rivals, who were the ſons of Alexander, late high prieſt of the Jews, Hyrcanus the elder had ſucceeded to his mother Alexandra, whom the father had left his immediate ſucceſſor in the throne; but was diſpoſſeſſed by his younger brother Ariſtobulus, who, being of a more active ſpirit, had formed a powerful faction among the people.

Hyrcanus took refuge among the Arabs, and prevailed upon Aretas, the chieftain of ſome powerful tribe of that people, to ſupport him with an army, in recovering the ſovereignty of the Jews. In conjunction with this ally, he accordingly laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, but

[24] Juſtin. lib. xl. c. 1 & 2. [25] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 244. [26] Eutropius, lib. vi.

was

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was disappointed of his object by Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, who being then in Syria at the request of Aristobulus, from whom he received a present of three hundred talents, or about fifty-seven thousand and nine hundred pounds sterling, interposed, and obliged the Arabs to raise the siege. Upon the arrival of Gabinius, whom Pompey had sent before him into Syria, Aristobulus thought proper to make him likewise a present of fifty talents, and by these means remained in possession of the sovereignty at the arrival of Pompey.

It is alleged that each of the contending parties made their presents to the general himself; Hyrcanus in particular, that of a beautiful piece of plate, admired for its workmanship and weight, being the imitation of a spreading vine, with its leaves and fruit in massy gold [27]; and these circumstances merit attention, as they furnish some instances of the manner in which great riches, now in so much request at Rome, were amassed by Roman generals in the course of their services. Besides what they gained in this manner, it is likely that every conquest they effected, every revolution they brought about, and every protection they granted were extremely profitable.

Pompey, on hearing the merits of the question between the two brothers, declared for Hyrcanus, and advanced towards the city, to execute the decree he had passed. Upon his approach he was again met by Aristobulus, who made fresh offers of submission, and of a public contribution in money; and Pompey sent forward Gabinius to take possession of the place, in terms of this submission. But upon a report that the gates were still kept shut by the party of Aristobulus, who yet remained in his camp, he ordered this prince into confinement, and advanced with his army.

The citizens being divided, those who espoused the cause of Hyrcanus were willing to receive the Romans; the others, who were

[27] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 2.

attached to Ariſtobulus, retired into the temple, and broke down the bridge by which this edifice was joined to the ſtreets, and made every other preparation to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. CHAP. II.

The gates of the city, in the mean time, were thrown open by the party of Hyrcanus; and the Romans being admitted, took poſſeſſion of all the principal ſtations within the walls, and prepared to attack the temple. This building had all the advantages of a citadel, built on a height, ſurrounded with natural precipices, or with a deep ditch, overhung with lofty battlements and towers. Pompey ſent for battering engines to Tyre, and cut down all the woods in the neighbourhood to furniſh materials for filling up the ditch, raiſing his mound of approach [a], and erecting his towers. All his works were with great obſtinacy counteracted by thoſe who had taken refuge in the Temple. He obſerved, however, in the courſe of his operations, that the people within, although they defended their perſons when attacked on the Sabbath-day, yet they did not labour, either in repairing any of their own defences, or in oppoſing or demoliſhing the works of the beſiegers. He accordingly took advantage of this circumſtance, made no aſſaults on that day, but carried on his attack in filling up the ditch, and carrying on his approach. In this manner his towers, without interruption, were raiſed to the level of the battlements, and his engines playing from thence, made great havock among the beſieged. The Jews, however, even under the diſcharge of the enemy's miſſiles, ſtill continued at the altar to perform their uſual rites. While they were engaged in theſe holy exerciſes they took ſo little precaution againſt the dangers to which they were expoſed, that numbers periſhed in offering up the ſacrifices, and mingled their blood with that of the victims.

In the third month after the ſiege began, one of the towers of the Temple was brought in ruin to the ground; and Fauſtus, the ſon of

[a] The Agger.

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Sylla, with two Centurions at the head of the diviſions they commanded, entered the breach, and putting all whom they met to the ſword, made way for more numerous parties to follow them, and covered the avenues and porches of the Temple with the ſlain. The prieſts, who were even then employed in the ſacrifices, waited for the enemy with great compoſure, and, without diſcontinuing their duties, were ſlain at the altars. Numbers of the people threw themſelves from the precipices; and others, ſetting fire to the booths in which they had lodged under the walls of the Temple, were conſumed in the flames. About twelve or thirteen thouſand periſhed on this occaſion, without any proportional loſs to the beſiegers, or to thoſe who conducted the ſtorm.

Pompey, being maſter of the Temple, and ſtruck with the obſtinate valour with which the people had devoted themſelves to its preſervation, was curious to ſee the interior receſs. This place, into which no one was ever admitted beſides the high prieſt, he ſuppoſed to contain the ſacred emblems of that power who inſpired his votaries with ſo ardent and ſo unconquerable a zeal. And he ventured, to the equal conſternation and horror of his own party among the Jews, as of thoſe who oppoſed him, to enter with his uſual attendance into the Holy of Holies. He found it adorned with lamps, candleſticks, cups, veſſels of incenſe, with their ſupports all of ſolid gold, with a great collection of the richeſt perfumes and a ſacred treaſure of two thouſand talents, or about three hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling.

Having ſatisfied his curioſity, it is mentioned that he reſpected the religion of the place ſo much as to have left every part of this treaſure untouched, and to have given directions that the Temple itſelf ſhould be purified, in order to expiate the profanation of which he himſelf had been guilty. He reſtored Hyrcanus to the prieſthood or ſovereignty of the kingdom, but charged him with a conſiderable

tribute

tribute to the Romans, and at the ſame time ſtript the nation of all thoſe poſſeſſions or dependencies in Paleſtine and Celeſyria, which had been acquired or held in ſubjection by their anceſtors. Such were Gadara, Scythopolis, Hyppus, Pella, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamana, Arethuſa, Gaza, Joppa, and Dora, with what was then called Strato's Tower, and afterwards Ceſarea. Under pretence of reſtoring theſe ſeveral places to their liberties, they were detached from the principality of the Jews, but in reality annexed to the Roman province of Syria [29].

Pompey now recollecting that he had formerly carried his arms to the ſhores of the Atlantic, and to the boundaries of Numidia and of Spain; that he had recently penetrated to the coaſts of the Euxine, and to the neighbourhood of the Caſpian Sea; to the end that he might not leave any part of the known world unexplored by his arms, now formed a project to finiſh this round of exploits, by viſiting the ſhores of the Aſiatic or Eaſtern Ocean: a circumſtance which was to complete the glory of his approaching triumph, and raiſe him, as his flatterers were pleaſed to obſerve, to a rank above every conqueror of the preſent or any preceding age [30].

But while Pompey was employed in the ſettlement of Syria, in the reduction of Jeruſalem, and meditating theſe farther conqueſts, Mithridates was buſy in making preparations to renew the war. Having heard of the extremities to which the citizens of Rome had been frequently reduced by the invaſion of the Gauls and of Hannibal, and by the inſurrections of their own ſubjects and ſlaves, he concluded that they were weakeſt at home, or might be attacked with the greateſt advantage in Italy. He again, therefore, reſumed the project of marching an army of Scythians by the Danube and the

[29] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. i. & vii. & Ant. lib. xiv. c. 6.
[30] Plutarch. in Pom. p. 463.

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Alps. He viſited all the princes in his neighbourhood, made alliances with them, which he confirmed by giving to ſome of them his daughters in marriage, and perſuaded them, by the hopes of a plentiful ſpoil, to join with him in the project of invading Europe. He even diſpatched his agents into Gaul, to ſecure the co-operations of nations on that ſide of the world, and truſted that, on his appearance in Italy, many of the diſcontented inhabitants would join him as they had joined Hannibal; and that the ſlaves, ſo lately at open war with their maſters, would likewiſe be a plentiful ſupply of recruits to his army.

Theſe projects, however, appeared to his own nation too hazardous and vaſt. They were ſuited to the ſtate of a king who wiſhed to periſh with ſplendor; but not to that of ſubjects and followers who had humbler hopes, and who choſe to be governed by more reaſonable proſpects of ſucceſs. The king himſelf, while he meditated ſuch extenſive deſigns, being confined by an ulcer in his face, had been for a conſiderable time concealed from public view, and had not admitted any perſon to his preſence beſides ſome favourite Eunuchs. The minds of his ſubjects, and of his own family in particular, were much alienated from him by ſome late acts of barbarous ſeverity againſt Machares and Xiphares, two of his children, who, with ſome others as we have mentioned, had incurred his reſentment.

Pharnaces, another ſon, attended the father; and, though diſpoſed to betray him, was ſtill much in his confidence. The people of Phanagoria, a town on the ſhore of the Boſphorus, oppoſite to the fortreſs at which the king now reſided, together with the inhabitants of the country, pretending a variety of provocations, revolted againſt him; and the army, during his confinement, loſing the uſual awe of his perſon, mutinied, and acknowledged Pharnaces for king. They aſſembled round the fort in which Mithridates was lodged, and which he had garriſoned with a choſen body of men. When he appeared

peared on the battlements, and desired to know their demands: "To "exchange you," they said, "for Pharnaces; an old king for a young "one." Even while he received this answer, and while many of his guards deserted him, he still hoped that, if he were at liberty, he might retrieve his affairs. He desired, therefore, by repeated messages, to know whether he might have leave to depart in safety? But none of the messengers he sent with this question being suffered to return, he apprehended that there was a design to deliver him up into the hands of the Romans. Under this apprehension he had recourse to his last resort, a dose of poison, which, it is said, he always carried in the scabbard of his sword. Being to employ this sovereign remedy of all his evils, he dismissed, with expressions of kindness and gratitude, such of his attendants as still continued faithful to him; and being left with two of his daughters, who earnestly desired to die with their father, he allowed them to share in the draught, and saw them expire. But the portion which he had reserved for himself not being likely to overcome the vigour of his constitution, or, as was believed in those credulous times, being too powerfully counteracted by the effect of many antidotes he had taken against poison, he ordered a faithful slave who attended him, to perform with his sword what was in those times accounted the highest proof, as it was the last act, of fidelity in a servant to his master.

Accounts of this event were brought to Pompey, while his army was encamped at the distance of some days march from the capital of Judea, in his way to Arabia. The messengers appeared carrying wreaths of laurel on the points of their spears; and the army, crowding around their general to learn the tidings, were informed of the death of Mithridates. This they received with acclamations, and immediately proceeded to make all the ordinary demonstrations of joy. Pompey, having now accomplished the principal object of the war, dropped his design on Arabia, and directed the march of his army towards

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wards Pontus. Here he received the ſubmiſſion of Pharnaces, and, with many other gifts, was preſented with the embalmed corpſe of the king. The whole army crowded to ſee it, examined the features and the ſcars, teſtifying, by theſe laſt effects of their curioſity, the reſpect which they entertained for this extraordinary man. He had, with ſhort intervals, occupied the arms of the Romans during forty years; and, though he could not bring the natives of Aſia to match with the Roman legions, yet he frequently, by the ſuperiority of his own genius, ſtood firm in diſtreſs, or roſe from misfortune with new and unexpected reſources. He was tall, and of a vigorous conſtitution, addicted to women, and, though ſuperior to every other ſort of ſeduction, to this his ardent and impetuous ſpirit made him a frequent and an eaſy prey. He appears to have loved and truſted many of that ſex with a boundleſs paſſion. By ſome of them he was followed in the field; others he diſtributed in his different palaces; had many children, and entertained more parental affection than commonly attends the polygamy of Aſiatic princes; yet even towards his own ſons, as well as towards every one elſe, on occaſions which alarmed the jealouſy of his crown, he was ſanguinary and inexorable.

Pompey proceeded to ſettle the remainder of his conqueſts; and, beſides the arrangements already mentioned, annexed the kingdom of Pontus to the province of Bithynia, gave the Boſphorus to Pharnaces, and put the province of Syria, extending to the frontier of Egypt, under the government of Scaurus. He had now, from the time of his appointment to ſucceed Lucullus, for about three years, had the ſole direction of the affairs of the Romans in Aſia[31]; and had exchanged with the king of Parthia provoking meſſages, which, in a different conjuncture, might have led to immediate war. But

[31] Dion. Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 6.

the circumſtances were not yet ripe for ſuch a meaſure, and Pompey had provided ſufficient materials for a triumph, without attempting to break through thoſe boundaries on which ſo many Roman generals were doomed to diſappointments, and on which the progreſs of the empire itſelf was deſtined to ſtop.

Without entertaining any farther projects for the preſent, he ſet out with two legions on the route of Cilicia towards Italy, having Tigranes, ſon to the king of Armenia, together with Ariſtobulus, late uſurper of the Jewiſh throne, with his family, two ſons and two daughters, as captives to adorn his triumph [32].

[32] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 7.

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Growing Corruption of the Roman Officers of State.——The love of Conſideration changed for Avarice, Rapacity, and Prodigality.——Laws againſt Extortion.——Cataline a Candidate for the Conſulſhip.——Conſpiracy with Autronius.——Competition for the Conſulate.——Election of Cicero and Antonius.——Condition of the Times.——Agrarian Law of Rullus.——Trial of Rabirius.——Cabals of the Tribunes.——Of Cataline.——His Flight from the City.——Diſcovery of his Accomplices.——Their Execution.

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U. C. 685. C. Calpurnius Piſo, M. Aul. Glabrio.

ABOUT the time that Pompey obtained his commiſſion to command with ſo extenſive a power in the ſuppreſſion of the pirates, the tide began to run high againſt the ariſtocratical party. The populace, led by ſome of the Tribunes, were ever ready to inſult the authority of the Senate; and the vices of particular men gave frequent advantages againſt the whole order of Nobility. Corruption and dangerous faction prevailed at elections, and the preferments of State were generally coveted, as ſteps to the government of provinces, where fortunes were amaſſed by every ſpecies of abuſe, oppreſſion, and violence. Envy and indignation concurred in rouſing the People againſt theſe abuſes. Cornelius, one of the Tribunes, propoſed a ſevere law againſt bribery, by which perſons convicted of this crime ſhould be diſqualified for any office of State. The Senate wiſhed to ſoften the rigour of this law, by limiting the penalty to a pecuniary fine; and the Conſul, Calpurnius Piſo, moved for an edict to this purpoſe, in order to anticipate and to preclude the more violent law of Cornelius. But the Tribune prevailed, and obtained an act impoſing the ſeverer penalty. He likewiſe, by another decree of the People,

Lex Cornelia de Ambitu.

People, attacked the diſcretionary juriſdiction of the Prætors [1], obliged them to be more explicit in the edicts they publiſhed, and to obſerve them more exactly. CHAP. III.

The crime of extortion in the provinces, however, was the great diſgrace of the Romans. To have found an effectual remedy for this evil, would have done more honour to the commonwealth than they had derived from all their conqueſts. Severe laws were accordingly enacted, complaints were willingly received, and proſecutions encouraged. Candidates for popularity and public favour generally began with endeavouring to bring ſome offender under this title to public juſtice; but the example of this State, after all, has left only this piece of inſtruction to mankind: That juſt government over conquered provinces is ſcarcely to be hoped for, and leaſt of all where republics are the conquerors.

Manilius, one of the Tribunes of the People, in order to ſtrengthen the inferior claſs of his conſtituents, had obtained by ſurprize an act [2], by which the citizens of ſlaviſh extraction were to be promiſcuouſly inrolled in all the Tribes. This act, having drawn upon him the reſentment of the Senate, compelled him to ſeek for ſecurity under the protection of Gabinius and Pompey. With this view he moved his famous act, in which Cicero concurred, to veſt Pompey with the command in Aſia. This motion procured him a powerful ſupport, and, on ſome occaſions, the general voice of the People in his favour. Soon after this tranſaction, being proſecuted for ſome offence at the tribunal of Cicero, who was then Prætor, and being refuſed the uſual delays, the Prætor was obliged to explain this ſtep in a ſpeech to the People; in which he told them, that he meant to favour Manilius, and that, his own term in office being about to expire, he could not favour him more effectually, than by haſtening his trial, and by not

Lex Manilia.

[1] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvi. c 23. [2] Ibid. lib. xxxvi.

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leaving him in the power of a ſucceſſor, who might not be equally diſpoſed in his favour. Such were the looſe and popular notions of juſtice then prevailing at Rome [3].

At the election of Conſuls for the following year, there occurred an opportunity to apply the law againſt bribery. Of four candidates, Publius Autronius Pætus, Publius Cornelius Sylla, L. Aurelius Cotta, and L. Manlius Torquatus, the majority had declared for the former two; but theſe being convicted of bribery, were ſet aſide, and their competitors declared duly elected.

About the ſame time L. Sergius Catalina, who has been already mentioned as one of the moſt violent executioners of Sylla's proſcriptions, having returned from Africa, where he had ſerved in the capacity of Prætor, and intending to ſtand for the Conſulate, was accuſed of extortion in his province, and ſtopped in his canvas by a proſecution raiſed on this account. In his rage for this diſappointment, he was ripe for any diſorder; and, being readily joined by Autronius and Piſo, formed a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate their rivals [4], to maſſacre the Senate, to ſeize the enſigns of power, and, with the aid of their faction, to lay hold of the government [5]. Julius Cæſar and Craſſus are mentioned by Suetonius as accomplices in this plot. Craſſus was to have been named Dictator, and Cæſar his general of the horſe [6]. Cæſar was to have given the ſignal for the execution of the maſſacre, by uncovering his ſhoulders of his gown; but Craſſus having relented, abſented himſelf from the Senate on the day appointed, and Cæſar, though preſent, omitted to give the ſignal, by which means the whole was diſconcerted. Sylla was tried ſome years after as an acceſſory, and was defended by Cicero.

Many of thoſe who, by their birth and diſtinction, were deſtined to run the career of political honours, found their fortunes, by the

[3] Plutarch. in Vit. Cicer.
[4] Cic. in Catal. i. c. 6.
[5] Dion. lib. xxxvi. &c.
[6] Sueton. in Cæſar.

extravagant

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extravagant expence of public ſhows, and of gratuities to the People, by bribes to private perſons, as well as by their own debauchery and prodigality, ruined before they attained their end. They ſought to repair their ruin by any unwarrantable means [7], and were ready to engage in any dangerous deſign. The State appears to have apprehended an increaſe of this danger from the number of foreigners, who, from every quarter, crowded to Rome as to the general reſort of perſons who wiſhed to gratify their own extravagance, or to prey upon that of others. Under this apprehenſion, an edict was obtained, upon the motion of C. Papius, Tribune of the People, to oblige all ſtrangers to leave the city: but it is likely, that the ſtate was in greater danger from natives than foreigners. Cataline, having prevailed upon Clodius, by the conſideration of a ſum of money, to drop the proſecution, which had been intended againſt him, was left to offer himſelf a candidate for the Conſulate of the following year [8].

Lex Papia de Perigrinis.

The office of Cenſor had been revived in the perſons of Catulus and Craſſus; but theſe officers found that its authority, ſo powerful in former times, was now of little effect. They ſcarcely ventured to give it a trial within the city; and, having differed about the enrolment of citizens reſiding beyond the Po, and about ſome other particulars, they reſigned their power [9]. Cenſors were again named in the following year, but with no greater effect; ſome of the Tribunes, fearing to be degraded from the Senate, forbade them to proceed in making up the roll [10].

In the next Conſulate, Caius Julius Cæſar, at this time thirty-five years of age, entered on his career of popularity and ambition. Being Edile, together with Marcus Bibulus, he not only concurred with his colleague in all the expenſive ſhews that were given to the

U. C. 689. C. J. Cæſar, C. Mar. Figulus.

[7] Plutarch. in Vit. Ciceronis.
[8] Cicero de Auruſpicum Reſponſis.
[9] Dion. lib. xxxvi. Plutarch. in Craſſo.
[10] Ibid. Plut.

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People, but gave ſeparate entertainments on his own account. The multitudes of gladiators he had aſſembled on this occaſion gave an alarm to the magiſtracy, and he was ordered not to exceed a certain number. In the adminiſtration of his office as Prætor, he took ſome ſteps that were likely to revive the animoſity of the late parties of Marius and Sylla; and, notwithſtanding the act of indemnity which had paſſed, raiſed proſecutions on a charge of aſſaſſination, againſt all thoſe who had put any citizen to death in execution of Sylla's proſcription [11]. From this time Suetonius obſerves, that Cicero dated the beginning of Cæſar's project to ſubvert the republic, and to make himſelf maſter of the State [12].

What has moſt diſtinguiſhed this Conſulate, however, is the competition of candidates for the ſucceſſion to that office on the following year, and the conſequences of the election which followed. The candidates were M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius, ſon of the late celebrated orator, L. Sergius Catalina, P. Sulpitius Galba, and L. Caſſius Longinus, Quintus Cornificius, and Licinius Sacerdos.

Cicero was the firſt of his family who had ever reſided, or enjoyed any honours, at Rome. He was a native of Arpinum, a country-town of Italy, and was conſidered as an obſcure perſon by thoſe who were deſcended of antient families, but had great conſideration on account of his eloquence and the conſequences of it, to all ſuch as had any intereſts at ſtake before the tribunals of juſtice. Being ſolicited by Cataline to undertake his defence on a trial for malverſation in Sicily, he did not at once reject the requeſt, nor always deny his aid to the factious Tribunes in ſupport of their meaſures. He was undoubtedly, like other ambitious men at Rome, diſpoſed

[11] Sueton. in Vit. C. J. Cæſaris.

[12] Ibid. c. ix. Suetonius ſuppoſes, that Cicero alluded to the conſpiracy of Autronius and Sylla, in which Craſſus, as well as Cæſar, was ſaid to be engaged.

to

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to court every party, and willing to gain individuals[14]; and had of late, in particular, conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſt, by having ſupported the pretenſions of Pompey, and by having joined the popular Tribunes, in what they propoſed in behalf of that officer. He was, notwithſtanding, probably by his averſion to appear for ſo bad a client as Cataline, ſaved from the reproach of having eſpouſed his cauſe; and by his known inclination in general to ſupport the authority of the Senate, he diſpoſed the ariſtocratical party to forgive the occaſional part which he took with the Tribunes in particular queſtions, not immediately ſuppoſed to affect their government.

In the courſe of this competition for the Conſulſhip, Antonius and Cataline joined intereſts together, and ſpared no kind or degree of corruption. Cicero complained of their practices in the Senate, and moved to revive the law of Calpurnius againſt bribery, with an additional penalty of ten years baniſhment[15]. Cataline conſidered this meaſure as levelled againſt himſelf; and incited by this provocation, as well as by the animoſity of a rival, was then ſuppoſed to have formed a deſign againſt Cicero's life, and to have expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, in terms that gave a general alarm to the electors, and determined great numbers againſt himſelf. He had drawn to his intereſts many perſons of infamous character and deſperate fortune, many youths of good family, whom he debauched or encouraged in their profligacy. His language, at their meetings, was full of indignation at the unequal and ſuppoſed unjuſt diſtribution of fortune and power. "All the wealth of the State, all autho-" rity," he ſaid, "is engroſſed by a few, while others of more " merit are kept in poverty and obſcurity, and oppreſſed with " debts." He profeſſed his intention, when in office, to remove theſe grievances, to cancel the debts of his friends, to enrich them by

[14] Ep. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 2.

[15] Dio. lib. xxxvii. c. 39.

plentiful

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plentiful diviſions of land, and to place them in the higheſt ſtations.

Theſe declarations, being made to a numerous meeting, were ill concealed. Curius, one of the faction, boaſted to Fulvia, a woman of rank, with whom he had a criminal correſpondence, that a revolution muſt ſoon take place, and ſpecified the particular hopes and deſigns of their party. This woman mentioned the ſubject to her own confidents, but concealed the author of her information. In the mean time, Cataline was conſidered as a perſon of the moſt dangerous deſigns, and was oppoſed in his election by all who had any regard to public order, or to the ſafety of the commonwealth. Cicero, at the ſame time, being ſupported by the Senate, was elected, together with Caius Antonius. The latter ſtood candidate upon the ſame intereſt with Cataline, and was preferred to him only by a ſmall majority.

U. C. 690. M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius.

By this event the deſigns of Cataline were ſuppoſed to be fruſtrated; but the Conſuls were not likely to enter on a quiet adminiſtration. The Tribunitian power, from the time of its reſtoration, was gradually recovering its force, and extending its operations. Every perſon that could give any public diſturbance, that could annoy the Senate, or mortify any of its leading members; every one that had views of ambition adverſe to the laws, or who wiſhed to take part in ſcenes of confuſion and tumult; every perſon oppreſſed with debt, who wiſhed to defraud his creditors; every perſon who, by his profligacy or crimes, was at variance with the tribunals of juſtice, was comprehended under the general denomination of the popular party. The Roman People had once been divided into Patrician and Plebeian, next into Noblemen and Commoners; but now they took ſides with little regard to former diſtinctions againſt or for the preſervation of public order. In the aſſembly of the centuries, as well as in that of the Tribes, the diſorderly and the profligate began to prevail; and

as

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as it was impoſſible that the collective body of the People could meet, the comitia, for the moſt part, was but another name for ſuch riotous aſſemblies, as were made up of the perſons who haunted the ſtreets of Rome. The minds of ſober men were full of fear and diſtruſt, alarmed with ſurmiſes of plots, and various combinations of deſperate perſons, who united their influence, not to carry elections or attain to preferments, but to overturn the government, or to ſhare in its ſpoils [16].

Lex Servilia Agraria.

One of the Tribunes of the preſent year, Servilius Rullus, ſoon after his admiſſion into office, under pretence of providing ſettlements for many of the citizens, promulgated the heads of an Agrarian Law, which he carried to the Senate and the People. The ſubject of former grants was now in a great meaſure exhauſted, and all Italy was inhabited by Roman citizens. This Tribune propoſed a new expedient to open ſettlements for the indigent, not by conqueſt, but by purchaſe. It was propoſed, that all eſtates, territories, or poſſeſſions of any ſort, which belonged to the republic, ſhould be ſold; that all acquiſitions of territory recently made, and the ſpoils taken from any enemy, ſhould be diſpoſed of in the ſame manner; that the money ariſing from ſuch ſales ſhould be employed in purchaſing arable and cultivable lands, to be aſſigned in lots to the needy citizens; and that, to carry this law into execution, ten commiſſioners ſhould be named in the ſame manner in which the Pontiffs were named, not by the whole People, but by ſeventeen of the Tribes ſelected by lot: that theſe commiſſioners ſhould be judges, without appeal, of what was or was not public property; of what was to be ſold, of what was to be bought, and at what price; that they were to receive and judge of the accounts of every Conſul, or other officer, except Pompey, commanding in any

[16] Cicero de Lege Agraria.

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province, where any capture was made, or new territory acquired: and in ſhort, that they ſhould, during five years, which was the intended term of their commiſſion, be the ſole maſters of all property within the empire, whether public or private.

On the day that the new Conſuls entered on their office, when they returned in proceſſion from the Capitol, and gave the firſt meeting to the Senate, Rullus had the preſumption to propoſe this law, and to move the Conſcript Fathers, that they would be pleaſed to give it the ſanction of their approbation and authority in being carried to the People. Upon this occaſion, Cicero made his firſt ſpeech in the character of Conſul. The former part of it is loſt; the remainder may be reckoned among the higheſt ſpecimens of his eloquence. In this and the two ſpeeches he delivered to the People, on the ſame ſubject, he endeavoured to demonſtrate (if we may venture to imitate his own expreſſions) that, from the firſt clauſe of this law to the laſt, there was nothing thought of, nothing propoſed, nothing done but the erecting, in ten perſons, under the pretence of an Agrarian Law, an abſolute ſovereignty over the treaſury, the revenue, the provinces, the empire, the neighbouring kingdoms and ſtates; and, in ſhort, over all the world as far as it was known to the Romans. He painted in ſuch lively colours the abuſes which might be committed by Rullus, and by his aſſociates in judging what was private and what public property, in making ſales, in making purchaſes, in planting the colonies; and ſo expoſed the impudence of the cheat, by which it was propoſed to ſurpriſe the People into the granting of ſuch powers, the abſurdity and the ruinous tendency of the whole meaſure, that it was inſtantly rejected, and its author hiſſed from the aſſembly, and treated as an object of ridicule and ſcorn.

The ſplendour of the Conſul's eloquence, on this occaſion, appeared with great diſtinction, and the ſpirit of the times continued to furniſh

niſh him with opportunities to diſplay it [16]. Roſcius Amerinus, having been Tribune of the People a few years before, had, by the authority of his office, ſet apart ſome benches in the theatre for the Equeſtrian order. This gave offence to the People, ſo that Roſcius was commonly hiſſed when he appeared at any of the public aſſemblies. On ſome one of theſe occaſions the Conſul interpoſed; and, in a popular harangue, ſecured the attachment of the Knights to himſelf, and reconciled the People to the diſtinction which had been made in favour of that body.

There happened under the ſame Conſulate a buſineſs of greater difficulty, being a motion to reſtore the ſons of the proſcribed to the privilege of being choſen into the offices of State, of which they had been deprived by an ordinance of Sylla. Their fate was undoubtedly calamitous and ſevere. Many of them who had been too young to have incurred the guilt of their party, were now come of age, and found themſelves ſtript of their birthright, and ſtigmatized with this mark of diſhonour. It was propoſed, in their behalf, to take away this cruel excluſion. But Cicero, apprehending that this propoſal tended to arm and to ſtrengthen perſons, who, from long uſe, had contracted an habitual diſaffection to the eſtabliſhed government, powerfully oppoſed the motion, and ſucceeded in having it rejected [17].

Though the orations on the two ſubjects laſt mentioned have periſhed, great part of that which he ſpoke on the trial of C. Rabirius ſtill remains. This man, of a great age, a reſpectable Senator, at the diſtance of ſix-and-thirty years, was brought to trial as an accomplice in the death of Apuleius Saturninus, the factious Tribune, who, as has been related, having ſeized the Capitol, was, by the

[16] It is probable that Cicero did not write in order to ſpeak, but wrote after he had ſpoken, for the uſe of his friends. Epiſt. ad Atticum, lib. ii. c. 1.

[17] Plin. lib. vii. c. 30.

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Conſuls Marius and Valerius Flaccus, acting under the authority of the Senate, and attended by all the moſt reſpectable citizens in arms, forced from his ſtrong-hold, and put to death as a public enemy.

Titus Atius Labienus, one of the Tribunes, was the declared proſecutor of C. Rabirius; but hiſtorians agree, that this Tribune acted at the inſtigation, and under the direction, of C. Julius Cæſar. The intention of the popular party was, by making an example of this reſpectable perſon in ſo ſtrong a caſe where the authority of the Senate, and the commands of the moſt popular Conſul, where even the preſcription of ſo old a date ſhould have repelled every danger, effectually, for the future, to deter every perſon from acting in ſupport of the Senate, or from oppoſing force to the deſigns of factious Tribunes, however turbulent or dangerous.

The Senate, and all the friends of government, were greatly alarmed, and united in defence of Rabirius. The popular party, as already deſcribed, the ambitious, the profligate, the bankrupt, who were earneſt to weaken the hands of government, and in haſte to bring on ſcenes of confuſion and trouble, took the oppoſite ſide.

The proſecutor laid his charge for treaſon of the moſt heinous kind, and deſtined the accuſed to die on the croſs, the ordinary manner of executing the ſentence of death on ſlaves. "The execu-
"tioner ſtalks in the Forum," ſaid Cicero, "and the croſs is erected
"for a Roman citizen in the field of Mars." The accuſation was firſt brought before the Prætor, who poſſeſſed the ordinary juriſdiction in ſuch caſes. This magiſtrate empannelled two judges, who were to determine in this mighty cauſe. Theſe were Caius Julius and Lucius Cæſar. At this court the defendant was condemned; and with appearances of animoſity, on the part of Caius Cæſar, that greatly encreaſed the alarm. This riſing citizen had always courted the populace, and was ſtrongly ſupported by them. That he ſhould aim at honours and power, it was ſaid, is common; but that he wiſhed to provide

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provide impunity for the disturbers of the commonwealth, was alarming. The crime of Rabirius, even if he could be convicted of it, had been committed the year before Cæsar was born. In the person of the accused every circumstance, even on the supposition of a true charge, pleaded for compassion, and even for respect: the fact, at the same time, was denied, and a positive evidence was brought, that another had received a reward for killing Saturninus: but the policy of the faction required this victim; and the sentence must have been executed, if the condemned had not fled, by appeal, to the judgment of the People, where indeed his cause might be reckoned more desperate than if it had been before a select court. The parties attended this trial with great ardour. Hortensius conducted the appeal and defence. Cicero pleaded in behalf of justice and government; painted the age, the infirmities, the forlorn state of the defendant, who had survived his relations and his friends. He pointed out the danger to government and to order from this precedent, in terms that must have melted every heart, not callous from ambition, faction, or profligacy of manners: but in vain. Even in the assembly of the Centuries, the majority was hastening to affirm the sentence, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, then Prætor, and one of the Augurs, hastened to the Janiculum, and tore down the ensign which was planted there as a sign of peace. A silly piece of superstition stopt the proceedings of those whom neither justice nor compassion, nor regard to government, could restrain.

It was established, as has been formerly noticed [18], that the assembly of the Centuries could not proceed without this signal in view. In the first ages of Rome, the enemy were always at the gate. While the People were assembled in the field on one side of the city, they were in danger of being assailed on the other. When they assembled,

[18] See book i. c. 1.

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therefore, in the field of Mars, a guard was always poſted on the Janiculum, and an enſign diſplayed. If any enemy appeared, the enſign was taken down, the aſſembly diſmiſſed, and the People took to their arms. This ceremony, like many other cuſtoms both of ſuperſtition and law, remained after the occaſion had ceaſed; and it was held illegal or impious in the People to proceed in any affair without the enſign in view. By this means the trial was put off, and the proſecutors, deſpairing of being able to work up the People again into an equal degree of violence, dropt the proſecution. The cauſe ſtill remained undecided, and the power of the Senate, to defend its own authority, continued in a ſtate of ſuſpence.

The Tribune Labienus laid aſide thoughts of renewing the proſecution, in order to purſue the object of ſome other popular acts; one in particular, to repeal the almoſt only remaining ordinance of Sylla; that which related to the election of prieſts. The right of election was again taken from the college, and, according to the law of Domitius, given to ſeventeen of the Tribes that were to be drawn by lot. This change was intended to open the way of Caius Julius Cæſar into that office; and he was accordingly promoted to it in the following year.

Others of the Tribunes likewiſe endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves by acts of turbulence and ſedition. Metellus Nepos endeavoured to repeal that clauſe of the act againſt bribery and corruption, which declared the party convicted to be diſqualified for any of the offices of State. This Tribune, though ſufficiently diſpoſed to diſorderly courſes, had many connections among the moſt reſpectable citizens, and was perſuaded, in this inſtance, to drop his deſign.

But among the ſeveral confederacies into which the popular party was divided, none was more deſperate, nor ſuppoſed more dangerous, than that of Cataline, the late diſappointed candidate for the Conſulſhip. His rival Cicero had intimation, before the elections, of a deſign formed by this deſperate faction againſt his own perſon, and

ſtill continued to obſerve them. He entered into a correſpondence with Fulvia, who had given the firſt hints of a dangerous conſpiracy; and, by means of this woman, procured the confidence of Curius, who gave him minute information of all the proceedings of the party.

In public, Cataline again profeſſed himſelf a candidate for the office of Conſul, in competition with Servius Sulpicius, P. Muræna, and J. Silanus. He boaſted of ſupport from Antonius; but Cicero, to divert his colleague from this dangerous connection, made him every conceſſion. Having, in drawing lots for the provinces of Gaul and Macedonia, drawn the latter, which was thought to be preferable, he yielded it up to Antonius; and by this, and every other means in his power, perſuaded him to value the ſecure poſſeſſion of dignities and honours, lawfully obtained, in preference to expectations formed on the projects of a few deſperate men.

In ſecret, Cataline encouraged his adherents by profeſſing to have many reſources, and to be ſupported by numbers who were ready to take arms at his command. In a numerous meeting of his party in October, a few days before the Conſular elections, he opened the whole of his deſign; and in the ſpeech which he made on that occaſion, is ſaid to have uſed expreſſions to the following purpoſe: "The "diſtreſſed can rely for relief only on thoſe who have a common "cauſe with themſelves. Whoever, in his own fortune, is at eaſe, "will not regard the miſery of others. If you would know how I "ſtand affected to the parties which now divide the commonwealth, "*rich creditors*, and *needy debtors*, recollect what every one knows, "that I have no ſafety but in the deſtruction of the one, and in "the relief of the other: that my intereſt is the ſame with yours, "and that I have courage to attempt what may be neceſſary for "your benefit."

From the ſtrain of this paſſage, the deſcription of a party to whom it was with propriety addreſſed, may be eaſily collected. Cicero, who

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who had frequently taxed Cataline with dangerous deſigns, now determined to lay the whole of his intelligence before the Senate; and for this purpoſe deferred the Conſular elections, which were to have been held on the eighteenth of October, to a future day, and aſſembled the Senate. Cataline having, with the other members, attended, and hearing the charge, did not pretend to deny or to palliate his words. "There are," he ſaid, "in this republic two parties; "one weak both in its members and head; the other ſtrong in its "members, but wanting a head: while I have the honour of be-"ing ſupported by this party, it ſhall have a head." Upon theſe words, a general cry of indignation aroſe in the Senate; but no reſolution was taken. Many, who were there preſent as members, were pleaſed to ſee the Senate itſelf inſulted; and Cataline, as if in condition to brave all his enemies, was, in all his expreſſions, equally unguarded in the ſtreets and in the Senate. To Cato, who, in the public Forum, ſome days before this meeting, had threatened him with a proſecution: "Do," he ſaid; "but if you light a flame in "my fortunes, I will extinguiſh it under the ruins of the common-"wealth [19]."

A proſecution was actually raiſed againſt him in the name of Lucius Paulus, a young man of diſtinction, for carrying arms againſt the public peace. On this occaſion, however, he thought proper to diſſemble his thoughts, and offered to commit his perſon to cuſtody till his innocence ſhould appear. "No one," he ſaid, "who knows "my rank, my pretenſions, and the intereſt I have in the preſervation "of the commonwealth, will believe, that its deſtruction is to be "apprehended from me, and that its ſafety is to come from a native "of Arpinum [20]." He offered to commit himſelf to the cuſtody of Cicero, of Metellus, or of any other magiſtrate, till this injurious

[19] Cicero Orat. pro Muræna.

[20] The town of which Cicero was native.

aſperſion were removed. To this offer the Conſul replied, That he who did not think himſelf ſafe within the ſame ramparts with Cataline, would not receive him into his houſe [21].

By one effect of the unparalleled freedom now enjoyed by Roman citizens, perſons accuſed of the moſt dangerous crimes were at liberty, during the dependence of their trial, either to proceed in perpetrating their crime, or to withdraw from juſtice. This effect was derived from the laws of Valerius and Porcius, which ſecured againſt violence, or the power of the magiſtrate, the perſon of every citizen, until he were finally condemned by the People. In ſupport of this privilege, which was ſalutary, when the abuſe of power in the magiſtrate was to be dreaded more than the licence of crimes in the ſubject, the Romans perſiſted even after vice was become too ſtrong for the laws, and when exemption from every juſt reſtraint was fatally miſtaken for liberty. The State had now been thrown, on many occaſions, into the moſt violent convulſions, becauſe there was no ordinary or regular method of preventing diſorders, or of ſuppreſſing them on their firſt appearance.

Cataline, ſoon after the elections, at which, by the preference given to Muræna and Silanus, he received a freſh diſappointment in his hopes of the Conſulſhip, ſent Mallius, or Manlius, an experienced ſoldier, who had ſerved with himſelf under Sylla, to prepare for an inſurrection in the diſtrict of Etruria. This officer, in the end of October, under pretence of giving refuge to debtors from the oppreſſion of their creditors, had actually aſſembled a conſiderable body of men [22]. Accounts at the ſame time were received, that Publius Sylla was making a large purchaſe of gladiators at Capua, and inſurrections were accordingly apprehended on the ſide of Campania and Apulia. In this ſtate of affairs continual informations being brought of

[21] Cicero in Catalinam, i. c. 8.

[22] Ibid. in Catalinam, i. c. 3.

Cataline's

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Cataline's designs, the Senate gave in charge to the Consuls to watch over the safety of the State; and these officers accordingly put chosen bodies of men under arms, and secured all the posts of consequence in the city. Metellus, the conqueror of Crete, who still remained without the walls in hopes of a triumph, was appointed to command on the side of Apulia. The Prætor Metellus Celer was sent into Cisalpine Gaul, in order to secure the peace of that province [23]; and the Consul Antonius was destined to suppress the insurrection of Mallius at Fæsulæ [24].

Cataline mean while remained in the city, and had frequent consultations for the preparation and the execution of his plot. At a meeting of the party, held in the beginning of November, in the house of M. Porcius Lecca [25], a general massacre of the principal Senators was projected. The conspirators severally chose their stations, and undertook their several parts. Two in particular, who were familiar in Cicero's house, undertook next morning, under pretence of a visit, to surprise and assassinate the Consul. But he being the same night apprised of his danger by Fulvia, gave the proper orders, and the intended murderers, upon their appearance at his door, were refused admittance. He immediately after assembled the Senate in the temple of Jupiter. Cataline presented himself with his usual presumption; and Cicero, as appears from an oration which he then delivered, instead of laying the matter in form before the Senate, accosted Cataline in a vehement invective, urging him to be gone from the city, where all his steps were minutely observed, where his meaning was understood, and precautions taken against all his designs. "I told you," said the Consul, "that your emissary Mal-
"lius would be in arms by the first of November; that you in-
"tended a massacre of the Senators about the same time. I now

[23] Cicero in Cat. i. c. 12. [24] Now Florence. [25] Cicero pro Pub. Sylla, c. 16.

"repeat

" repeat the memorable words you made uſe of when you were told,
" that many of the Senators had withdrawn from the city. You
" ſhould be ſatisfied, you ſaid, with the blood of thoſe who re-
" mained. Were you not ſurrounded, hemmed in, and beſet on
" every ſide by the guards poſted to watch you? Did your intention
" to ſurpriſe Prænesté, on the night of the firſt of November, eſcape
" me? Did you not find precautions taken that argued a knowledge
" of your deſign? There is nothing, in ſhort, that you do, that you
" prepare, that you meditate, which is not heard, which is not ſeen,
" which is not felt by me in every circumſtance. What of laſt
" night? Were you not at the houſe of Porcius Lecca? Deny it!
" I have evidence. There are here preſent perſons who were of your
" company. But where are we? What manner of government or
" republic is this? The enemies and deſtroyers of the commonwealth
" make a part in its higheſt councils! We know them, and yet they
" are ſuffered to live! But, be gone. The time of enduring you
" is paſt. The world is convinced of your guilt. Stay only till
" there is not a ſingle perſon that can pretend to doubt of it; till
" your own partizans muſt be ſilent, and till the clamour, which they
" would willingly raiſe againſt every neceſſary act of government, be
" ſuppreſſed."

This being the general tendency of the Conſul's ſpeech, fraught with ſuch alarming matter, and urged with ſo much confidence, the audience was ſeized with terror, and numbers, who happened to be on the ſame bench with Cataline, withdrew from his ſide. He himſelf aroſe, and attempted to vindicate his character, but was ſilenced with a general cry of indignation; upon which he left the Senate; and, after concerting farther meaſures with thoſe of his party, not thinking that a longer ſtay in the city could be of any uſe to his affairs, he withdrew in the night, leaving letters behind him to ſome of the Senators, in which he complained, that, by a combination of

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his enemies, he was driven into exile; and that, rather than be the occaſion of any diſturbance in the commonwealth, he was willing to retire. While theſe letters were handed about in the city, he took his way, preceded by the uſhers and enſigns of a Roman Proconſul, ſtreight for the camp of Mallius, and entered into a ſtate of open war. The features of this man's portrait are probably exaggerated by the vehement pencils and lively colourings of Cicero and of Salluſt. He is repreſented as able to endure hardſhips of any kind, and as fearleſs in any danger; as, from his youth, fond of diſcord, aſſaſſinations, and bloodſhed; as having, under pretence of Sylla's proſcription, murdered his own brother to poſſeſs his eſtate; as having murdered his own child, to remove the objection made to him by a woman who refuſed to marry him with the proſpect of being a ſtep-mother. He is repreſented as rapacious, prodigal, gloomy, impetuous, unquiet, diſſembling, and perfidious; a deſcription, of which the horrors are probably amplified: but for which it cannot be doubted there was much foundation, as he far exceeded in profligacy and deſperation all thoſe who, either in this or the former age, were, by their ambition or their vices, haſtening the ruin of the commonwealth.

Cicero always profeſſed to have particular intelligence of the progreſs of Cataline. This, according to Salluſt, he owed to Fulvia, by whoſe means he obtained a correſpondence with Curius; but he himſelf, in none of his orations, gives any intimation of the manner in which he obtained his information. It is probable that Curius inſiſted on being concealed, that he might not be expoſed to the rage of the conſpirators as an informer and a traitor. On this account the Conſul, although he was minutely appriſed of particulars, was obliged to adopt the plan he hitherto followed, to urge the conſpirators into open hoſtilities, and into a full declaration of their purpoſe. He had ſucceeded with reſpect to Cataline; but his accomplices were yet very

very numerous in the city, and were taking their meaſures to co-operate with thoſe who were in arms. CHAP. III.

In this ſtate of affairs Fabius Sanga, a Roman citizen of diſtinction, came to the Conſul, and informed him, that the ambaſſadors of the Allobroges, a people then inhabiting what is now called the territory of Geneva, and part of Savoy, whoſe patron he was, had made him privy to a very momentous affair; that, upon being diſappointed in a ſuit, on which they had been employed to the Senate, they had been carried by P. Umbrenus to Publius Cornelius Lentulus the Prætor, who condoled with them on the ſubject of the wrong they had received, aſſured them of redreſs if they would merit the favour of a party that was ſoon to have the aſcendant at Rome; and propoſed, that they ſhould immediately, upon their return to their own country, prevail on their nation to march an army, for this purpoſe, into Italy. Cicero immediately laid hold of this intelligence, as affording means to bring the plot to light, and furniſh a ſufficient evidence to convict the conſpirators. He deſired Sanga to encourage the correſpondence, to adviſe the ambaſſadors to inſiſt on proper credentials to be ſhown to their countrymen, to procure a liſt of the Roman citizens who, in caſe they ſhould riſe in rebellion againſt the Romans, were to become bound to protect them; and when they ſhould be thus provided, and about to depart, he inſtructed Sanga to bring him intimation of their motions, that they might be ſecured, with their writings, and other evidence of the facts to be aſcertained. Sanga, having inſtructed the ambaſſadors accordingly, gave notice of their motions to the Conſul. In the evening before they were to depart, Cicero ordered the Prætors, L. Flaccus and C. Pontinus, to march by different ways, and in ſmall parties, after it was dark, a ſufficient armed force to intercept the ambaſſadors of the Allobroges. The parties were ſtationed on different ſides of the river, at the bridge called Milvius, without knowing of each other,

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and without having any ſuſpicion of the purpoſe for which they were placed, farther than aroſe from their having been told, that they were to ſeize any perſon who ſhould attempt to paſs. About three o'clock in the morning the ambaſſadors entered on the bridge with a numerous retinue; and being challenged, and commanded to ſtop by the party that was placed to intercept them, they endeavoured to force their way; and ſome blood was ſhed. But on the appearance of the Prætors, with their enſigns of office, the ambaſſadors ceaſed to reſiſt. Their diſpatches were ſecured. Volturcius, a Roman citizen, who was found in their company, was taken and ſearched. Letters were found upon him, in different hands, and under different ſeals, addreſſed to Cataline. Theſe, together with the priſoners, were immediately carried back to the city.

The Conſul being appriſed of the ſucceſs which attended this part of his deſign, ſent, before any alarm could be taken by the party, meſſages to Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus, deſiring to ſee them at his own houſe. The three former came with the meſſenger; but Lentulus was newly gone to bed, and, by his delay, gave ſome cauſe to ſuſpect that he was aware of his danger. He too, however, came; and the houſe of Cicero was preſently crowded, not only with numbers of the Equeſtrian order that were in arms for the defence of his perſon, but likewiſe with many ſenators whom he deſired to be preſent. The ambaſſadors of the Allobroges, now priſoners, were likewiſe conducted thither and the letters found upon them were produced unopened. Cicero declared his intention to aſſemble the Senate without delay, in order to lay the whole matter before them. Many of the company were of opinion, that the letters ſhould be firſt opened, in order to ſee, whether they contained any matter of ſo much moment, as to require aſſembling the Senate, at a time when ſo great an alarm was likely to be taken. Cicero, however, having no doubt of the contents of the letters, and of the im-

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portance of the matter, over-ruled thoſe ſcruples, and the Senate was accordingly called. Mean time the Allobroges dropt ſome expreſſions which implied, that arms were concealed in the houſe of Cethegus. This occaſioned a ſearch being then made, and a conſiderable quantity of daggers and ſwords were accordingly found.

At the meeting of the Senate, Volturcius was firſt examined; he denied his knowledge of any treaſonable deſigns, but appeared diſconcerted; and, upon being reminded of the reward that had been offered for the diſcovery of any plot againſt the State, and of the danger to which he himſelf would be expoſed in prevaricating, he confeſſed, that the letters ſeized in his cuſtody were ſent by the Prætor Lentulus and others: that he had beſides a verbal meſſage to Cataline, informing him, that the plan was now ready for execution; that the ſtation of every perſon was aſſigned; that ſome were appointed to ſet fire to the city in different places, and ſome to maſſacre their enemies in the midſt of the confuſion that was likely to be occaſioned by the fire; and deſiring that Cataline, in order to ſupport his friends, and to profit by the diverſion they were to make in his favour within the walls, ſhould iſſue a proclamation to arm the ſlaves, and that he himſelf ſhould march directly to Rome.

The deputies of the Allobroges being next introduced, acknowledged, that they had been charged by Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Caſſius, with aſſurances of ſupport to the council of their nation, confirmed by oath, accompanied with directions, without delay, to march a body of horſe into Italy, where they ſhould be joined by a numerous infantry, and receive proper directions in what manner they ſhould farther proceed: that, to encourage them, Lentulus quoted a prophecy, found in the collection of the Sybils, by which he himſelf was pointed out as the third of the Cornelii [26] deſtined to

[26] The former two were Cinna and Sylla.

arrive

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arrive at the ſovereignty of Rome: that the conſpirators had differed about the time of executing their deſign. Lentulus was of opinion it ſhould be deferred to the holy-days in December; that Cethegus, notwithſtanding, and the others, were impatient, and deſired a nearer day.

The ſuppoſed conſpirators were next called in their turns; and the letters, with the ſeals unbroken, were exhibited before them. Cethegus, being the firſt examined, perſiſted in denying his knowledge of any conſpiracy; accounted for the arms that were found in his houſe, by ſaying, He was curious of workmanſhip of that nature, and always bought what he liked. He maintained his countenance well, till his letter was produced, and then fell into great confuſion, as the ſeal was immediately known to be his.

Lentulus next, with great confidence, denied the charge; affected not to know either Volturcius or the ambaſſadors; aſked them upon what occaſion they ever could pretend to have been admitted into his houſe? He, however, owned the ſeal affixed to the letter that was now produced againſt him. It was the head of his grandfather. But the letter being opened, was found to be unſigned, and in the following general terms: "The bearer will inform you who I am. "Fear nothing. Remember where you ſtand; and neglect no-"thing. Call in every aid, even the meaneſt." While he perſiſted in his denial, ſome one aſked him, If he had never quoted the Sybilline oracles to theſe Gauls? Confounded with this queſtion, he forgot his diſguiſe, and confeſſed.

Gabinius too was at laſt brought to own his guilt; and in this manner the conſpiracy was fully laid open. L. Julius Cæſar, the Conſul of the former year, in the preſence of Lentulus, who was married to his ſiſter, gave his opinion, that this unhappy man ſhould be immediately put to death. "This," he ſaid, "is no unprece-"dented meaſure. My grandfather, Fulvius Flaccus, was ſlain by

" order of the Conſul Gabinius. His ſon was taken into cuſtody and " put to death in priſon." In the mean time Lentulus was ordered to diveſt himſelf of the office of Prætor, and, together with his accomplices, was committed to cloſe impriſonment. This Cornelius Lentulus was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Sura. He had been Conſul about eight years before, and was afterwards, for his debaucheries, ſtruck off the rolls of the Senate. He had now again condeſcended to accept of the office of Prætor, in order to recover, in the capacity of a magiſtrate, his ſeat in the Senate.

A proclamation was iſſued to apprehend M. Cæparius, who had been ſent to raiſe an inſurrection in Apulia, together with P. Furius, Magius Chilo, and P. Umbrenus, who had firſt introduced the Gauliſh ambaſſadors to Gabinius. The Senate voted thanks to the Conſul Cicero for his great vigilance, and for the conſummate ability he had ſhewn in the diſcovery and ſuppreſſion of this treaſonable deſign; to the Prætors, for the faithful execution of the Conſul's orders; and to Antonius, his colleague, for having detached himſelf from men with whom he was known to have been formerly connected. A public thankſgiving to the gods was likewiſe decreed in honour of the Conſul, and in conſideration of this deliverance of the city from fire, of the People from maſſacre, and of Italy from devaſtation and war.

An aſſembly of the People being called, Cicero gave this account of the proceedings in a ſpeech which is ſtill extant [27], and early on the following day aſſembled the Senate to deliberate on the farther reſolutions to be taken with reſpect to the priſoners. An agent had been buſy in the night to raiſe ſome diſturbance in favour of Lentulus; but the deſign of ſetting fire to the city ſtruck the people in general with ſo much horror, that not only ſuch as were poſſeſſed of

[27] In Cat. 3.

property,

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property, but every inhabitant, trembled for his own perſon, and for the ſafety of his houſe. The avenues to the Senate, the Capitol, the Forum, all the Temples in the neighbourhood, by break of day, were crowded with armed men. The Conſul had ſummoned the equeſtrian order in arms to protect the Senate, and citizens of every rank came forth to ſtrengthen the hands of the magiſtrates.

When the Senate met, the members differed in their judgment. Junius Silanus, one of the Conſuls-elect, being called up firſt in order, declared himſelf for a ſentence of death. Tiberius Nero differed from him, and propoſed perpetual impriſonment. The majority, however, joined Silanus, until Caius Julius Cæſar ſpoke. This able advocate declared againſt the opinion of Silanus, not as too ſevere, but as contrary to law; and inſiſted on the danger of a precedent which might ſet the life of every citizen at the mercy of a vote in the Senate. Death, he ſaid, was the common deſtination of all men; what no one could avoid, and what the wiſe frequently coveted. It was not, therefore, a puniſhment; and he did not propoſe to mitigate, but to increaſe, the ſeverity of the ſentence in this caſe. He propoſed, therefore, that the eſtates of the priſoners ſhould be confiſcated; that their perſons ſhould be committed for life to the keeping of the moſt ſecure and beſt affected towns in Italy; and that it ſhould be declared treaſon for any one hereafter to move the Senate or the People for any mitigation of their puniſhment.

Cæſar might be conſidered as uttering what the popular faction were to urge, and as laying the ground upon which the proceedings of the Senate, and the conduct of each particular member, might be afterwards arraigned before the People. The terrors of the Porcian and Sempronian laws, when likely to be urged by ſo powerful an advocate, alarmed the greater part of the Senate. Silanus is ſaid to have retracted his opinion. The Conſul ſubmitted the queſtion to the judgment of the Senate, and declared his willingneſs to execute

any

any decree they ſhould form. He treated Cæſar with great reſpect, and laid hold of the ſevere terms in which he ſpoke of the conſpiracy, as a pledge of his future conduct, in caſe the proceedings of government, with reſpect to the matter now before them, ſhould hereafter be queſtioned or brought under review. " The Senate," he obſerved, " had no cauſe to dread the imputation of cruelty. It " was mercy to prevent, in the moſt effectual manner, a crime to " be perpetrated in ſo much blood. If this crime were not pre- " vented, they were to ſee that city, the reſort of nations, and the " light and ornament of empire, periſh at one blow. They were to " ſee heaps of her citizens unburied, and lying in their blood: to " ſee the fury of Cethegus let looſe in murder; to ſee Lentulus be- " come a king, Cataline commanding an army, and every where to " hear the cries of mothers, to ſee the flight of children, and the rape " of virgins.—If the father of a family," he continued, " ſhould " ſpare a ſlave who had ſhed the blood of his children, who had " murdered his wife, and ſet fire to his dwelling, how ſhould ſuch " a father be conſidered—as cruel, or as void of affection?

" He deſired them not to regard what was given out, of their not " being in condition to attempt any thing vigorous againſt theſe " men. He himſelf, as firſt magiſtrate, had not neglected the ne- " ceſſary precautions; and the general ardour with which all ranks " of men concurred in the defence of their families, their properties, " and the ſeat of empire, rendered every reſolution they could take " ſecure of the utmoſt effect. The forum is full, all the temples in " its neighbourhood are full, all the ſtreets and avenues to this place " of aſſembly are full of citizens of every denomination, armed " for the defence of their country. He requeſted that the Senate " would iſſue their orders before the ſun went down, and ſeemed to " apprehend dangerous conſequences, if theſe matters were left un-

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" determined, and the city expoſed to the accidents of the following
" night. For himſelf, he profeſſed to have taken his reſolution. Al-
" though he felt the occaſion full of perſonal danger, he would exe-
" cute the orders of the conſcript fathers," he ſaid; " but, if he fell
" in the attempt, implored their protection for his wife and his
" children [25]."

All this appears to have paſſed in debate before Cato ſpoke. This virtuous citizen, then about thirty-three years of age, had, in the former part of his life, taken a very different courſe from the youths of his own time, and, both by his temper and education, was averſe to the libertine principles which had crept into the politics and the manners of the age. He ſpoke chiefly in anſwer to Caius Cæſar, who, he obſerved, ſeemed to miſtake the queſtion. " We are not
" enquiring," he ſaid, " what is the proper puniſhment of a crime
" already committed, but how we may defend the republic from an
" imminent danger with which it is threatened. It is propoſed to
" ſend the priſoners to ſafe keeping in the country. Why into the
" country? Becauſe perhaps the faction of profligate citizens is more
" numerous in Rome, and may reſcue them. Is Rome the only
" place to which profligate men may reſort, or are priſoners of State
" moſt ſecure where the force of government is leaſt? This pro-
" poſal is ſurely an idle one, if the author of it profeſſes to en-
" tertain any fear of theſe men. But if, in this general alarm of all
" the city, he and ſuch perſons be not afraid, ſo much the more
" cauſe have we to be on our guard. We are beſet with enemies,
" both within and without the walls. While Cataline with fire and
" ſword is haſtening to your gates, you heſitate, whether you will
" cut off or ſpare his aſſociates, that are taken with the torch in their
" hands and the dagger at your breaſt! You muſt ſtrike thoſe who

[25] Cicero in Catalinam, orat. iv.

are

" are now in your power, if you mean to intimidate thoſe who are
" coming to ſupport their deſigns. The remiſſneſs or the vigour
" which you now ſhow will be felt in the camp of Cataline, and
" will be attended with ſuitable effects. I am therefore of opinion,
" that we order theſe men, agreeably to the practice which our an-
" ceſtors followed in all caſes of treaſon and of open war againſt the
" commonwealth, to immediate death."

Such is ſaid to have been the ſpeech of Cato, by which the Senate was determined in the very momentous reſolution which was taken on the preſent occaſion; and however little we may be inclined to conſider ſuch compoſitions in many parts of antient hiſtory as records of fact, much credit is due to this repreſentation, as it is given by a perſon who himſelf became a partizan of Cæſar, and as the ſpeech itſelf muſt have been offered to the peruſal of many who were preſent at the delivery of it [28]. The execution of the priſoners was accordingly determined, and Cornelius Lentulus, in the beginning of the following night, was, by order of the Conſul, committed to a vaulted dungeon under ground, and ſtrangled. His accomplices had the ſame fate; and the minds of men, though ſomewhat quieted of their fears, were nevertheleſs ſtunned with the ſcene, and beheld with amazement a Patrician of the Cornelian family, of the firſt rank in the commonwealth, who himſelf had been Conſul, ſuffering, without any formal trial, by the hands of the common executioner of juſtice [29].

While theſe things were in agitation at Rome, Cataline was endeavouring to augment his force in the field. He found about two

[28] The more credit is due to this account of Cato's ſpeech, that the ſpeech which is aſcribed to Cicero by the ſame hiſtorian, is a faithful extract from the oration which ſtill remains.

[29] Saluſt. Bell. Catal. Cur ergo in ſententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus, rem eandem comprehenderat. Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. xii, epiſt. 21.

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thouſand men under Mallius. Theſe he formed into two legions, and as his party increaſed he completed their numbers. He refuſed for ſome time to inrol the fugitive ſlaves, of whom many took refuge in his camp; thinking it would diſcredit and weaken his cauſe to reſt any part of it on this ſupport. But the freemen that joined him being ill armed, he was obliged to keep in the neighbourhood of the mountains, and frequently to change his ground, to avoid an engagement with the Conſul; and he endeavoured to gain time, in hopes that, the intended blow being ſtruck at Rome, a general defection of the oppoſite party would enſue. But when accounts came that his deſign had failed in the city, and that his principal aſſociates were no more, thoſe who were inclined to his cauſe were diſcouraged, and numbers who had already joined him began to fall off, he determined to remove to a diſtance from his enemies; and for this purpoſe directed his march to a paſs in the Apennines, by which he might eſcape into Gaul. This deſign the Prætor Metellus had foreſeen, made a forced march to prevent the effect of it, and Cataline at laſt, finding himſelf beſet on every quarter, determined to hazard a battle. Of the armies that were in the field againſt him he choſe to face that of Antonius; either becauſe it lay on his route to Rome, and, if defeated or removed, might open his way to the city, or becauſe he hoped to meet in the commander of it ſome remains of inclination in his favour. In whatever degree theſe hopes were at firſt reaſonably conceived, they ceaſed to have any foundation; as Antonius, being taken ill, had left the army under the command of Petreius. With this commander Cataline engaged in battle, and, after many efforts of valour and of conduct, fell, with the greater part of his followers, and thus delivered the State from a deſperate enemy, whoſe power was happily not equal to his deſigns, and who has owed much of his celebrity to the orator and the hiſtorian, who have made him the ſubject of their eloquent

compoſitions. Salluſt appears to have been ſo intent on raiſing and finiſhing particular parts of his work, that he neglected the general order of his narrative. I have, therefore, in moſt parts of the relation, preferred the authority of Cicero to his. This great man was undoubtedly beſt informed, and he reſted ſo much of his reputation on this tranſaction, that he loſes no opportunity of returning to it, and in different parts of his writings, when collected, has furniſhed a pretty full narration of circumſtances reſpecting the origin and termination of this wild and profligate attempt to ſubvert the government of the republic.

CHAP. IV.

Character of the Times.——Philoſophy.——Oppoſite Tenets and Vo-taries.——Proceedings of the Senate.——Tribunate of Metellus, Nepos, and of Cato.——Propoſal to recal Pompey at the head of his army fruſtrated.——His arrival in Italy——And Triumph.

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IT may appear ſtrange, that any age or nation ſhould have furniſhed the example of a project conceived in ſo much guilt, or of characters ſo atrocious as thoſe under which the accomplices of Cataline are deſcribed by the eloquent orator and hiſtorian [a], from whoſe writings the circumſtances of the late conſpiracy are collected. The ſcene, however, in this republic was ſuch as to have no parallel, either in the paſt or in the ſubſequent hiſtory of mankind. There was leſs government, and more to be governed, than has been exhibited in any other inſtance. The people of Italy were become maſters of the known world; it was impoſſible they could ever meet in a fair and adequate convention. They were repreſented by partial meetings or occaſional tumults in the city of Rome; and to take the ſenſe of the People on any ſubject was to raiſe a riot. Individuals were veſted with powers almoſt diſcretionary in the provinces, or continually aſpired to ſuch ſituations. The nominal aſſemblies of the People were often led by profligate perſons, impatient of government, in haſte to govern. Ruined in their fortunes by private prodigality, or by the public expence in ſoliciting honours; tempted to repair their ruins by oppreſſion and extortion where they were entruſted with command, or by deſperate attempts againſt the govern-

[a] Cicero in Salluſt.

ment

ment of their country if disappointed in their hopes. Not only were many of the prevailing practices disorderly, but the law itself was erroneous [2]; adopted indeed at first by a virtuous people, because it secured the persons and the rights of individuals, but now anxiously preserved by their posterity, because it gave a licence to their crimes.

The provinces were to be retained by the forces of Italy; the Italians themselves by the ascendant of the capital; and in this capital all was confusion and anarchy, except where the Senate, by its authority and the wisdom of its councils, prevailed. It was expedient for the People to restrain the abuses of the aristocratical power; but when the sovereignty was exercised in the name of the collective body of the Roman People, the anarchy and confusion that prevailed at Rome spread from one extremity of her dominion to the other. The provinces were oppressed, not upon a regular plan to aggrandize the State, but at the pleasure of individuals, to enrich a few of the most outrageous and profligate citizens. The People were often assembled to erect arbitrary powers, under the pretence of popular government. The public interests and the order of the State were in perpetual struggle with the pretensions of single and of profligate men. In such a situation there were many temptations to be wicked; and in such a situation likewise, minds that were turned to integrity and honour had a proportionate spring to their exertions and pursuits. The range of the human character was great and extensive, and men were not likely to trifle within narrow bounds; they were destined to be good or to be wicked in the highest measure, and, by their struggles, to exhibit a scene interesting and instructive beyond any other in the history of mankind.

[2] Lex Valeria & Porcia de tergo Civium lata. Liv. lib. ii. c. 8. lib. iii. c. 55. lib. x. c. 9. By these laws a Roman citizen could not be imprisoned, any more than suffer punishment, before conviction; he might stop any proceeding against him by an appeal to the People at large; and, being at liberty during trial, might withdraw whenever he perceived the sentence likely to be given against him.

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Among the cauſes that helped to carry the characters of men in this age to ſuch diſtant extremes, may be reckoned the philoſophy of the Greeks, which was lately come into faſhion, and which was much affected by the higher ranks of men in the State[3]. Literature being, by the difficulty and expence of multiplying copies of books[4], confined to perſons having wealth and power, it was conſidered as a diſtinction of rank, and was received not only as an uſeful, but as a faſhionable accompliſhment[5]. The leſſons of the ſchool were conſidered as the elements of every liberal and active profeſſion, and they were practiſed at the bar, in the field, in the Senate, and every where in the conduct of real affairs. Philoſophy was conſidered as an ornament, as well as a real foundation of ſtrength, ability, and wiſdom in the practice of life. Men of the world, inſtead of being aſhamed of their ſect, affected to employ its language on every important occaſion, and to be governed by its rules ſo much as to aſſume, in compliance with particular ſyſtems, diſtinctions of manners, and even of dreſs. They embraced their forms in philoſophy, as the ſectaries in modern times have embraced theirs in religion; and probably in the one caſe honoured their choice by the ſincerity of their faith and the regularity of their practice, much in the ſame degree as they have done in the other.

In theſe latter times of the Roman republic the ſect of Epicurus appears to have prevailed; and what Fabricius wiſhed, on hearing the tenets of this philoſophy, for the enemies of Rome, had now befallen her citizens[6]. Men were glutted with national proſperity; they thought that they were born to enjoy what their fathers had won,

[3] Vid. Cicero's Philoſophical Works.

[4] The grandees had their ſlaves ſometimes educated to ſerve as ſecretaries to themſelves, or as preceptors to their children.

[5] See Plutarch. in Pyrr. The philoſopher Cyneas, in the hearing of Fabricius, entertained his prince with an argument, to prove that pleaſure was the chief good. Fabricius wiſhed that the enemies of Rome might long entertain ſuch tenets.

and

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and ſaw not the uſe of thoſe auſtere and arduous virtues by which the State had increaſed to its preſent greatneſs. The votaries of this ſect aſcribed the formation of the world to chance, and denied the exiſtence of Providence. They reſolved the diſtinctions of right and wrong, of honour and diſhonour, into mere appellations of pleaſure and pain. Every man's pleaſure was to himſelf the ſupreme rule of eſtimation and of action. All good was private. The public was a mere impoſture, that might be ſucceſsfully employed, perhaps to defraud the ignorant of their private enjoyments, while it furniſhed the conveniences of the wiſe[6]. To perſons ſo inſtructed, the care of families and of ſtates, with whatever elſe broke in upon the enjoyments of pleaſure and eaſe, muſt appear among the follies of human life. And a ſect under theſe imputations might be conſidered as patrons of licentiouſneſs, both in morality and religion, and declared enemies to mankind. Yet the Epicureans, when urged in argument by their opponents, made ſome conceſſions in religion, and many more in morality. They admitted the exiſtence of gods, but ſuppoſed thoſe beings of too exalted a nature to have any concern in human affairs. They owned that, although the value of virtue was to be meaſured by the pleaſure it gave, yet true pleaſure was to be found in virtue alone; and that it might be enjoyed in the higheſt degree even in the midſt of bodily pain. Notwithſtanding this deciſion on the ſide of morality, the ordinary language of this ſect, repreſenting virtue as a mere prudent choice among the pleaſures to which men are variouſly addicted, ſerved to ſuppreſs the ſpecific ſentiments of conſcience and elevation of mind, and to change the reproaches of criminality, profligacy, or vileneſs, by which even bad men are reſtrained from iniquity, into mere imputations of miſtake, or variations of taſte.

[6] Cicero in Piſonem.

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Other ſects, particularly that of the Stoicks, maintained, almoſt in every particular, the reverſe of theſe tenets. They maintained the reality of Providence, and of a common intereſt of goodneſs and of juſtice, for which Providence was exerted, and in which all rational creatures were deeply concerned. They allowed, that in the nature of things there are many grounds upon which we prefer or reject the objects that preſent themſelves to us, but that the choice which we make, not the event of our efforts, decides our happineſs or our miſery; that right and wrong are the moſt important and the only grounds upon which we can at all times ſafely proceed in our choice, and that, in compariſon to this difference, every thing elſe is of no account; that a juſt man will ever act as if there was nothing good but what is right, and nothing evil but what is wrong; that the Epicureans miſtook human nature when they ſuppoſed all its principles reſolveable into appetites for pleaſure, or averſions to pain; that honour and diſhonour, excellence and defect, were conſideratons which not only led to much nobler ends, but which were of much greater power in commanding the human will; the love of pleaſure was groveling and vile, was the ſource of diſſipation and of ſloth; the love of excellence and honour was aſpiring and noble, and led to the greateſt exertions and the higheſt attainments of our nature. They maintained that there is no private good ſeparate from the public good; that the ſame qualities of the underſtanding and the heart, wiſdom, benevolence, and courage, which are good for the individual, are ſo likewiſe for the public; that theſe bleſſings every man may poſſeſs, independent of fortune or the will of other men; and that whoever does poſſeſs them has nothing to hope, and nothing to fear, and can have but one ſort of emotion, that of ſatiſfaction and joy; that his affections, and the maxims of his ſtation, as a creature of God, and as a member of ſociety, lead him to act for the good of mankind; and that for himſelf he has nothing more to

deſire, than the happineſs of acting this part. Theſe, they ſaid, were the tenets of reaſon leading to perfection, which ought to be the aim of every perſon who means to preſerve his integrity, or to conſult his happineſs, and towards which every one may advance, although no one has actually reached it.

Other ſects affected to find a middle way between theſe extremes, and attempted, in ſpeculation, to render their doctrines more plauſible; that is, more agreeable to common opinions than either; but were, in fact, of no farther moment in human life than as they approached to the one or to the other of theſe oppoſite ſyſtems.

Cæſar is ſaid to have embraced the doctrines of Epicurus; Cato thoſe of Zeno. The firſt, in compliance with faſhion, or from the bias of an original temper. The other, from the force of conviction, as well as from the predilection of a warm and ingenuous mind. When ſuch characters occur together, it is impoſſible not to ſee them in contraſt. When Saluſt writes of the proceedings of the Senate, in the caſe of the Cataline conſpiracy, he ſeems to overlook every other character, to dwell upon theſe alone. Cæſar, at the time when this hiſtorian flouriſhed, had many claims to his notice[7]; but Cato could owe it to nothing but the force of truth. He was diſtinguiſhed from his infancy by an ardent and affectionate diſpoſition. This part of his character is mentioned on occaſion of his attachment to his brother Cæpio, and the vehement ſorrow with which he was ſeized at his death. It is mentioned, on occaſion of his viſit to the dictator Sylla, when he was with difficulty reſtrained by the diſcretion of his tutor from ſome act or expreſſion of indignation againſt this real or apparent violator of public juſtice. He had from his infancy, according to Plutarch, a reſolution, a ſteadineſs, and a compoſure of mind not to be moved by flattery, nor to be ſhaken by threats. Without

[7] Salluſt attached himſelf to Cæſar, and was employed by him in the civil wars.

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fawning or inſinuation, he was the favourite of his companions, and had, by his unaffected generoſity and courage, the principal place in their confidence. Though in appearance ſtern and inflexible, he was warm in his affections, and zealous in the cauſe of innocence and juſtice. Such are the marks of an original temper, affixed by hiſtorians as the characters of his infancy and early youth. So fitted by nature, he imbibed with eaſe an opinion, that profligacy, cowardice, and malice, were the only evils to be feared; courage, integrity, and benevolence, the only good to be coveted; and that the proper care of a man on every occaſion is, not what is to happen to him, but what he himſelf is to do. With this profeſſion he became a ſtriking contraſt to many of his contemporaries; and to Cæſar in particular, not only a contraſt, but a reſolute opponent; and though he could not furniſh a ſufficient counterpoiſe, yet he afforded always much weight to be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. They were both of undaunted courage, and of great penetration; the one to diſtinguiſh what was beſt; the other to diſtinguiſh the moſt effectual means for the attainment of any end on which he was bent. It were to miſtake intirely the ſcene in which they were engaged, to judge of their abilities from the event of their different purſuits. Thoſe of Cato were by their nature a ſeries of ſtruggles with almoſt inſurmountable difficulties: thoſe of Cæſar, a conſtant endeavour to ſeize the advantages of which the vices and weakneſſes of the age, except when he was reſiſted by perſons bent on the ſame purpoſe with himſelf, gave him an eaſy poſſeſſion. Cato endeavoured to preſerve the order of civil government, however deſperate, becauſe this was the part it became him to act, and in which he choſe to live and to die. Cæſar propoſed to overturn it; becauſe he wiſhed to diſpoſe of all the wealth and honours of the State at his own pleaſure.

Cæſar, as verſatile in his genius, as Cato was ſteady and inflexible, could perſonate any character, and ſupport any cauſe; in debate

debate he could derive his arguments from any topic; from topics of pity, of which he was inſenſible; from topics of juſtice and public good, for which he had no regard. His vigour in reſiſting perſonal inſults and wrongs appeared in his early youth, when he withſtood the imperious commands of Sylla to part with his wife, the daughter of Cinna, and when he revenged the inſults offered by the pirates to himſelf; but while his temper might be ſuppoſed the moſt animated and warm, he was not involved in buſineſs by a predilection for any of the intereſts on which the State was divided. So long as the appetites of youth were ſufficient to occupy him, he ſaw every object of State, or of faction, with indifference, and took no part in public affairs. But even in this period, by his application and genius, in both of which he was eminent, he made a diſtinguiſhed progreſs in letters and eloquence. When he turned his mind to objects of ambition, the ſame perſonal vigour which appeared in his youth, became ſtill more conſpicuous; but, unfortunately, his paſſions were ill directed, and he ſeemed to conſider the authority that was exerciſed by the Senate, and the reſtraints of law on himſelf, as an inſult and a wrong.

Cæſar had attained to ſeven-and-thirty years of age before he took any part as a member of the commonwealth. He then courted the populace in preference to the Senate or better ſort of the People, and made his firſt appearance in ſupport of the profligate, againſt the order and authority of government. With perſons of deſperate fortune and abandoned manners, he early bore the character of liberality and friendſhip. They received him as a generous patron come to reſcue them from the moroſe ſeverity of thoſe who judged of public merits by the ſtandard of public virtue, and who declared againſt practices, however faſhionable, which were inconſiſtent with public ſafety. Himſelf, a perſon of the greateſt abilities, and the moſt accompliſhed talents, having an opportunity to live on terms of equality

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equality with the greateſt men that have yet appeared in the world, he choſe to ſtart up as the chief among thoſe who, being abandoned to every vice, ſaw the remains of virtue in their country with diſtaſte and averſion. When he emerged from the avocations of pleaſure, or from the ſloth which accompanies the languor of diſſipation, his ambition or deſire to counteract the eſtabliſhed government of his country, and to make himſelf maſter of the commonwealth, became extreme. To this paſſion he ſacrificed every ſentiment of friendſhip or animoſity, of honour, intereſt, reſentment, or hatred. The philoſophy which taught men to look for enjoyment indiſcriminately wherever it pleaſed them moſt, found a ready acceptance in ſuch a diſpoſition. But while he poſſibly availed himſelf of the ſpeculations of Epicurus to juſtify his choice of an object, he was not inferior to the followers of Zeno, in vigorous efforts and active exertions for the attainment of his ends. Being about ſeven years younger than Pompey, and three years older than Cato; the firſt he occaſionally employed as a prop to his ambition, but probably never ceaſed to conſider him as a rival; the other, from a fixed animoſity of oppoſite natures, and from having felt him as a continual opponent in all his deſigns, he ſincerely hated.

Cato began his military ſervice in the army that was formed againſt the gladiators, and concluded it as a legionary Tribune, under the Prætor Rubrius in Macedonia, while Pompey remained in Syria. He was about three-and-thirty years of age when he made his ſpeech relating to the accomplices of Cataline; and by the deciſive and reſolute ſpirit he had ſhown on this occaſion, came to be conſidered as a principal ſupport of the ariſtocracy, or of the authority of the Senate[f]. To this body, as uſual, every flagrant diſorder repreſſed was a victory. The diſcovery of a deſign, ſo odious as that of Cata-

[f] Plutarch. in Caton. edit. Londin. p. 238.

line,

line, covered under popular pretences, greatly weakened their antagoniſts. One of the firſt uſes they propoſed to make of their advantage, was to have Cato elected among the Tribunes of the ſubſequent year. His ſervices were likely to be wanted in oppoſition to Metellus Nepos, then arrived from the army of Pompey, with recommendations from his general to offer himſelf a candidate for the ſame office; and, as was expected, to ſtart ſome new gratification to the ambition or vanity of this inſatiable ſuitor for perſonal conſideration.

It had not yet appeared what part Pompey was to take in the diſputes that were likely to ariſe on the legality or expedience of the late meaſures; but it is not to be doubted, that he wiſhed to hold the balance of parties, and that he would come prepared for the part that was moſt likely to promote his own importance. Metellus was ſent on before him to be ſupported by his friends in the canvaſs for the office of Tribune, and with his inſtructions to take ſuch meaſures as were likely to favour the pretenſions of his general. The leading men of the Senate were now, for ſome time, aware of the intrigues of Pompey, and bore, with indignation, the perſonal ſuperiority which he affected even to the firſt and moſt reſpected of their order. They took occaſion, in the preſent criſis, to mortify him by admitting Lucullus and Metellus Creticus to the triumphs to which, by their victories in Pontus and in Crete, they were long intitled. Hitherto their claims had been over-ruled by the popular faction, either to annoy the Senatorian party, to which they were attached, or to flatter Pompey, who was ſuppoſed to be equally averſe to the honours of both. They had waited in Italy about three years, and, in the manner of thoſe who ſue for a triumph, had abſtained from entering the city, and ſtill retained the faſces or enſigns of their late command [9].

[9] Cicero in Lucullo.

Lucullus,

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Lucullus, having obtained the honour that was due to him, ſeemed to be ſatisfied with the acknowledgment of his right; and, as if merely to ſhow with what ſort of enemy he had fought, he entered the city with a few of the Armenian horſemen caſed in armour, a few of the armed chariots winged with ſcythes, and about ſixty of the officers and courtiers of Mithridates, who were his captives. He ordered the ſpoils he had gained, the arms and enſigns of war, the prows of the gallies he had taken, to be diſplayed to public view in the great circus, and concluded the ſolemnity with giving a feaſt to the People. The Senate hoped for his ſupport againſt the ambition of Pompey, and the factious deſigns of the popular leaders; but he was diſguſted, and ſcarcely ever after took any part in the affairs of State.

The triumph of Metellus Creticus did not take place till after the acceſſion of the following Conſuls, P. Junius Silanus and Lucius Muræna, after whoſe election, Cicero, before he had vacated his own office of Conſul, had occaſion to defend his intended ſucceſſor Muræna, againſt a charge of corruption brought upon the ſtatute of Calpurnius, by Servius Sulpicius, one of his late competitors, ſupported by Cato and others. The oration of Cicero on this occaſion is ſtill extant, and is a curious example of the topics, which, under popular governments, enter even into judicial pleadings. Great part of it conſiſts in a ridicule of law terms; becauſe Sulpicius, one of the proſecutors, was accuſtomed to give counſel to his friends who conſulted him in matters of law; and in a ridicule of the Stoic philoſophy, becauſe Cato, another proſecutor, was ſuppoſed to have embraced the doctrines of that ſect. Cato made no other remark on this pleading, but That the republic was provided with a merry Conſul. The argument appeared ſufficiently ſtrong on the ſide of Muræna, and he was acquitted.

At the cloſe of this trial, Cicero, about to reſign his power with the uſual aſſeveration, upon oath, That he had faithfully, and to the

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beſt of his abilities, diſcharged his truſt; he propoſed, at the ſame time, to harangue the People, but was ordered by Metellus, already elected, and acting in capacity of Tribune, to confine himſelf to the terms of his oath. He accordingly refrained from ſpeaking; but inſtead of ſwearing ſimply, That he had been faithful to his truſt, he took an oath, That he had preſerved the republic [10]. It was on this occaſion, probably, that Cato, now another of the Tribunes, in a ſpeech to the People, alluding to the ſuppreſſion of the late conſpiracy, called Cicero the Father of his Country [11]; and from this time entered upon an oppoſition to his colleague Metellus, which was not likely to drop while they continued in office.

U. C. 691. D. Junius Silanus, L. Muræna.

Soon after the acceſſion of the new magiſtrates, a ſtorm began to gather, which, though ſtill aimed at the party of the Senate, burſt at laſt in a perſonal attack upon the late Conſul, who had been the author or inſtrument of the Senate in the ſummary proceedings againſt the accomplices of Cataline. Metellus Nepos ſeems to have come from Aſia, and to have entered on the office of Tribune, with a particular deſign to bring about the introduction of Pompey with his army into Rome; and he was joined in this project by Caius Julius Cæſar [12], now in the office of Prætor, who choſe to ſupport the Tribune, as an act of hoſtility to the Senate, if not as the means of diſembaraſſing himſelf from the preſent forms of the commonwealth.

In conſequence of a plan concerted with Cæſar, the Tribune Metellus moved in the Senate, as had been uſual in the times of its higheſt authority, for leave to propoſe a decree in the aſſembly of the People recalling Pompey from Aſia at the head of his forces, in order to reſtore the conſtitution of the commonwealth, which, in the terms he afterwards employed to the People, had been violated by the arbitrary adminiſtration of Cicero. This was the firſt attempt of the

[10] Plutarch. in Cicerone. [11] Cicer. in Piſonem. c. 3. [12] Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 16.

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party to inflame the minds of the People on the ſubject of the late executions; and Pompey was, in this manner, offered to the popular party as their leader to avenge the ſuppoſed wrongs they had received. Cato, when the matter was propoſed in the Senate, endeavoured to perſuade Metellus to drop it, reminded him of the dignity of his family, which had been always a principal ornament and ſupport of the State. This treatment ſerved only to raiſe the preſumption of Metellus, and brought on a violent altercation between the Tribunes. The Senate applauded Cato, but had not authority enough to prevent the motion which was propoſed from being made to the People.

Metellus, apprehending an obſtinate reſiſtance from his colleague, endeavoured to fill the place of aſſembly with his own partizans; and, on the evening before the meeting, in order to intimidate his opponents, paraded in the ſtreets with a numerous attendance of men in arms. The friends and relations of the other Tribunes earneſtly beſeeched them not to expoſe themſelves to the danger with which they were threatened. But, on the following day, the other party being already aſſembled by Metellus, at the temple of Caſtor, and the place having been in the night occupied by perſons under his direction, armed with ſticks, ſwords, and other offenſive weapons [13], Cato went forth attended only by Minucius Thermus, another of the Tribunes, and a few friends. They were joined by numbers in the ſtreets, who could not accompany them to their place, being prevented by the multitude of armed men that already crowded the avenues and the ſteps of the temple. But they themſelves, from reſpect to their office, being ſuffered to paſs, dragged along with them through the crowd, as an aid, in caſe any violence were offered, Munatius, a citizen much attached to

[13] Plutarch. in Catone, edit. Londin. p. 241, &c.

Cato. When they came to the bench of Tribunes, they found that Metellus, with the Prætor Julius Cæſar, had taken their places there; and that, in order to concert their operations in the conduct of this affair, they were cloſely ſeated together. Cato, to diſappoint this intention, forced himſelf in betwixt them, and, when the ordinary officer began to read the intended decree, interpoſed his negative, and forbade him to proceed. Metellus himſelf ſeized the writing, and began to read; but Cato ſnatched it out of his hands. Metellus endeavoured to repeat the ſubſtance of it from his memory. Thermus clapt his hand to his mouth. A general ſilence remained in the aſſembly, till Metellus, having made a ſignal for his party to clear the comitium of their enemies, a great tumult and confuſion aroſe; and the Tribunes who oppoſed Metellus were in imminent danger. The Senators had met in mourning, to mark their ſenſe of the evils which threatened the commonwealth; and now, under the apprehenſion of ſome ſignal calamity, gave a charge to the Conſuls to watch over the ſafety of the State, and impowered them to take ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to preſerve or to reſtore the public peace [14].

In conſequence of this charge, the Conſul Muræna appeared with a body of men in arms, had the good fortune to reſcue Cato and Minucius Thermus; and probably by this ſeaſonable interpoſition effaced any remains of miſunderſtanding which might have ſubſiſted between Cato and himſelf, on account of the proſecution for bribery which followed the late elections [15].

Metellus, after the tumult was compoſed, having again obtained ſilence, began to read the propoſed decree; but the Senatorian party, headed by the Conſuls, being then in the comitium, he found it impoſſible to proceed; and, together with the Prætor Caius Julius

[14] Plutarch. in Catone, edit. Londin. p. 241, &c.

[15] Plutarch. ibid.

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Cæſar, retired from the aſſembly. From this time, theſe officers made no attempt to reſume their motion, but complained that the government was uſurped by a violent faction, under whom even the perſons of the Tribunes were unſafe; and Metellus, as if forced to break through the rules which obliged the Tribunes to conſtant reſidence at Rome, abandoned the city, even left Italy, and fled to the camp of Pompey in Aſia, from which he was lately arrived [16]. He had already threatened his opponents at Rome with the reſentment and military power of his general, and now endeavoured to excite the army and their commander to follow the example which had been ſet to them by Sylla and his legions, when oppreſſed citizens, a deſcription in which he now comprehended himſelf, fled to them for protection and revenge.

It may well be ſuppoſed, that Cæſar, remembering his own eſcape from the ruin of the Marian faction, and conſidering Pompey as the head of an oppoſite intereſt, and a principal obſtacle to his own ambition, muſt look upon him with ſome degree of perſonal diſlike and animoſity; but his conduct on this occaſion ſufficiently ſhowed how little he was the dupe of any paſſion or ſentiment which had a tendency to check his purſuits. Meaning for the preſent only to weaken the Senate, and to ſtep in before them in the favour of Pompey; he undertook the cauſe even of a rival, and would have joined the populace, in delivering the commonwealth into his hands, rather than remain under a government which he hated. But if he really meant to overthrow the Senate by force, he miſtook his inſtrument. Pompey, no doubt, aſpired to the ſovereignty of the empire, and wiſhed to reign in the city with a military power; but even this he deſired to receive as the fruit of conſideration and perſonal reſpect, and he ever hoped to make the People beſtow it, and even force him to accept

[16] Dio Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 43.

of

of it as their gift. For this purpoſe he encouraged ſo many agents and retainers to ſound his praiſe; and for this purpoſe he had recently ſent Metellus Nepos from his camp to take upon him the functions of a popular Tribune; but having failed of his object, he by no means could think of extorting it by force. No one ever courted diſtinction with a more inceſſant emulation to his rivals; but he was intirely dependent on the public opinion for any ſatisfaction he enjoyed in the poſſeſſion of power. Truſting to this laſt part of his character, Cæſar, though himſelf of unbounded ambition, was not yet alarmed at the elevation of Pompey, and thought that he was ſafe even in offering him the dominion of the State. Pompey was, at this conjuncture, with his army moving towards Italy, and his coming was matter of great ſolicitude to the friends of the commonwealth, who feared that, in return to the affront of his not being invited to come with his army, upon the motion of Metellus, he would employ it in perſon to enforce his commands. Upon his arrival at Brundiſium, however, as formerly upon his return from Africa, he diſpelled thoſe fears by an immediate diſmiſſion of the troops, with inſtructions, merely that they would attend at his triumph. He himſelf came forward to Rome with the ſingle equipage of his Proconſular rank. Multitudes of every condition went forth to receive him, and with ſhouts and acclamations recompenſed the moderation with which he acquieſced in the condition of a citizen.

Cæſar, from whatever motive he acted in regard to Pompey, gave every other ſign of diſaffection to the Senate, and employed the name of this riſing favourite of the People, to mortify ſuch of the members in particular as were objects of perſonal animoſity to himſelf. The repairs or rebuilding of the Capitol being finiſhed about this time, the honour of dedicating the edifice, and of being named in the inſcription it was to bear, had, by a reſolution of the Senate,

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been conferred on Catulus, under whoſe inſpection the work was executed. But Cæſar, affecting to procure this honour for Pompey, alleged that Catulus had embezzled the money allotted for this ſervice; that much yet remained to be done; and moved, that the inſcription of Catulus ſhould be eraſed; that the completion of the work being left to Pompey, ſhould carry an inſcription with his name [17]. Here he probably acted as much from antipathy to one, as from an intention to flatter the other. But the deſign being extremely odious to the whole body of the Nobles, who ſaw, with indignation, in that propoſal an attempt to affront a moſt reſpectable citizen, in order to flatter the vanity of one perſon, and to gratify the profligate reſentments of another, Cæſar was obliged to withdraw his motion [18].

It was probably during this year in which Cæſar was Prætor, and before the arrival of Pompey from Aſia (although hiſtorians refer it to an earlier date), that Cæſar promoted, as has been already mentioned, proſecutions upon a charge of aſſaſſination againſt ſome perſons concerned in the execution of Sylla's proſcriptions. The Prætors were appointed by lot to carry particular laws into execution. The law reſpecting aſſaſſination appears to have been the lot of Cæſar; and he was intitled in virtue of his office, the juriſdiction of which was ſtill very arbitrary, to extend, by his edict or plan of proceeding for the year, the deſcription of the crime under his cognizance to any ſpecial caſe.

While he ſeemed to have formed ſo many deſigns againſt the peace of the commonwealth, and in the capacity of Prætor ſupported them with the authority of a magiſtrate, the Senatorian party made a powerful exertion of their influence to have him ſuſpended, and actually obtained a decree for this purpoſe. He affected at firſt to ſlight their authority; but finding that a power was preparing to enforce it, perhaps at the hazard of his life, he laid aſide for ſome time

[17] Sueton. in Jul. Cæſare, c. 15.

[18] Dio Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 44.

the

the robes and badges of magiſtracy, diſmiſſed his lictors, and abſtained from the functions of Prætor, until, having rejected an offer of the People to reſtore him by force, he was, with proper marks of regard, for this inſtance of moderation, reinſtated by an act of the Senate [19].

The ariſtocratical party, at the ſame time, to confirm and perpetuate the evidence on which they proceeded againſt the accomplices of Cataline, continued their proſecutions on this ſubject, and obtained ſentence of condemnation, in particular, againſt a citizen of the name of Vergunteius, and againſt Autronius, who, about two years before, having been elected Conſul, was ſet aſide upon a charge of bribery; and who, from the diſguſt which he took to the Senate upon that occaſion, had connected himſelf with the more deſperate party. Publius Sylla, in the ſame predicament with Autronius, was tried; but, being defended by Cicero, in an eloquent harangue which is ſtill extant, was acquitted.

Cæſar likewiſe was accuſed by Vectius as acceſſary to the conſpiracy of Cataline; but it is not likely that he was concerned farther than by the general encouragement he gave to every party at variance with the Senate. Oppoſition to this body was called the intereſt of the People, and was adopted by every perſon who had any paſſions to gratify by crimes of State, or who wiſhed to weaken the government, to which they themſelves were accountable. Among the ſupporters of this intereſt, Craſſus alſo was accuſed, but probably on no better grounds than Cæſar.

The whole of theſe proceedings, however, were ſuſpended by the approach of Pompey. This leader had now drawn the attention of all men upon himſelf, was quoted in every harangue as the great ſupport of the empire, and courted by multitudes, who, without in-

[19] Sueton. in Jul. Cæſare, c. 16.

quiry,

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quiry, affected to be classed with his admirers and friends. The contagion spread like a fashion among the vulgar of every description. He himself affected indifference to this mighty tide of renown, though not without much dignity and state, which he tempered with affability, employing the greatness he possessed to give the more value to his condescensions. His manner, though acceptable to the People and the army, was disagreeable to the Senate. Having previously sent Piso, one of his lieutenants, before him to stand for the Consulate, he had the presumption to desire that the Senate would defer the elections until he himself could be present to canvass for his friend. The Senate, according to Dio, complied with his desire; but, according to Plutarch, rejected the proposal with disdain. This author imputes the resolution, which they took upon this occasion, to Cato, and subjoins, that Pompey endeavoured to gain this opponent by a proposed marriage with one of his near relations; and that Cato declined the connexion, saying, That he should not be caught in a female snare. Piso, however, was elected together with Valerius Messala, and entered on his office before the triumph of Pompey.

U. C. 692. M. Pub. Piso Calpurnius, M. Val. Messala Niger.

This solemnity followed soon after; and, though continued for two days, could not make place for all the magnificent shews that had been provided for it. The list of conquests exceeded that which had ever been produced at any other triumph. Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Medea, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Judæa, Arabia, Scythia, Crete[20], with the sea in all its coasts. Among the people or potentates subdued, were the Basterni, Mithridates, and Tigranes. Among the captures, a thousand fortresses, nine hundred cities reduced, eight hundred galleys taken, above two millions of men

[20] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 26.

in

in captivity. Towns repeopled, not leſs than three hundred and ninety-nine. To this pompous liſt, it was ſubjoined by his friends, that, this being his third triumph, he had been round the known world, and had triumphed over all the three parts of the earth, Africa, Europe, and Aſia.

After rewarding the ſoldiers, of whom none received leſs than fifteen hundred denarii [21], he carried to the treaſury twenty thouſand talents [22]. He led, among his principal captives, beſides the chief pirates, Tigranes, ſon to the king of Armenia, with his wife and his daughter,—Zozimé, the queen of Tigranes,—the father Ariſtobulus, king of the Jews,—a ſiſter of Mithridates with five ſons, and ſome Scythian women;—the hoſtages of the Iberii, and the Commageni, together with trophies for every battle he had fought, making in all a more ſplendid exhibition than any that was to be found on the records of the State.

The triumphal proceſſions of Pompey merit more attention than thoſe of any other perſon, becauſe they contained a public evidence of his character. Others took the benefit of an eſtabliſhed practice to publiſh and to ratify the honours they had acquired; but Pompey, it is likely, would have invented the triumph, even if it had not been formerly thought of; and it is not to be doubted, that he over-ran ſome provinces in which the enemy were ſubdued, or in which they were ſo weak, as not to be able to make any reſiſtance, merely to place them in the liſt of his conqueſts; and that he made ſome part of his progreſs in Aſia to collect curioſities and ornaments for this pompous ſcene.

The triumph, in its ordinary form, contained only ſuch exhibitions as had a reference to the ſervice in which it was obtained; the captives and ſpoils of the enemy, with effigies and repreſent-

[21] About 50 l.

[22] About 3,860,000 l.

BOOK III.

ations where the originals, by any accident, could not be diſplayed. But in theſe ſolemnities, executed for the honour of Pompey, were admitted whatever could diſtinguiſh or ſignalize the occaſion. Among theſe, according to the record tranſcribed by Pliny [23], there were many coſtly ornaments of gold and of precious ſtones, which were fabricated on purpoſe to be ſhown. Tables or plates, uſed for ſome ſpecies of play, made of one intire chryſtal; a repreſentation of the moon in gold, weighing thirty pondo; tables, utenſils, ſtatues, crowns, models of different ſorts in gold and precious ſtones, with the repreſentation of a mountain in gold, having lions, deer, and other animals upon it: and what ſerves as an evidence that theſe exhibitions were not limited to the ſpoils actually taken in war, there is mentioned an image of Pompey himſelf incruſted with pearls. The whole conducted with more arrangement and order, than were neceſſary, perhaps, in the diſpoſition of any of the battles which the triumph was intended to celebrate.

Among the images, repreſentations, and memorials which were carried before the victor on this occaſion, there was held up to view a ſtate of the public revenue, from which it appeared, that, before Pompey's time it amounted to no more than fifty millions [24]; and that the addition which he alone brought to it amounted to eighty-five millions [25].

Soon after this pomp was over, an aſſembly of the People was called in the Circus Flaminius to receive the addreſs of this victorious general; but, from an extreme caution not to offend any party, the ſpeech which he made, upon this occaſion, was acceptable to none. "It gave no hopes," ſays Cicero [26], "to the poor;

[23] Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvii. c. 2.
[24] 416,666 l.
[25] 708,333 l. Plutarch. in Pompeio, edit. Lond. p. 470.
[26] Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 14.

"no

"no flattery to the rich; no ſatisfaction to the good; no encou-
"ragement to the profligate." Pompey was ſuffered to poſſeſs the higheſt place in the conſideration of the public, merely becauſe he aſſumed it; and he preſerved his dignity, by never committing his reputation without being prepared, and having concerted a variety of arts by which it might be ſupported.

CHAP. V.

Tranſactions at Rome, and in the Provinces.——Julius Cæſar appointed in the Quality of Proprætor to his firſt Province of Luſitania.——Trial of Clodius.——Propoſed Adoption into a Plebeian Family to qualify him for the Office of Tribune.——Cæſar, a Candidate for the Conſulſhip.——The Triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus.——Conſulſhip of Cæſar.——Motion of Vatinius, to confer on Cæſar, for five Years, the Command in Gaul.——Marriage of Pompey to Julia.——Of Cæſar to Calpurnia.——Plot of Vettius.——Conſulate of Lucius Calpurnius and A. Gabinius.——Attack made upon Cicero.——His Exile.

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POMPEY, at his departure from Syria, left that province with two legions under the command of M. Æmilius Scaurus, one of his lieutenants. This officer occupied the country from the Euphrates to the frontier of Egypt, and continued the war which his predeceſſor had begun with the Arabs.

Caius Antonius, the late colleague of Cicero in the Conſulate, ſoon after the defeat of Cataline, proceeded to the province of Macedonia, of which, by the arrangements of the year, he had been appointed governor. He entered his province with the enſigns of victory, which had been obtained by the defeat of Cataline; but theſe he ſoon forfeited by his miſconduct in a war againſt the Thracians, and by the diſgrace which he otherwiſe incurred for the mal-adminiſtration of his province. Complaints were exhibited againſt him for extortion. On this occaſion it had been reported by himſelf, or by ſome of his family, that, having agreed to divide the profits of his government with Cicero, part only was exacted on his own account.

This allegation, Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, mentions with indignation; and, being aſked to undertake his defence, queſtions whether he can decently do ſo under this imputation [1]. But as he ſoon afterwards undertook the cauſe of Antony, and employed his intereſt to have him continued in his command, it is probable that this imputation either gained no credit, or was entirely removed [2].

The Allobroges, though deprived of the ſupport they were made to expect from the party of Cataline, nevertheleſs took arms, and invaded the Roman province of Gaul. After a variety of events, they were repulſed by Pontinius, who then commanded the Roman forces in that quarter, and forced to retire into their own country [3].

About the ſame time, Caius Julius Cæſar, upon the expiration of his term in the office of Prætor, obtained his firſt military command; being appointed by lot to the government of Luſitania, where, under different pretences, he found an opportunity to quarrel with the natives, to ſhew his capacity for war, and to lay ſome ground for his claim to a triumph [4]. In puſhing his way to the preferments which he now held in the State, he had ruined his fortune by largeſſes, public ſhews, and entertainments to the People, by his laviſh bounty in private to needy and profligate citizens, and in ſupporting every deſperate cauſe againſt the Senate and the government; and is reported to have ſaid of himſelf, that he needed one hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to be worth nothing [5]. When about to depart from the city, he was preſſed by his creditors, and had recourſe to Craſſus, who became his ſurety for great ſums [6].

[1] Vid. Cicero at Atticum, lib. i. ep. 12.
[2] Ad Familiar. lib. v. ep. 5.
[3] Dio, lib. xxxvii.
[4] Dio, c. 52, &c.
[5] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. p. 715.
[6] Ibid. About 160,000 l. Plutarch. in Cæſare.

A perſon,

BOOK III.

A perſon, who, in any other ſtate than that of Rome, could ſuppoſe ſuch a fortune reparable, muſt have thought of means alarming to the State itſelf; but Cæſar had now quitted the paths of pleaſure for thoſe of ambition; and, in an empire which extended over ſo many opulent provinces, could eaſily proportion his wealth to the extent of his power. Although the province into which he was then ſent was none of the richeſt, and was only a ſtep to ſomewhat farther, more conſiderable, and more likely to ſupply him with the means of purſuing the objects of his ambition, he was nevertheleſs reported to have ſupplied his own wants, and to have enriched his army [7].

In paſſing the Alps, on his way into Spain, at a village on the way, one of his company obſerved, that "*Here too there were pro-*"*bably parties and conteſts for power.*" "Ay," ſaid Cæſar, "and "I would rather be the firſt man in this place than the ſecond at "Rome [8]." Upon his arrival in Luſitania, he made the neceſſary augmentation of the army, and ſoon over-ran all the diſtricts that were diſpoſed to reſiſt his authority. With the ſame ability with which he conducted his military operations, he ſupported the dignity of a Roman governor, no leſs in the civil than in the military department. Hiſtorians, upon an idea which occurred to them, that the diſorder in his own affairs might have rendered him partial to inſolvent debtors, are at pains to acquit him of any ſuch charge, and obſerve that he gave proofs of the contrary, and for the moſt part ordered two thirds of the debtor's effects to be ſequeſtered for the uſe of his creditors [9].

While theſe things paſſed in the provinces, the city was occupied with ordinary affairs, and ſuffered an increaſe of the political diſ-

[7] Plutarch. in Cæſare, edit. Lond. p. 111. [8] Ibid. [9] Ibid. p. 112.

tempers

tempers with which the public had been for ſome time infected. The expence and diſſipation attending the public ſhews, in particular, were augmented to a great degree. Lucius Domitius Aheńobarbus exhibited the baiting of an hundred bears by African huntſmen [10]; and whereas ſuch entertainments had formerly ended at one meeting, they were now continued through many acts [11], and were intermitted only while the People retired to their meals.

The office of Cenſor, as appears from the tranſactions which are mentioned relating to the farms of the revenue and the rolls of the Senate, was in being at this time, although the names of the perſons by whom it was exerciſed are not recorded. The Cenſors are ſaid to have let the revenues of Aſia at a rate, of which the farmers afterwards complained, alleging, that their own avidity in graſping at the profits to be made in this new province had miſled them [12]. They likewiſe put upon the rolls of the Senate all who had ever held any office of magiſtracy, and by this addition increaſed the number of members beyond the former and ordinary rate [13].

About the ſame time happened the memorable trial of Publius Clodius, for the ſcandal he had given by profaning the ſacred rites in Cæſar's houſe. This debauchee was ſuppoſed, for ſome time, to have ſought for an opportunity of a criminal correſpondence with Pompeia, Cæſar's wife; but to have been prevented, if not by her own diſcretion, at leaſt by the attention and vigilance of her family [14]. In theſe circumſtances, in the preceding year, it fell to the lot of Pompeia, as being wife to one of the Prætors in office, to celebrate, at her houſe, the feſtival of a certain female deity [15] worſhipped by the Romans; and at whoſe rites women alone were admitted. Every male domeſtic, even the huſband, was obliged to abſent himſelf from

[10] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. viii. c. 36.
[11] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 47.
[12] Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 17.
[13] Dio. lib. xxxvii. c. 46.
[14] Plutarch. in Cæſare, edit. Lond. p. 109.
[15] Called the Bona & Dea.

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home while the rites were adminiſtered. Clodius took this opportunity to carry on his intrigue; he put himſelf in a female dreſs, and, being young and of an effeminate aſpect, expected to paſs for a woman [15]. Pompeia was ſuppoſed to be appriſed of the deſign, and to have ſtationed a female ſlave to receive and conduct her paramour through the apartments. Being met, however, by another ſlave who was not in the ſecret, his voice betrayed him. A cry of amazement and horror was immediately raiſed, communicated through all the apartments, and the occaſion of it diſcovered to the matrons, who were met to celebrate the rites. Clodius eſcaped, but not without being known. The college of Pontiffs made a report, that the ſacred rites had been profaned. The Senate reſolved, that inquiry ſhould be made into the grounds of the ſcandal; and that the People ſhould be moved to authoriſe the Prætor to ſelect, without drawing lots, proper judges for the trial of the accuſed.

Clodius, by the ſuſpicion of an inceſtuous commerce with his own ſiſter, the wife of Lucullus; by his perfidy in ſeducing the troops of that general to mutiny, and by his profligacy on every occaſion, had incurred a general deteſtation; and many of the Senators combined, as the likelieſt way of removing him from the commonwealth, in urging the proſecution againſt him.

He himſelf, foreſeeing this ſtorm, had taken refuge in the popular party, and endeavoured to ſilence the voice of infamy, by profeſſing extraordinary zeal for the People, and vehement oppoſition to the Senate. Theſe parties accordingly became intereſted in the iſſue of his cauſe. The popular leaders endeavoured to preſerve him as an uſeful inſtrument, and the Senate to remove him as a vile and dangerous tool from the hands of their enemies. Even Cæſar, though perſonally inſulted, and ſo far moved by the ſcandal which had been

[15] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 12, 13.

given

given in his own houſe as to part with his wife, ſtill affected to conſider as groundleſs the charge that was brought againſt the accuſed; and being aſked, why he had parted with a woman who, upon this ſuppoſition, muſt appear to be innocent, ſaid, that his wife muſt not only be innocent, but above imputation. Pompey, to avoid giving offence, declined to favour either party; but being called upon in the aſſembly of the People to declare his opinion, whether this trial ſhould proceed according to the decree of the Senate; made a long ſpeech, full of reſpect to the Nobles, and of ſubmiſſion to the Senate, whoſe authority, in all queſtions of this ſort, he ſaid, ſhould ever with him have the greateſt weight. He afterwards, in the Senate itſelf, being called upon by Meſſala the Conſul, delivered himſelf to the ſame purpoſe; and when he had done, whiſpered Cicero, who ſat by him, that he thought he had now ſufficiently explained himſelf; intimating probably, that he meant to comprehend, in this declaration, his judgment with reſpect to all the acts of the Senate which had paſſed relating to the accomplices of Cataline [16].

CHAP. V.

The Conſul Piſo was inſtructed to carry to the People, for their aſſent, an act for the better conduct of the trial of Clodius, diſpenſing with the uſual mode of draughting judges by lot, and authoriſing the Prætor to ſelect them, that he might name the more reſpectable perſons. On the day on which this motion was to be made, a numerous party of young Nobility appeared for the defendant. His hirelings and retainers crowded the Comitium. Even Piſo, who moved the queſtion, diſſuaded the People from paſſing the law, and allowed the friends of Clodius to put a ridiculous trick on the aſſembly, by diſtributing to the People, as they came forward to vote, two ballots, which, inſtead of being, as uſual, one negative and the other affirmative, were both negative. This trick being obſerved, Cato ſuſ-

[16] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epiſt. 13, 14. 16.

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pended the ballot, and ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the proceeding of the Conſul [17]. He was ſupported by Hortenſius and Favonius. The aſſembly broke up, and the affair again returned to the Senate. The members were importuned by Clodius, who caſt himſelf at their feet as they entered; they, nevertheleſs, confirmed their former reſolution by a majority of four hundred to fifteen [18].

Hortenſius, however, having propoſed that, inſtead of the motion which the Conſuls had been inſtructed to make for the ſelection of the judges, the Tribune Fufius ſhould move the People to grant commiſſion for the trial, leaving the judges, as uſual, to be drawn by lot; an edict was framed and paſſed to this effect. Hortenſius, who conducted the trial, was confident that no jury could acquit the accuſed. The court accordingly, in all their proceedings, ſeemed at firſt inclined to ſeverity. They even applied for a guard to protect their perſons againſt the partizans of the criminal; but the majority, nevertheleſs, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted, and took money in the courſe of the trial. Of fifty-ſix judges that were incloſed, twenty-five gave their voice to condemn, and thirty-one to acquit. Catulus, on this occaſion, aſked the majority to what purpoſe they had deſired a guard? "Was it," he ſaid, "to ſecure the money "you expected to receive for your votes [19]?"

Soon after this judgment the Senate reſolved that enquiry ſhould be made concerning thoſe judges who had been corrupted in the trial. And by this reſolution gave a general offence to the equeſtrian order, who conſidered it as an imputation on their whole body [20].

Pompey, in the courſe of this tranſaction, had been obliged to declare himſelf for the Senate; but his object was to be on good

[17] Cicer. ad Att. lib. i. epiſt. 13, 14. 16.

[18] Ibid. ep. 14.

[19] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 46. Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 16.

[20] Ibid. ep. 17.

terms with all parties, and to manage his intereſt, by having ſome of his creatures always choſen into the higheſt offices of State. He offered, as candidate for the Conſulate of the following year, Afranius, one of his dependants, who is repreſented by Cicero as a perſon of mean character, and who, having no perſonal dignity, nor any credit with the People, was to be ſupported in his canvaſs by money alone. Pompey himſelf, and the Conſul Piſo, openly employed bribery in obtaining votes in his favour [18].

A variety of reſolutions were obtained in the Senate to reſtrain theſe practices. Two of them were propoſed by Cato and Domitius. The firſt was levelled againſt the Conſul Piſo, and gave permiſſion, on the ſuſpicion of illicit practices reſpecting elections, to viſit the houſe even of a magiſtrate. By the other it was declared, that all thoſe who were found diſtributing money to the People ſhould be conſidered as enemies to their country [19].

The Senate, at the ſame time, encouraged Ltrco, one of the Tribunes, to propoſe a new clauſe to corroborate the laws againſt bribery. By this clauſe promiſes of money made to the People, if not performed, did not infer guilt; but, if performed, ſubjected the guilty perſon from thenceforward to pay to each of the Tribes an annual tax of three thouſand Roman money, or about twenty-four pounds ſterling; and there being thirty-five Tribes, this tax amounted in all to about eight hundred and forty pounds of our money. That the Tribune might not be interrupted in carrying this law, the Senate farther reſolved, that the formalities or reſtrictions of the Lex Ælia and Fufia [20] ſhould not be oppoſed to him [21]. It appears, however, that the liberality of Pompey prevailed againſt theſe precautions, as Afranius was elected, together with Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.

[18] Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 16.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Theſe were formalities and reſtrictions provided to check the precipitate paſſing of laws.

[21] Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 16.

BOOK III.

Soon after the election of theſe officers the farmers of the revenue of Aſia, ſupported by the whole equeſtrian order, complained, as has been mentioned, of the terms of their contract, in which they alleged that they had greatly exceeded what the funds of that province could afford, and made application to the Senate for relief. Their plea was conteſted for ſome months with great animoſity on both ſides [22].

Upon the acceſſion of the new Conſuls, ſeveral other matters, tending to innovation and public diſturbance, were introduced. Metellus Nepos, late Tribune, being now in the office of Prætor, procured a law to aboliſh the cuſtoms payable at any of the ports of Italy. The Romans, as has been obſerved, upon the acceſſion of wealth derived from Macedonia, had exempted themſelves from all the antient aſſeſſments, and they now completed the exemption of all the Italians from every tax beſides that of quit-rents for public lands, and the twentieth penny on the value of ſlaves when ſold or emancipated. They were become the ſovereigns of a great empire, and as ſuch, thought themſelves intitled to receive, not obliged to pay, contributions [23].

The Tribune Herennius, at the ſame time, made a motion for an act to enable Publius Clodius to be adopted into a plebeian family, which, though an act of a more private nature than any of the former, tended ſtill more to embroil the parties of the Senate and the People. This factious and profligate perſon had entertained great reſentments againſt many of the Senators on account of the proſecution he had lately incurred, and againſt Cicero in particular, who, having been called as an evidence on his trial, gave a very unfavourable account of his character. The ſummary proceedings againſt the accomplices of Cataline, in which Cicero preſided as Conſul, expoſed

[22] Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 17, 18. lib. xxvii. c. 51.

[23] Ibid. lib. ii. ep. 16. Dio. Caſſ.

him

him to the resentment of the popular faction; and Clodius now proposed to qualify himself to be elected Tribune of the People, in order to wreck his vengeance on that magistrate in particular, as well as on the other abettors of the senatorian party. The motion, however, for the present was rejected, though not finally dropt, by Clodius himself, nor by the popular faction, whose cause he professed to espouse [24].

Two other motions were made in which Pompey was deeply interested: one, to ratify and confirm all his acts in the province of Asia: another, to procure settlements for the veterans who had served under his command. The first, as it implied a reflection on Lucullus, many of whose judgments Pompey had reversed, roused this statesman from the care of his household and his table, to that of the republic [25]. He opposed this motion with vigour, and insisted that the acts of Pompey should be separately examined, and not confirmed in a single vote. In this he was supported by Catulus, by Cato, by the Consul Metellus, and by the Senate in general. Afranius, though vested with the Consulate, and acting almost as the agent of Pompey, had neither dignity nor force to support such a measure; and Pompey, finding it rejected by the Senate, declined carrying it to the People [26].

The other proposal, relating to the provision to be made for the soldiers of Pompey, was, by L. Flavius, one of the Tribunes, moved in the assembly of the People, under the title of an Agrarian Law. In this act, to prevent the imputation of partiality to any particular description of men, certain gratuities were projected for the indigent citizens in general [27]; and, to enable the commonwealth to extend its bounty, it was proposed first of all to revoke the conveyance of certain lands, which, having belonged to the public in the Consulate

[24] Dio. Cass. lib. xxxvii c. 51.
[25] Plutarch. in Lucullo, edit. Lond. p. 197.
[26] Dio. lib. xxxvii. c. 49.
[27] Ibid. lib. 50.

of

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of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius, were ſold by the Senate; and that the price ſhould be reſtored to the purchaſers. It was propoſed likewiſe to ſeize certain lands which had been confiſcated by Sylla, but not appropriated; and to allot, during five years, the revenues of the late conqueſts in Aſia to purchaſe lands, which ſhould be diſtributed in terms of this act [28].

The Conſul Metellus Celer, ſupported by the Senate, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the paſſing of this law. The Tribune perſiſted with great obſtinacy, and, to remove the obſtruction he met with, committed the Conſul to priſon. The whole Senate would have attended him thither, and numbers accordingly crowded to the place, when the Tribune, veſted with the ſacred defences of his perſon, to bar their way, planted his ſtool or chair of office in the door of the priſon; and, having ſeated himſelf upon it, "This way," he ſaid, "you cannot paſs; "if you mean to enter, you muſt pierce through the walls [29]." He declared his reſolution to remain all night where he ſat. The parties were collecting their ſtrength, and matters were likely to end in greater extremities than ſuited the indirect and cautious conduct of Pompey. This politician, although he engaged all his friends to ſupport the motion of Flavius, affected to have no part in the meaſure, and now probably inſtructed the Tribune to remove from the doors of the priſon. Flavius accordingly withdrew of a ſudden, ſaying, he had done ſo at the requeſt of the priſoner, who begged for his liberty [30].

It is ſuppoſed that Pompey, on this occaſion, ſeverely felt the checks which his ambition received from the ſenate; that he regretted for a moment the diſmiſſion of his army, and wiſhed himſelf in condition to enforce what his craft or his artifice had not been able to obtain. The error he had committed in reſigning the ſword, if he conceived it as ſuch, might have ſtill been corrected by recovering

[28] Cicer. ad Att. lib. i. ep. 19. [29] Dio. lib. xxxvii. p. 50. [30] Ibid.

the

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the poſſeſſion of ſome conſiderable province, which would have given him the command of an army and of proper reſources to ſupport his power. He, nevertheleſs, appears to have preferred the ſcene of intrigue in the city and the capital of the empire; a choice in which he was probably confirmed by Cæſar, who profeſſed great attachment to him, and who was about this time returned from the government which he held as Proprætor in Luſitania.

This officer, according to Dio, had found ſome pretence for a war with the nations on the frontier of the Roman province; had obliged them to take refuge in ſome of the iſlands on the coaſt, and afterwards reduced them in that retreat. His object was to return to Rome with the reputation of victory, to obtain a triumph, and to offer himſelf as a canditate for the Conſulſhip of the following year. For this purpoſe he quitted his province without waiting for a ſucceſſor, and, upon his arrival at Rome, halted, as uſual, with the enſigns of his military command at the gates of the city, applied for a triumph, and at the ſame time made intereſt for votes at the approaching election [31]. The Senate, and the friends of the republic in general, were become extremely jealous of his deſigns, and of his credit with the People. From a libertine he was become an ardent politician, ſeemed to have no paſſion but ambition or animoſity to the Senate; without committing himſelf, he had abetted every factious leader againſt them, and ſeemed to be indifferent to conſideration or honours, except ſo far as they led to power. Cicero and Cato were at this time the principal, or moſt conſpicuous, members of the Senate. The firſt was poſſeſſed of conſular rank, great ingenuity, wit, and accompliſhed talents: the other, poſſeſſed of great abilities and an inflexible reſolution, embraced the cauſe of the republic with the ſame ardour that others engaged in purſuing the object of their own ambition, their

[31] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 50, &c.

pleaſures,

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pleaſures, or perſonal intereſts. He had penetration enough to perceive in Cæſar, long before the Senate in general was alarmed, a diſpoſition to vilify the ariſtocracy, and, in conjunction with needy and profligate citizens, to make a prey of the republic. Under this apprehenſion he oppoſed him with a degree of keenneſs which Cæſar endeavoured to repreſent as a perſonal animoſity.

The Senators in general, now aware of their danger from Cæſar, were diſpoſed to reſiſt his applications, whether made for honours or for public truſt. They, on the preſent occaſion, diſputed his pretenſions to a triumph; and, while he remained without the city in expectation of this honour, refuſed to admit him on the liſt of candidates for the office of Conſul. But the day of election being fixed, Cæſar, without heſitation, preferred the conſulate to the triumph, laid down the enſigns of his late military command, aſſumed the gown, and entered the city as a candidate for the Conſulſhip [32].

The People were at this time divided into a variety of factions. Pompey and Craſſus diſtruſted each other, and both were jealous of Cæſar. Their diviſions ſtrengthened the party of the Senate, and furniſhed that body with the means of thwarting ſeparately many of their ambitious deſigns. This Cæſar had long perceived, and had paid his court both to Pompey and Craſſus, in order to hinder their joining the Senate againſt him. The expedience of this precaution now appeared more clearly than ever, and he is ſuppoſed to have ſeparately repreſented to theſe rivals the advantage which their enemies derived from their miſunderſtanding, and the eaſe with which, if united, they might concert among themſelves all the affairs of the republic, gratify every friend, and diſappoint every enemy. Upon this repreſentation Pompey and Craſſus were reconciled, and agreed

[32] Sueton. in Cæſare, c. 18. Dio. lib. xxxvii. c. 54.

to

to act in concert with Cæſar, and to ſupport him in his pretenſions at the approaching elections [33].

This private combination, which remained ſome time a ſecret, was afterwards, by a kind of mockery, alluding to the ordinary names of public office, taken from the number of thoſe who were joined in them [34], called the Triumvirate. In the mean time, theſe ſuppoſed leaders of oppoſite factions, in abating their violence againſt each other, took a favourable appearance of moderation and candour. They paid their court ſeparately to perſons whom they wiſhed to gain, and flattered them with hopes of being able to heal the diviſions of their country. This ſort of court they paid in particular to Cicero; and by their flatteries, and real or pretended admiration of his talents, ſeem to have got intire poſſeſſion of his mind. Pompey affected to place the merits of Cicero greatly above his own. "I, indeed," he ſaid, "have ſerved my country, but this man has preſerved it [35]." The Senators, with whom Cicero had hitherto acted, were alarmed; and it appears that Atticus, about this time, had taxed him with leaving his party, to commit himſelf into the hands of their enemies. In his anſwer to this imputation, he ſeems to have flattered himſelf that he had made an acquiſition of Pompey, not ſurrendered himſelf into his power; at leaſt, that he had reclaimed or diverted him from the dangerous projects in which he had been lately engaged, and that he thought himſelf likely to ſucceed in the ſame manner with Cæſar: ſo much, that he triumphed in the ſuperiority of his own conduct to that of Cato, who, by his auſterity and vehemence, had alienated the minds of men otherwiſe well diſpoſed to the republic [36].

[33] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 54, 55. Plutarch. in Pompeio, Cæſare, & Craſſo.

[34] As the Decemvirs, Septemvirs, &c.

[35] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. epiſt. 1.

[36] Alluding to the oppoſition which Cato gave to the farmers of the revenue, in their petition for an abatement of their rent. But Cato followed his judgment in this matter; and there is no reaſon to prefer the judgment of Cicero to his.

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" While I," he ſaid, " by a little diſcretion, reclaim, or even diſ-
" arm its enemies [37]."

Few perſons were naturally poſſeſſed of more penetration than Cicero, although it will afterwards appear how egregiouſly he was miſtaken on this occaſion; but he choſe not to ſee what checked his vanity, or prevented his enjoying the court which was paid to him by Pompey and Cæſar. His own glory intercepted every other object from his view, and made him the dupe of every perſon who profeſſed to admire him, and ſecretly diſpleaſed with every one who did not pay him, on every occaſion, the expected tribute of praiſe; a deſcription under which Cato, though his moſt ſincere well-wiſher and friend, appears at this time to have fallen.

Cæſar, to the other arts which he employed to ſecure his election, added the uſe of money, which he obtained by joining his intereſt, in oppoſition to Bibulus with that of Lucceius, another of the candidates poſſeſſed of great wealth. He himſelf having ſquandered his fortune, as has been obſerved, was ſtill greatly in debt, and Lucceius willingly furniſhed the money that was given to the People in the name of both. This illegal proceeding, together with the menacing concerts of which he began to be ſuſpected with Pompey and Craſſus, greatly alarmed the friends of the republic. They determined to ſupport Bibulus againſt Lucceius; and, in order to give Cæſar a colleague who might occaſionally oppoſe his dangerous intentions, they even went ſo far as to contribute ſums of money, and to bid for votes as high as their opponents. In this criſis, even Cato owned it was meritorious to bribe [38].

During the dependence of this conteſt, the Senate, by the death of Lutatius Catulus, was deprived of an able member, and the People of a fellow-citizen of great integrity, moderation, fortitude, and

[37] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. epiſt. i.

[38] Sueton. in Caio Cæſare, c. xix. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

ability

ability; a model of what the Romans in this age ſhould have been, in order to have preſerved their republic. He partook with Cato in the averſion which Cæſar bore to the moſt reſpectable members and beſt ſupports of the Senate, and would probably have taken part with him likewiſe in the continual efforts he made to preſerve its authority. The ariſtocratical party, notwithſtanding this loſs, prevailed in carrying the election of Bibulus againſt Lucceius; and though they could not exclude Cæſar from the office of Conſul, they hoped, by means of his colleague, to oppoſe and to fruſtrate his deſigns [39].

Cæſar, well aware of their purpoſe, opened his adminiſtration with a ſpeech praiſing unanimity, and recommending good agreement between thoſe who are joined in any public truſt. While he meant to vilify the Senate, and to foſter every diſorderly party againſt them, he guarded his own behaviour, at leaſt in the firſt period of his Conſulſhip, with every appearance of moderation and candour, paid his court not only to leaders of faction, but to perſons of every deſcription, and while he took care to eſpouſe the popular ſide in every queſtion, was active likewiſe in deviſing regulations for the better government of the Empire: ſo that the Senate, however inclined to counteract his deſigns, as calculated to raiſe himſelf on the ruins of the commonwealth, could ſcarcely, with a good grace, oppoſe him in any particular meaſure. He ſet out with a project for the relief of indigent citizens having numerous families, including the veterans and diſbanded ſoldiers of Pompey; propoſing to ſettle them on ſome of the public lands in Italy. He gave out that he expected the concurrence of Cicero in this meaſure, ſent him a meſſage by Balbus [40], with aſſurances *that he meant to conſult with Pompey and himſelf in all*

[39] Plutarch. Appian. Dio. Sueton. &c.

[40] Dio. Caſſ. lib. viii. initio. Plutarch. in Cæſare. In Pompeia, Pompeio, Lucullo, Catone, &c. &c. Sueton. in Cæſare. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

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matters of importance, and *that he had hopes of bringing Craſſus into the ſame mind:* words, from which it is manifeſt that the coalition of theſe perſons was not yet publicly known. "What a fine proſpect "I have before me," ſays Cicero to Atticus; "a perfect union with "Pompey, even with Cæſar if I pleaſe; peace with my enemies, "and tranquillity in my old age." But his heart miſgave him; the honours of his former life recurred to his mind. With his great talents, he was deſtined to tranſmit a more honeſt fame to poſterity, and to become the lamented victim of his country's betrayers, not the deteſted aſſociate of their crimes[41].

This Conſulate is diſtinguiſhed by the paſſing of many laws, particularly this, which was deviſed for the ſettlement of citizens on certain public lands; and therefore known by the title of the Agrarian Law. On this act Cæſar was to reſt his popularity, and his triumph over the Senate. He gave out that he was to make a proviſion for twenty thouſand citizens, without any burden to the revenue. But he well knew that his antagoniſts would perceive the tendency of the law, and not ſuffer it to paſs without oppoſition; and he affected great moderation in the general purpoſe, and in framing every part of his plan; affecting ſolicitude to obtain the conſent of the Senate; but, in reality, to make their oppoſition appear the more unreaſonable and the more odious to the People. He declared, that he did not mean to ſtrip the revenue of any branch that was known to carry profit to the public, nor to make any partial diſtribution in favour of his friends; that he only meant to plant with inhabitants certain unprofitable waſtes, and to provide for a number of citizens, who, being indigent and uneaſy in their circumſtances, filled the city itſelf with frequent diſorders and tumults; and that he would not proceed a ſtep without conſulting the Senate, and perſons of credit and authority in the State.

[41] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. ep. 3.

In

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In a way to ſave theſe appearances, and with theſe profeſſions, Cæſar formed the firſt draught of an act which he brought to the Senate for their approbation, and the ſupport of their authority in propoſing it to the People. It was difficult to find topics on which to oppoſe a meaſure ſo plauſible, and conducted with ſo much appearance of moderation and candour. But the tendency of the act itſelf was evidently not to promote the peace of the commonwealth, but to conſtitute a merit in the party that procured it, and to give power to thoſe who were to be entruſted with its execution.

In great and populous cities indigent citizens are ever likely to be numerous, and would be more ſo, if the idle and profligate were taught to hope for bounties and gratuitous proviſions, to quiet their clamours and to ſuppreſs their diſorders. If men were to have eſtates in the country becauſe they are factious and turbulent in the city, it is evident that public lands, and all the reſources of the moſt proſperous ſtate, would not be ſufficient to ſatisfy their claims.

The commiſſioners appointed for the diſtribution of ſuch public favours would be raiſed above the ordinary magiſtrates, and above the laws of their country. They might reward their own creatures, and keep the citizens in general in a ſtate of dependence on their will. The authors of ſuch propoſals, while they were urging the State and the People to ruin, would be conſidered as their only patrons and friends. "It is not this law I dread," ſaid Cato; "it is "the reward expected for obtaining it."

Odious as the taſk of oppoſition on ſuch difficult ground might appear to the People, this Senator did not decline it. Being aſked his opinion in his turn, he anſwered, That he ſaw no occaſion for the change that was now propoſed in the ſtate of the public lands; and entered on an argument with which he meant to exhauſt the whole time of the ſitting of the Senate, and to prevent their coming to a queſtion. He was intitled, by his privilege as a member in that aſſembly,

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assembly, to speak without interruption, and might, if he chose to continue speaking, persist until all the members had left the house. Cæsar suspecting his design, and finding it impossible otherwise to silence him, ordered him into custody. The whole Senate instantly rose in a tumult. "Whither go you before the meeting is adjourned?" said Cæsar to Petreius, who was moving from his side. "I go," said the other, "into confinement with Cato. With him a prison is "preferable to a place in the Senate with you." The greater part of the members were actually moving away with Cato, and Cæsar felt himself at once stript of the disguise of moderation he had assumed, and dreaded the spirit which he saw rising in so numerous a body of men, who, on former occasions, had maintained their authority with becoming vigour. He had relied on their want of decision, and on their ignorance of their own strength. But his rashness broke the charm. He wished that the prisoner would procure some friend among the Tribunes to interpose; but Cato, seeing him embarrassed, and the Senate engaged in the cause, went off in the custody of the Lictor without any signs of reluctance. Cæsar immediately recollecting himself, and never hurried too far by any passion, dispatched a Tribune of his own party with secret directions to rescue the prisoner; and this being done, the Senators again returned to their places. "I meant," said Cæsar, "to have submitted this law to "your judgment and correction; but if you throw it aside, the "People shall take it up[42]."

Cæsar, upon this occasion, encreased his own popularity, and diminished that of his enemies in the Senate, who were supposed in this, as in some other instances, to withstand with keenness every measure that was devised for the comfort of the People. The imputations cast out against him by Cato and others, were supposed

[42] Dio. lib. xxxviii. c. 1, 2, 3. Plutarch. Sueton. Appian, &c.

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to proceed from malice or cynical prejudices. He found himself ſtrong enough to extend his bounty to the People, ſo as to comprehend the lands of Campania, which were hitherto conſidered as unalienable, and the richeſt demeſne of the public, together with a valuable diſtrict near the confluence of the Vulturnus and the Sabbatus, formerly conſecrated to pious uſes. In theſe valuable tracts of land there was ſufficient ſubject for an ample proviſion for the ſoldiers of Pompey, and for the retainers of thoſe who, together with Craſſus and Cæſar himſelf, were propoſed to be commiſſioners for carrying this act into execution.

At the firſt aſſembly of the People, Cæſar propoſed his ſcheme to impropriate the lands of Campania, with the above additions; and firſt of all called on his colleague Bibulus to declare his mind on the ſubject. Bibulus ſpoke his diſſent; and in vehement terms declared, that no ſuch alienation of the public demeſne ſhould be made in his Conſulate. Cæſar next called upon Pompey, though in a private ſtation; and the audience, ignorant of the concert into which theſe leaders had entered, were impatient to hear him on the ſubject of a meaſure which was likely to elevate a ſuppoſed rival ſo high in the favour of the People. To the ſurprize of all who were preſent, Pompey applauded the general deſign, and, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, diſcuſſed all the clauſes of the act, and with great approbation of each. When he had done ſpeaking, Cæſar, alluding to what had dropt from his colleague, and affecting to fear the interpoſition of force; "Will you ſupport us," he ſaid to Pompey, "in caſe we are attacked?"—"If any one," ſaid the other, "ſhall "lift up a ſword againſt you, I ſhall lift up both ſword and ſhield [63]." Craſſus being called upon, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. The concurrence of theſe leaders portended the unanimous conſent of all parties;

[63] Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxviii. c. 5.

and

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and a day being fixed for putting the queſtion, the aſſembly for the preſent adjourned.

To oppoſe a meaſure ſo popular, and from which ſuch numbers had great expectations, no means remained ſo likely to ſucceed as ſuperſtition. To this aid Bibulus accordingly had recourſe, and, by virtue of the authority with which he was veſted, proclaimed a general faſt, and a ſuſpenſion for the preſent year of all the affairs of State. The deſign of this ſuſpenſion, and the extravagant length of time to which it was extended, probably enabled his colleague to treat it with contempt, and to proceed in the deſign of putting his queſtion, as if no ſuch proclamation had been iſſued. The aſſembly was accordingly ſummoned in the temple of Concord. Cæſar, early in the morning, ſecured all the avenues and the ſteps of the portico with an armed force; had Vatinius, one of the Tribunes of the People, who was intirely devoted to his intereſt, and even in his pay [44], ſtationed with this party, in order to take the odium of all violent meaſures on himſelf. Bibulus, however, attended by numbers of the Senate, and three of the Tribunes, who were prepared, by their negative, to put a ſtop to every proceeding, came into the place of aſſembly with a firm countenance; he proteſted againſt the legality of any meeting to be formed in a time of general faſt: but the oppoſite party being in poſſeſſion of the temple, forced him from the ſteps, broke the enſigns of the Lictors, wounded the Tribunes that interpoſed in his defence, and effectually removed all farther obſtruction to their own deſigns. The queſtion then being put, the law paſſed without oppoſition, including a clauſe to oblige every Senator, under pain of exile or death, to ſwear to the obſervance of it.

[44] Cicero in Vatinium. Cæſar was reported to have ſaid at Acquileia, ſome time after this date, when Vatinius was diſappointed of the Edileſhip, that he had no buſineſs with honours, being intent on money only; and that he was paid for all his ſervices in the Tribunate.

This

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This oath was probably a ſnare laid by Cæſar for the moſt reſolute of his opponents, like that which was formerly laid by Marius, on a like occaſion, for Metellus Numidicus, and by which that virtuous citizen was actually for ſome time removed from the common-wealth [45].

Metellus Celer, the late Conſul, together with Cato and Favonius, were likely to have fallen into this ſnare. They at firſt declared their reſolution not to ſwear to the obſervance of any ſuch ruinous law; but, on mature conſideration, they became ſenſible that in this they were ſerving the cauſe of their enemies. "You may have "no need of Rome," ſaid Cicero to Cato, "and may go into exile "with pleaſure; but Rome has need of you. Give not ſuch a "victory to her enemies and your own." Upon theſe conſiderations it was determined to comply [46].

Bibulus, on the day following that of his violent expulſion from the aſſembly of the People, aſſembled the Senate, complained of the outrage he had received, and ſubmitted the ſtate of the republic to their conſideration. But even this aſſembly, though conſiſting of above ſix hundred of the moſt powerful citizens of Rome, not deſtitute even of courage, were declined in their ſpirit, and became averſe to exertions of vigour. They were occupied with their villas, their equipages, and the other appurtenances of wealth and of high rank. "They appear," ſays Cicero upon this occaſion, "to think "that even if the republic ſhould periſh, they will be able to pre-"ſerve their fiſh-ponds."

The Conſul Bibulus, even Cato, though far removed from any ambiguity of conduct, ſaw no poſſibility of reſiſting the torrent. The firſt retired to his own houſe, and from thence forward, during

[45] See b. ii. c. 6.

[46] Plutarch. in Catone. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

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the remainder of the year, did not appear in any public place. Cato abſented himſelf from the Senate[47].

While Cæſar engroſſed the full exerciſe of the conſular power, Bibulus was content with iſſuing his edicts or manifeſtos in writing, containing proteſts, by which he endeavoured to ſtop all proceedings in public affairs on account of the religious faſt, or continuation of holidays, which he had inſtituted to reſtrain his colleague. In theſe writings he publiſhed violent invectives againſt Cæſar, in which, among other articles, he charged him with having had a part in the conſpiracy of Cataline[48]. The Tribune Vatinius, in return, iſſued a warrant to commit the Conſul Bibulus to priſon; and, in order to ſeize him, attempted to break into his own houſe; but in this he was foiled, and the parties continued, during the remainder of this Conſulate, in the ſame ſituation with reſpect to each other.

In dating the year, inſtead of the Conſulate of Cæſar and Bibulus, it was called by ſome wag the Conſulate of Julius and Cæſar[49]. This able adventurer, though ſuſpected of the deepeſt deſigns, went ſtill deeper in laying his meaſures for the execution of them than his keeneſt opponents ſuppoſed. He found means to tie up every hand that was likely to be lifted up againſt himſelf; as thoſe of Pompey and Craſſus, by their ſecret agreement, of which the articles were gradually diſcloſed in the effect. He confirmed to Pompey all the acts of his adminiſtration in Aſia, and, by putting him on the commiſſion for dividing the lands of Campania, and for ſettling a colony at Capua, gave him an opportunity, which the other earneſtly deſired, of providing for many neceſſitous citizens of his party. He flattered Craſſus ſufficiently, by placing him on the ſame commiſſion, and by admitting him to a ſuppoſed equal participation of that political conſequence which the Triumvirs propoſed to ſecure by

[47] Cicero pro Sextio. Plutarch. in Catone.
[48] Ibid. c. 20. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. 8.
[49] Sueton. in C. Cæſare.

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their union. He gained the Equeſtrian order, by granting a ſuit which they had long in dependence, for a diminution of the rents payable by the revenue farmers in Aſia [49]. Theſe he reduced a third; and with that order of men acquired the character of great liberality and candour. He himſelf was the only perſon who in appearance was not to profit by theſe arrangements. He was occupied, as his retainers pretended, in ſerving the republic and in promoting his friends; was the general patron of the diſtreſſed and the indigent, and had nothing to propoſe for himſelf.

With his conſent, and under his authority, Fufius, one of the Prætors, and Vatinius, one of the Tribunes, obtained two laws, both of them equitable and ſalutary: the firſt, relating to the uſe of the ballot in the Comitia, or aſſembly of the People: the other, relating to the challenge of parties in the nomination of judges or juries. The introduction of the ballot in political queſtions had greatly weakened the influence of the ariſtocracy over the determinations of the People; and reſolutions were frequently carried in this manner, which no party, nor any particular order of men, were willing to acknowledge as their meaſure. The Nobles imputed the abſurd determinations to the majority that was formed by the People, and theſe ſometimes retorted the imputation. To leave no doubt in ſuch matters for the future, Fufius propoſed that the orders of Patrician, Equeſtrian, and Plebeian, ſhould ballot apart [50]. This regulation had ſome tendency to reſtore the influence of the ſuperior claſſes.

Vatinius propoſed that in criminal actions, when the judges were drawn by lot, the defendant and proſecutors might, in their turns, challenge, or ſtrike off from the liſt, perſons to whom they took a particular exception [51].

[49] Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. ep. 1. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 435.

[50] Dio. lib. xxxviii. c. 8.

[51] Ibid. Appian.

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Cæſar himſelf was buſy in deviſing new regulations to reform the mode of elections, and to improve the forms of buſineſs in ſome of the public departments. By one of his acts the prieſts were to be elected agreeably to the former laws of Atius and Domitius, with this difference, that candidates might be admitted even in abſence. By another of his acts, regular journals were to be kept in the Senate and in the aſſemblies of the People, and all their proceedings recorded for the inſpection of the public. By a third, perſons convicted of treaſon were ſubjected to new penalties, and governors of provinces to additional reſtraints in the exerciſe of their power. Such officers were not allowed to receive any honorary gift from their provinces, until their ſervices being conſidered at Rome, were found to have intitled them to a triumph [52]. They were reſtrained from encroaching on the right of any State or principality beyond the limits of their province. They were obliged to leave copies of their books and of their acts at two of the principal towns in their government [53], and, immediately upon their arrival at Rome, to give in a copy of the ſame accounts to the treaſury. They were doomed to make reſtitution of all ſubjects received in extortion, not only by themſelves, but by any of their attendants [54].

With theſe acts Cæſar adorned his Conſulate, and in ſome meaſure diſcountenanced the party which was diſpoſed to traduce him. He is, nevertheleſs, accuſed of having ſtolen from the treaſury, to which he had acceſs in the capacity of Conſul, bars of gold weighing three thouſand pondo, and of having concealed the theft by ſubſtituting braſs gilt, and of the ſame form, in its place [55].

[52] Cicero ad Att. lib. v. ep. 16. & lib. vi. ep. 7.

[53] Cicero ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 17. & lib. v. ep. 20.

[54] Ibid. in Vatinium pro Sext.

[55] Sueton. in Jul. c. 54. Cæſar is ſaid to have ſold the gold bullion he brought from Spain at 3000 H. S. or about 25l. of our money. This will make his ſuppoſed theft about 75,000l.

Whatever

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Whatever foundation there may have been for this report, it ſoon appeared that Cæſar had objects of a more ſerious nature, could copy, on occaſion, the example of Pompey, and, in his manner, cauſe what was perſonal to himſelf to be propoſed by others, whom he might be free to ſupport or diſavow according to the reception which his propoſal met from the public. It cannot be doubted that he now conceived the deſign of bringing a military force to ſupport his pretenſions in the city. Hitherto kingly power being odious at Rome, whoever had aſpired to it had always periſhed in the attempt, and the mere imputation, however ſupported, was fatal. The moſt profligate party among the populace were unable or unwilling to ſupport their demagogues to this extent; and the People in general became jealous of their moſt reſpectable citizens, when it appeared that merit itſelf approached to monarchical elevation. Marius, by the continued poſſeſſion of the higheſt offices, and by the ſupreme command of armies, had acquired a ſpecies of ſovereignty which he knew not how to reſign. Cinna came into partnerſhip with Marius, and wiſhed to govern after his deceaſe. Sylla, to avenge his own wrongs and thoſe of his friends, to cut off a profligate faction, and reſtore the republic, took poſſeſſion of the government. He led his army againſt uſurpers, and had the power to become himſelf the moſt ſucceſsful uſurper, as he was put in poſſeſſion of a ſovereignty which he no doubt might have retained. So far he was a model to every ambitious adventurer, and pointed out the only means which could inſure to a ſingle perſon the ſovereignty of Rome. Cataline, with his accomplices Lentulus and Cethegus, had vainly attempted to overturn the State, or to uſurp its government, by means of a profligate party among the populace or citizens of deſperate fortune [56]. Cæſar

[56] Speaking of the imaginary danger to a State of being overturned by the rabble; we might as much fear, ſaid a witty writer of the preſent age, that a city would be drowned by the overflowing of its own kennels.

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was become head of the ſame party; but an army like that of Sylla, a convenient ſtation, and the reſources of a great province, were neceſſary to ſupport the conteſt, and to carry it againſt his rivals, as well as againſt the republic itſelf, to a favourable iſſue.

The republic had taken many precautions to prevent the introduction of military power at Rome. Although the functions of State and of war were entruſted to the ſame perſons, yet the civil and military characters, except in the caſe of a Dictator, were never united at once in the ſame perſon. The officer of State reſigned his civil power before he became a ſoldier, and the ſoldier was obliged to lay aſide his military enſigns and character before he could enter the city; and if he ſued for a triumph in his military capacity, muſt remain without the walls till that ſuit was diſcuſſed. The command of armies and of provinces in the perſon of any officer was limited to a ſingle year at a time, at the end of which, if it were not expreſsly prolonged, it was underſtood to expire, and to devolve on a ſucceſſor named by the Senate.

That no leader of a party might have an army at hand to overawe the republic, no military ſtation was ſuppoſed to exiſt within the limits of Italy. The purpoſe, however, of this precaution was in ſome meaſure fruſtrated by the near ſituation of a province in which an army was kept within the Alps. Italy was underſtood to extend only from the ſea of Tarentum to the Arnus and the Rubicon: beyond theſe boundaries, on the northweſt, all thoſe extenſive and rich tracts on both ſides of the Apennines, and within the Alps, which now make the dutchies of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Milan, the States of Piedmont and Venice, with the dutchy of Carniola, and the whole of Lombardy, were conſidered, not as a part of Italy, but as a province termed the Ciſalpine Gaul, and, like the other Roman provinces, was to be held by a military officer, ſupported by an army.

This

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This then was the moſt commodious ſtation at which a political adventurer might unite the greateſt advantages, that of having an army at his command, and that of being ſo near the capital as to be able, by ſurpriſe, to occupy the ſeats of government whenever his deſigns were ripe for ſuch an attempt.

Sylla had an army devoted to his pleaſure; but, having the ſeas of Aſia and Ionia to paſs in his way to Italy, could not, without giving an alarm from a great diſtance, and without putting his enemies on their guard, approach to the city. He therefore, when he had this object in his view, made no ſecret of his purpoſe.

Cæſar had formed a deſign on the commonwealth, and acted from his original diſpoſition, and a deliberate intention to make himſelf maſter of it; not urged, like Sylla, by great provocations, and the ſuggeſtion of ſingular circumſtances. He arranged his meaſures like the plan of a campaign, which he had the ability to digeſt, and the patience to execute with the greateſt deliberation. He propoſed to make himſelf maſter of an army at the gates of Rome, and to have the reſources of a province contiguous to the capital. He ſecured the poſſeſſion of theſe advantages by an unprecedented prolongation of the uſual appointments for five years; ſo that the People themſelves could not, without a breach of faith, recal their grant upon any ſudden alarm of the improper uſe he might propoſe to make of their favours.

The Ciſalpine Gaul, or that part of Italy which lay from the Rubicon to the Alps, was peculiarly ſuited to the purpoſe of Cæſar. But the diſtribution of the provinces was ſtill within the prerogative of the Senate; and the provincial governments were filled by their appointment, in purſuance of an expreſs regulation aſcribed to Caius Gracchus, and known, from his name, by the title of the Sempronian Law [54]. Cæſar had ever been at variance with the greater part of

[54] Lex Sempronia, Vid. b. ii. c. 3.

the

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the Senate. In the office of Prætor he had been ſuſpended by their authority. In his preſent office of Conſul he had ſet them at open defiance. He had no proſpect of being able to obtain from them the choice he had made of a province; and the propoſal to put him in poſſeſſion of the Ciſalpine Gaul for a term of years, joined to the preceding parts of his conduct, would have given a general alarm, and opened at once the whole extent of his deſign.

It was neceſſary, therefore, in order to obtain this object, to ſet aſide the authority of the Senate, and to pocure his nomination by ſome degree of ſurprize. The Tribune Vatinius accordingly, upon a rumour that the Helvetii, or the nations inhabiting from Mount Jura to the Alps, were likely to cauſe ſome commotion on the frontier of Gaul, moved the People to ſet aſide the law of Sempronius, and, by virtue of their own ſupreme power, to name Cæſar as Proconſul of the Ciſalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, with an army of three legions. The ſenatorian party, as might have been expected, were greatly alarmed at this propoſal. They vainly, however, hoped to evade it by ſubſtituting another appointment for Cæſar in place of this province. It was propoſed to make him ſuperintendant of the public foreſts throughout the empire; a charge which, though not, in our acceptation of the word, a province, was however, like every other public department in that empire, known by this name. This ſubſtitute for the government of the Ciſalpine Gaul was thought to be the better choſen, that it neither implied nor required the command of an army, and was to withhold the engine of military power from a perſon ſo likely to abuſe it. This weak attempt, however, againſt ſo able an adverſary, only tended to expoſe the meaning of thoſe by whom it was made, and by ſhewing to the Senate their own weakneſs, hurried them into conceſſions which perhaps might have been otherwiſe avoided. In order that Cæſar might not owe every thing to the People and nothing to them, they extended his command at once

to

to both ſides of the Alps. On the one ſide of theſe mountains he had a ſtation from which to overawe the city: on the other, he had a great extent of territory, and a theatre of war on which he might form an army and inure them to ſervice. The Senate, ſeeing he had already, by a vote of the People, obtained the firſt with an army of three legions for five years; and imagining that it was no longer of any uſe to oppoſe him; or hoping to occupy his attention, or to wear out the five years of his command in wars that might ariſe beyond the Alps, they joined to his province on the Po that of the Tranſalpine Gaul, with an additional legion. In this manner, whether from theſe or any ſimilar reaſons, it is affirmed by ſome of the hiſtorians [55], that the Senate even outran the People in conceſſions to Cæſar; and to this occaſion is referred the memorable ſaying of Cato: "Now you have taken to yourſelves a king, and have placed "him with his guards in your Citadel [56]."

Cæſar, at the ſame time, on the motion of the Tribune Vatinius, was empowered to ſettle a Roman colony on the Lake Larius at Novum Comum, with full authority to confer the privilege of Roman citizens on thoſe he ſhould ſettle in this place. Having obtained the great object of his Conſulate, in his appointment for a term of years to the command of an army within the Alps, he no longer kept any meaſures with the Senate, nor allowed them any merit in the advantages he had gained. He was aware of their malice, he ſaid, and had prevailed in every ſuit, not by their conceſſion, but in direct oppoſition to their will. Though capable of great command of temper, and of the deepeſt diſſimulation when in purſuit of his object, he appears, on this and other occaſions to have had a vanity which he indulged, in braving the world when his end was obtained [57]. As he inſulted the Senate when no longer depending on

[55] Sueton. in Jul. Cæſare, c. 22.
[56] Plutarch. in Catone. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxviii. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.
[57] Sueton. in Cæſare, lib. ii. c. 22.

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their concurrence for any of his objects, ſo he no longer diſguiſed his connection with Pompey and Craſſus, or the means by which, in his late meaſures, the concurrence of theſe rivals had been obtained.

As ſuch combinations and cabals generally have an invidious aſpect to thoſe who are excluded from them, the Triumvirate, for ſo it began to be called in deteſtation and irony [56], notwithſtanding the popularity or influence enjoyed by thoſe who had formed it, became an object of averſion and general abuſe [57]. They were received at all public places with groans and expreſſions of hatred. An actor, performing on the public theatre, applied to Pompey a ſentence of reproach, which occurred in the part he was acting. The application was received with peals of applauſe, and called for again and again [58].

The edicts that were publiſhed by Bibulus in oppoſition to Cæſar were extolled, and received with avidity. The places of the ſtreets at which they were poſted up were ſo crowded with multitudes aſſembled to read them, that the ways were obſtructed. Cæſar and Pompey endeavoured to leſſen the effect of theſe edicts in ſpeeches to the People, but were ill heard. Pompey loſt his temper and his ſpirit, and ſunk in his conſideration as much as Cæſar advanced in power. It became manifeſt, even to the People, that Cæſar had procured their conjunction for his own conveniency [59]; but Pompey himſelf probably felt that he was too far advanced to recede.

[56] The titles of Duumvirs, Triumvirs, and ſo on, were the deſignations of legal commiſſions at Rome acting under public authority; ſuch title was given to the private coalition of theſe adventurers in mere irony.

[57] Cicer. ad Att. lib. ii. ep. 16.

[58] "To our misfortune thou art great." He was called upon to repeat theſe words again and again innumerable times. "The time will come when thou ſhalt rue this "State;" likewiſe repeated with peals of applauſe, &c. Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. epiſt. 19. Val. Max. lib. vi. c. 2.

[59] One of the ſentences, ſo much applauded in its application to him at the theatre, was, "Eandem virtutem tempus veniet cum "graviter gemes."

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The Senate, and all the moſt reſpectable citizens of Rome, though unanimous in their deteſtation of the deſign that was formed by Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus, to diſpoſe of the republic at their pleaſure, yet either were, or believed themſelves, unable to cope with the power of ſo many factions united. Cæſar, in order to hold by force what he gained by artifice, and by ſome degree of ſurpriſe, filled the ſtreets with his retainers in arms, and ſhowed, that, in caſe of any attempt to recal what had been ſo weakly given up to him, he was in condition to reſiſt, and to lay the city in blood. If he were driven from Rome, he had provided within the Alps an army of two or three complete legions, with which he could maintain his province, or even recover his poſſeſſion of the city. Every one cenſured, complained, and lamented; but there was little concert, and leſs vigour, even among the members of the Senate.

Cato, with his declared diſapprobation of the late meaſures, was reduced to the ſingle expedient of aſſiſting Bibulus in drawing up the edicts or manifeſtos againſt the proceedings of Cæſar, which were, at this time, received with ſo much avidity by the People.

Cicero now declined taking part in any affair of State; but being known for an advocate, was courted in this capacity by many citizens, who had affairs in dependence before the courts of juſtice; and apprehending an attack which was likely to be made upon himſelf, on account of the tranſactions of his Conſulate, he avoided, as much as poſſible, giving offence to any of the parties which divided the commonwealth. The ſtorm was to be directed againſt him by Publius Clodius, under whoſe animoſity to the government of the Nobles, and to Cicero in particular, it was perceived for ſome time to be gathering [61].

This buſtling profligate having, in the former year, in order that he might be qualified for Tribune of the People, got himſelf

[61] Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. epiſt. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

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adopted into a Plebeian family, could not obtain the neceſſary ratification of the deed of adoption in the aſſembly of the Curiæ, until his cauſe was eſpouſed by Cæſar, who ſeems to have taken his part, in reſentment of ſome inſinuations thrown out againſt himſelf by Cicero in pleading for M. Antonius, his late colleague in the Conſulate. Antonius being, as has been mentioned, on account of his adminiſtration in Macedonia, accuſed of extortion, was defended by Cicero, who took that occaſion to lament the ſtate of the republic, brought under ſubjection as it was by a cabal which ruled by violence, and in contempt of the law. Cæſar was greatly provoked: "This perſon," he ſaid, "takes the ſame liberty to vilify the reputation of others, "that he takes to extol his own;" and upon thoſe expreſſions, conſidered as a warning of the part which Cicero was likely to take in his abſence, he determined not to leave him at the head of the Senatorian party to operate againſt him. His deſtruction might be effected merely by expediting the formality of Clodius's adoption into a Plebeian family, to qualify him for Tribune of the People [62]; and Cæſar, on the very day in which he received this provocation from Cicero, permitted the act of adoption to paſs in the aſſembly of the Curiæ.

Pompey likewiſe concurred in executing this deed of adoption for Clodius, and aſſiſted in the quality of Augur to carry it through the religious forms. Clodius, in the mean time, gave out, that he had no deſign on the Tribunate, but was ſoliciting an embaſſy to Tigranes king of Armenia. Cicero was ſo much blinded by this pretence, that he was merry in his letter to Atticus on the abſurdity of Clodius, in having himſelf degraded into a Plebeian, merely to qualify him to appear at the court of Tigranes. He was merry likewiſe with his not being put on the commiſſion of twenty for the execution of Cæſar's Agrarian Law. "Strange!" he ſaid, "that he who was

[62] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxviii. c. 10. &c. Plutarch. in Cicerone. Cicero pro domo ſua, de Provinciis Conſularibus, &c.

"once

" once the only male creature in Cæſar's houſe, cannot now find one " place among twenty in this liſt of his friends[63]."

The more effectually to impoſe upon Cicero and his friends, Cæſar affected to believe, that the intention of Clodius was againſt himſelf, and taken up with the animoſity of a perſon who had already attempted to diſhonour his houſe[64]; and he pretended to diſpute the validity of his adoption, and of conſequence, his qualification to be elected a Tribune. Pompey joined in the ſame vile artifice. " Nay," ſays Cicero, upon hearing of their pretended oppoſition to Clodius, " this is perfect tyranny. Only ſend the proper officers to " me, and I will give my affidavit, that Pompey told me himſelf he " had aſſiſted as Augur in paſſing that decree[65]."

With theſe tranſactions the year of Cæſar's Conſulate drew to a cloſe. He ratified his treaty with Pompey, by giving him his daugther Julia in marriage. During the former part of the year, this lady had been promiſed to Servilius Cæpio, and had been of great uſe to her father, by ſecuring the ſervices of Cæpio againſt Bibulus. Servilius, on his diſappointment, was pacified by the promiſe of Pompey's daughter. Cæſar himſelf married the daughter of Calpurnius Piſo, who, together with Gabinius, the creature of Pompey, was deſtined to ſucceed in the Conſulate, and who was, by this alliance, ſecured in the intereſt of Cæſar. " Provinces, armies, and king- " doms," ſaid Cato on this occaſion, " are made the dowries of wo- " men[66], and the empire itſelf an appendage of female proſtitu- " tion."

In this ſituation of affairs, and among parties who dealt in impoſitions and artifices, as well as in open and daring meaſures, ſome particulars are recorded, which, to gain our belief, require ſome acquaintance with the manners of the times. Vettius, a citizen of ſome

[63] Cicer. ad Att. lib. ii. epiſt. 7.
[64] In the intrigue with Cæſar's wife.
[65] Cic. ad Att. epiſt. 10. Vul. 12.
[66] Plutarch. in Catone.

note,

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note, who had been employed by Cicero in the time of his Conſulſhip to gain intelligence of the Cataline conſpiracy, now himſelf appeared as the author of a plot, of which the origin and the iſſue were matter of various conjecture. Knowing that Curio, a young man of high rank, and a declared enemy of Cæſar, was on bad terms likewiſe with Pompey, he told him in confidence, that he himſelf had determined to aſſaſſinate Pompey, and propoſed to Curio to join with him in that deſign. The young man communicated the matter to his father, and the father to Pompey, who laid it before the Senate. Vettius being examined in the Senate, at firſt denied any intercourſe with Curio, but afterwards confeſſed, that he had been drawn into a conſpiracy with this young man, with Lucullus, Brutus, Bibulus, and ſome others, who had formed a deſign on Pompey's life.

It was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that Cæſar had employed Vettius to frame this impoſture, in order that he might engage ſome of thoſe perſons in a criminal correſpondence; and that it was intended, as ſoon as he had laid ſome foundation for an imputation of guilt againſt them, that he ſhould, with a party of ſlaves, armed with daggers, put himſelf in the way of being taken; that he ſhould at firſt deny the plot, but afterwards ſuffer himſelf to be forced, by degrees, to confeſs, and to declare his pretended accomplices; that this plan was diſconcerted by the early intimation which Curio gave to his father, before all the circumſtances intended to give it an air of probability were in readineſs.

It was ſcarcely poſſible, however, that Cæſar ſhould have committed his reputation to the hazard of detection in ſo infamous a project. He laid hold of it indeed with ſome avidity, and endeavoured to turn it againſt his opponents. After Vettius had been examined before the Senate, and was committed to priſon for farther examination, Cæſar preſented him to the People, and brought him into the roſtra, to declare what he knew of this pretended bloody deſign. The priſoner

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priſoner repeated his confeſſion, but varied in the account of his accomplices, particularly in leaving Brutus out of the liſt; a circumſtance likewiſe, in the ſcandal of the times, imputed to the partiality of Cæſar, and conſidered as proof of his clandeſtine relation to this young man. Vettius was remanded to priſon, and a proceſs commenced againſt him on the ſtatute of intended aſſaſſination. A trial muſt have probably diſcloſed the whole ſcene, and for this reaſon was ſaid to have been prevented, by the ſudden death of Vettius, who was ſuppoſed to have been ſtrangled by order of Cæſar in priſon [67].

U. C. 695. L. Calpurnius Piſo Ceſonianus, A. Gabinius Nepos.

By the influence of Pompey and Cæſar, Gabinius and Piſo were elected Conſuls; and, by their connivance, Clodius became Tribune of the People. The aſcendant they had gained, however, was extremely diſagreeable to many of the other officers of State, and even to ſome of the Tribunes. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Memmius Gemellus joined in an accuſation againſt Cæſar, late Conſul, for proceedings in office contrary to law and religion. Cæſar, for ſome time, affected to join iſſue with him on theſe queſtions, and to ſubmit his cauſe to judgment; but apprehending delay and trouble, without any advantage from ſuch an inquiry, he pleaded his privilege as a perſon deſtined for public ſervice; and accordingly, without ſtaying to anſwer this charge, withdrew from the city, and continued to make his levies, and to aſſemble his army in the ſuburbs of Rome.

In this poſture of affairs, one of the Quæſtors, who had ſerved under Cæſar in his Conſulſhip, was convicted of ſome miſdemeanor [68]; and the oppoſite party, as if they had of a ſudden broke the chains in which they were held, commenced ſuits againſt all the tools that had been employed by him in his late violent meaſures. Gabinius had been charged with bribery by Caius Cato, then a young man.

[67] Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. epiſt. 24. Sueton. in Cæſare, c. 20.
[68] Sueton. in Nerone, c. ii. & in Cæſare, c. 23.

But

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But the Prætor, whoſe lot it was to exerciſe the juriſdiction in ſuch caſes, being under the influence of Pompey, evaded the queſtion. Caius Cato complained to the People, and, having ſaid that Pompey uſurped a Dictatorial power, narrowly eſcaped with his life [69].

Vatinius was accuſed before the Prætor Memmius, who willingly received the accuſation; but all proceedings were ſuddenly ſtopped by the interpoſition of Clodius in the capacity of Tribune; and the attention of the People and of the Senate ſoon came to be more intirely occupied with the deſigns of this factious adventurer.

The ruin of Cicero appears to have been the principal object which Clodius propoſed to himſelf in entering on the office of Tribune; and this, though affecting to be of the popular party, he purſued chiefly from motives of perſonal animoſity and reſentment. Cicero had given evidence againſt him on his trial, and afterwards in the Senate made him the object of his wit and invective [70]. He is generally repreſented by Cicero as effeminate and profligate, void of diſcretion or prudence. On the preſent occaſion, however, he ſeems to have managed with conſiderable ſteadineſs and addreſs. He acted evidently in concert with Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus; but probably had not from them any particular direction in what manner he was to proceed.

Ever ſince the ſummary proceedings which were employed againſt the accomplices of Cataline, the danger of this precedent was a favourite topic with the popular faction. Clodius profeſſed that the object of his Tribunate was to provide a guard againſt this danger. He began with paying his court to different parties and different orders of men in the republic, by propoſing acts favourable to each; and he ſtated his motion for the better ſecuring of the People againſt arbitrary executions, which he meant in the end to apply to Cicero, as but one of many regulations intended by him for the benefit of the public, and which he joined with ſome acts of gratification to

[69] Cicero ad Quint. Frat. lib. i. epiſt. 2.

[70] Cicer. ad Att. lib. 1.

private perſons. He gained the preſent Conſuls by procuring them lucrative appointments, at the expiration of their year in office; to Piſo, Macedonia including Achaia; to Gabinius, Syria with a conſiderable addition beyond the uſual bounds of the province[71]. He gained the indigent part of the People by an act to remit all the debts which were due for corn at the public granaries; and by ordering, for the future, the diſtributions from thence to be made gratuitouſly[72]. He, at the ſame time, procured another act extremely agreeable to many of the citizens, for reſtoring and increaſing the number of corporations which had been aboliſhed about nine years before, on account of the troubles to which they gave riſe.

The meeting of corporate bodies, in a city ſo much addicted to faction and tumult, had been the cauſe of frequent diſorders. As perſons, affecting to govern the State, endeavoured to gain the People by indulging their paſſions for idleneſs and pleaſure, with games, theatrical entertainments, combats of gladiators, and the baiting of wild beaſts; ſo the head of every corporate body, though upon a ſmaller ſcale, had his feaſts, his entertainments, and ſhews, forming his party of retainers, on occaſion, to maintain his pretenſions by force. The renewal, therefore, of ſuch eſtabliſhments, a meaſure which carried to every tradeſman in his ſtall the feeling and conſequence of a Craſſus, a Pompey, and a Cæſar, affecting to govern the world in their reſpective ways, was greedily adopted by the lower People. And Clodius took the opportunity of the firſt popular meetings to awaken and to direct their zeal to his own purpoſe[73]. He even gained a conſiderable party in the Senate by affecting to circumſcribe the diſcretionary power of the Cenſors over this body. Many of the members had reaſon to dread the Cenſorial animadverſions, and were pleaſed with an act which he obtained to provide, that, for the future, no one could be ſtruck off

[71] Plutarch. in Cicerone.

[72] Pædianus in Piſoniana. Dio. lib. xxxviii. Cicer. pro Domo ſua.

[73] Dio. lib. xxxviii. c. 13. Cicero in Piſonem, c. 4. & Aſcanius, ibid.

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the rolls of the Senate without a formal trial, and the concurrence of both the Cenſors [7].

Joined to ſo many arts practiſed to reconcile different parties to the meaſures he affected to take for the ſecurity of the People's liberties, Clodius promulgated his law of proviſion againſt arbitrary executions, and gave it a retroſpect which was undoubtedly meant to comprehend the ſummary proceedings which had been held againſt Cethegus and Lentulus in the Conſulate of Cicero. While the ſubject was in dependence, he thought of two circumſtances that might operate againſt him, and which he was therefore determined to prevent. One was, the practice of recurring to the celeſtial auſpices by which the proceedings of the People were ſometimes ſuſpended; and the other was, the oppoſition which he might expect from Cato, who was likely to conſider the cauſe of the Senate and the republic as involved in that of the magiſtrate, who had preſerved the State by executing their decrees. To ſecure himſelf againſt the firſt, he procured an edict to prohibit all perſons from obſerving the heavens while the People were deliberating on any affair of State; and to obviate the ſecond, he thought of a pretence for a temporary removal of Cato from Rome.

In the preceding Conſulate, Cato, though armed as he was ſolely with the reputation of integrity, unable to prevent the progreſs of a ruinous faction affecting popular meaſures, yet, by his unremitted oppoſition, he forced them, on occaſion, to ſhow what Pompey in particular was extremely deſirous to conceal, that they prevailed by corruption and force, not by what they pretended, the free choice of their fellow-citizens. Clodius, foreſeeing a like oppoſition, and poſſibly a diſappointment in his deſign againſt Cicero, if Cato continued at Rome, deviſed a commiſſion to employ him in foreign ſervice. Ptolomy, king of Cyprus, had put a perſonal affront on Clodius, by refuſing to pay his ranſom when taken by pirates on the coaſt of Aſia near to that iſland. He now took an opportunity to be revenged

[7] Ibid. See a ſummary of theſe acts. Cicero pro Sextio, from c. 15 to c. 28.

on him, by procuring an act to forfeit his kingdom and his treasure; and by making Cato the instrument of his revenge, he proposed to free himself at the same time from the interruption which this citizen was likely to give to his projects at Rome [75].

At an interview with Cato, Clodius had the impudence to pretend great admiration of his virtue; told him, that the commission to reduce Cyprus into the form of a province was solicited by many; but that he knew of none who, by his faithfulness and integrity, was so well qualified for the trust as Cato, and that he meant to propose him to the People. "That," said Cato, "I know is a "mere artifice; not an honour, but an indignity intended to me." "Nay," said Clodius, "if you do not go willingly, you shall go "by force;" and on that very day moved and obtained his nomination from the People. Lest the affair of Cyprus should not detain him a sufficient time, he was farther charged in his commission to repair to Byzantium to restore some exiles, and to quiet some troubles which had arisen at that place.

Cæsar and Pompey likewise concurred in procuring this commission to Cato, in order to remove a powerful support from the Prætors Memmius and Domitius, whose proposal to repeal all the acts of Cæsar was yet in dependence.

The storm was now prepared to fall upon the magistrate who had presided in the suppression of Cataline's party, and no man had any doubt of its direction. Cato, before he left Rome, seeing Cæsar in possession of the gates with an army, and ready, in the event of any tumult, under pretence of quieting disorders, to enter the city by force, and to seize on the government; and apprehending, that the cause in dependence, however just, was altogether desperate, earnestly exhorted Cicero, rather to yield and to withdraw from the city, than to bring matters to extremities in the present state of the republic [76].

[75] Cicero pro Sextio.

[76] Plutarch. in Catone.

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Cicero, however, was for ſome time undecided. Having ſecured the ſupport of L. Ninius Quadratus, one of the Tribunes, he propoſed to obſtruct the proceedings of his enemy, and to give a negative to all his motions. Afterwards, upon aſſurances from Clodius, that the purpoſe of the act was altogether general, and had no ſpecial relation to himſelf; he was prevailed on not to divide the college of Tribunes, or to engage his friends in the invidious taſk of giving a negative to a law, that was intended merely to guard the People againſt arbitrary proceedings [77].

Clodius, having obtained this advantage, no longer made any ſecret of his deſign againſt Cicero, and boaſted of the concurrence of Cæſar and Pompey. In this neither of theſe profeſſed friends of Cicero denied the imputation [78]; but excuſed themſelves in private by pleading, that while their own acts of the preceding year were ſtill queſtioned by the Prætor, it was neceſſary for them to keep terms with ſo violent a Tribune [79]; but Pompey, together with this apology for his preſent conduct, gave Cicero the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of future protection. "This Tribune," he ſaid, "ſhall kill me before "he injure you." It is not credible that Pompey then meant to betray him; it was ſufficiently baſe that, in the ſequel, he did not keep his word. On the contrary, when his aid came to be moſt wanted by his injured friend, he retired to the country, under pretence of buſineſs; and being at his villa near Alba, where Lentulus, Lucullus, and many of the moſt reſpectable Senators repaired to him with the warmeſt intreaties in behalf of a perſon to whoſe eloquence and panegyric he owed ſo many of his honours, he coldly referred them to the ordinary officers of State for protection, ſaying, That as a private citizen he could not contend with a furious Tribune at the head of an armed People [80].

[77] Dio. lib. xxxviii. c. 14.
[78] Cicero poſt Reditum in Senatum.
[79] Ibid. pro Sextio, c. 17 & 18.
[80] Cicero in Piſonem.

In

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In the mean time, the Conſul Gabinius, though under the abſolute direction of Pompey, promoted the attack againſt Cicero, and checked every attempt that was made in his favour. When the Equeſtrian order, together with numbers of the moſt reſpectable citizens from every quarter of Italy, crowded in mourning to Rome, and preſented a memorial to the Senate in his behalf; and when the members propoſed to take mourning, and to intercede with the People, Gabinius ſuddenly left the chair, broke up the meeting, went directly from thence to the aſſembly of the People, where he threw out injurious inſinuations againſt the Senate, and mentioned the meetings which had been held by the Equeſtrian order, as riotous and ſeditious tumults; ſaid, that the Knights ought to be cautious how they revived the memory of that part which they themſelves had acted in the violent meaſures which were now coming under review, and which were ſo likely to meet with a juſt retribution from the People.

In this extremity Cicero attempted to ſee Pompey in perſon at his country-houſe; but while the ſuppliant was entering at one door, this treacherous friend withdrew at another[80]. No longer doubting that he was betrayed by a perſon on whom he had ſo fully relied, he began to be agitated by a variety of counſels and projects. He was invited by Cæſar to place himſelf in the ſtation of lieutenant in his province of Gaul; and, in that public character abroad, to take refuge from the ſtorm that was gathering againſt him in Italy. But this, from a perſon who had ſo much contributed to raiſe the ſtorm, was ſuppoſed to proceed from a deſign to inſult or betray him; or at beſt to reduce him to a ſtate of dependence on himſelf. Being attended by a numerous body of citizens, chiefly of the Equeſtrian order, who had taken arms in his cauſe, he ſometimes had thoughts

[80] Plutarch, in Cicerone.

of

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of defending himſelf by force; at other times, he deſpaired of his fortunes, and, as appears from his letters, propoſed to kill himſelf; and was diverted from this intention only by the entreaties and anxious care of his friends.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when Clodius aſſembled the People to paſs the act he had framed againſt arbitrary executions. He had ſummoned them to meet in the ſuburbs, that Cæſar, who on account of his military command was then excluded from the city, might be preſent. This artful politician being called upon among the firſt to deliver his opinion; with an appearance of moderation, and unwillingneſs to bear hard on any perſon to whom the law might apply, referred the People to his former declarations; ſaid, that every one knew his mind on the ſubject of arbitrary executions; that he approved the act which was now propoſed, as far as it provided againſt ſuch offences for the future; but could not approve of its having a retroſpect to any tranſaction already paſſed.

While Cæſar thus, in delivering his own opinion, affected to go no farther than conſiſtency and a regard to his former conduct ſeemed to require, he permitted or directed his party to go every length with Clodius, and meant either to ruin Cicero, or force him to accept of protection on the terms that ſhould be preſcribed to him.

When the general law had paſſed, there was yet no mention of Cicero; and his enemies might have ſtill found it a difficult matter to carry the application to him; but he himſelf, in the anguiſh of his mind, anticipated the accuſation, went forth in mourning to the ſtreets, and implored mercy of every citizen with an aſpect of dejection, which probably did not encourage any party to eſpouſe his cauſe. He was frequently met in this condition, and inſulted by Clodius, who walked in the ſtreets, attended by an armed rabble; and he determined at laſt to abandon the city. Being eſcorted by a company of his friends, he paſſed through the gates in the middle of

the

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the night on the firſt of April, took the road of Lucania, and intended to have made his retreat into Sicily, where the memory of his adminiſtration in the capacity of Quæſtor, and the continued effects of his patronage at Rome, were likely to procure him a favourable reception [61]. But Clodius, immediately upon his departure, having carried a ſpecial attainder, by which, in the language of ſuch acts, he was interdicted the uſe of fire and water; and by which every perſon within five hundred miles of Italy was forbid, under ſevere penalties, to harbour him; Virgilius, the Prætor of Sicily, though his friend, declined to receive him. He turned from thence to Brundiſium, paſſed into Macedonia, and would have fixed his reſidence at Athens; but apprehending that this place was within the diſtance preſcribed to him by the act of baniſhment, he went to Theſſalonica in his way to Cyzicum. Here he had letters, that gave him intimation of ſome change in his favour, entertained ſome proſpect of being ſpeedily recalled, and accordingly determined to wait the iſſue of theſe hopes.

We have better means of knowing the frailties of Cicero, than perhaps is ſafe for the reputation of any one labouring under the ordinary defects of human nature. He was open and undiſguiſed to his friends, and has left an extenſive correſpondence behind him. Expreſſions of vanity in ſome paſſages of his life, of puſillanimity in others, eſcape him with uncommon facility. Being at leaſt of a querulous and impatient temper, he gives it full ſcope in his exile, perhaps not more from weakneſs, than from deſign to excite his friends to redouble their efforts to have him reſtored. He knew the value of fortitude as a topic of praiſe, and might have aſpired to it; but would it not, he may have queſtioned, encourage his party to ſleep over his wrongs? In any other view, his complaints reſemble more the wailings of an

[61] Vid. Actionem in Verrem.

infant,

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infant, or the ſtrains of a tragedy compoſed to draw tears, than the language of a man ſupporting the cauſe of integrity in the midſt of undeſerved trouble. "I wiſh I may ſee the day," he writes to Atticus, "in which I ſhall be diſpoſed to thank you for having "prevailed upon me not to lay violent hands on myſelf; for it "is certainly now matter of bitter regret to me that I yielded to "you in that matter[82]."

In anſwer to the ſame friend who had chid him for want of fortitude, "What ſpecies of evil," he ſays, "do I not endure? Did "ever any perſon fall from ſo high a ſtate? in ſo good a cauſe? with "ſuch abilities and knowledge? with ſo much public eſteem? with "the ſupport of ſuch a reſpectable order of citizens? Can I re-"member what I was, and not feel what I am? Stript of ſo many "honours, cut off in the career of ſo much glory, deprived of ſuch "a fortune, tore from the arms of ſuch children, debarred the view "of ſuch a brother, dearer to me than I was to myſelf, yet now "debarred from my preſence, that I may ſpare him what he muſt "ſuffer from ſuch a ſight, and myſelf what I muſt feel in being "the cauſe of ſo much miſery to him. I could ſay more of a load "of evils which is too heavy for me to bear; but I am ſtopped by "my tears[83]."

From the whole of this correſpondence of Cicero in his exile, we may collect to what degree the unjuſt reproaches which he had ſuffered, the deſertion of thoſe on whom he relied for ſupport, the dangers to which he left his family expoſed, affected his mind. The conſciouſneſs of his integrity, even his vanity forſook him; and his fine genius, no longer employed in the Forum or in the Senate, or buſied in the literary ſtudies which amuſed him afterwards[84] in a more calamitous time of the republic, now, by exaggerating the diſ-

[82] Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. epiſt. 3.
[83] Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. epiſt. 10.
[84] See the Book of Tuſcular Queſtions.

treſs

treſs of his fortunes, preyed upon himſelf. It appeared from this, and many other ſcenes of his life, that although he loved virtuous actions, yet his virtue was accompanied with ſo unſatiable a thirſt of the praiſe to which it intitled him, that his mind was unable to ſuſtain itſelf without this foreign aſſiſtance; and when the praiſe which was due to his Conſulate was changed into obloquy and ſcorn, he ſeems to have loſt the ſenſe of good or of evil in his own conduct or character; and at Theſſalonica, where he fixed the ſcene of his exile, ſunk or roſe in his own eſteem, as he ſeemed to be valued or neglected at Rome [55].

[55] Vid. Cicero ad Att. lib. iii.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar takes Poſſeſſion of his Province.——Migration of the Helvetii.——Their Defeat.——War with Arioviſtus.——Return of Cæſar for the Winter into Italy.——Great Concourſe of Citizens to his Quarters.——Motion to recal Cicero.——Diſorders that followed upon it.——Conſultations of Pompey and Cæſar.——Augmentation of the Army in Gaul.——Second Campaign of Cæſar.——Operations on the Aiſne.——On the Meuſe and Sambre.——Battle with the Nervii.——Succeſsful Attempt for the Reſtoration of Cicero.——Controverſy relating to his Houſe.——Repeated Riots of Clodius.——Trial of Milo.

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WHILE the tranſaction which terminated in the exile of Cicero was ſtill in dependance, Cæſar, although, by aſſuming the military character, he had diſqualiſied himſelf to take any part in civil affairs, had actually gone from the city and embodied his legions, yet he ſtill remained in the ſuburbs of Rome to obſerve the iſſue of that buſineſs, and to direct the conduct of his party. He thought himſelf too much intereſted in the event to leave it intirely under the direction of Pompey, with whom his own connection was precarious, and might be of ſhort duration. He was inclined to ruin, if he could, not gain, a perſon whoſe talents and character made him of ſo much conſequence to the parties who contended for power in the State. Having failed in his attempt to gain him as a dependant, and to carry him as part of his own retinue into Gaul, he ſecretly promoted the deſigns of Clodius, and employed his own retainers and friends againſt him, until he ſaw the purpoſe accompliſhed.

The

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The provinces of which Cæſar had obtained the command, comprehended, as has been obſerved, under the denomination of the two Gauls, conſiderable territories on both ſides of the Alps. The Ciſalpine Gaul, which was joined to Italy, extended to Lucca, not far from Piſa on one ſide of the Apennines, and to the Rubicon, not far from Ariminum on the other. Beyond the Alps, the whole territory from the Mediterranean to the Rhine and the Meuſe, was known by the name of Gaul. A part of this tract, which was bounded by the Rhône, the mountains of Auvergne, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees, was already a Roman province, including, together with Languedoc and Dauphiné, what, from its early ſubjection to the Romans, is ſtill named Provence.

The remainder of the country was divided into three principal parts, occupied by the Aquitani, the Celtes, and the Belgæ, nations differing in language, eſtabliſhments, and cuſtoms. The firſt diviſion extended from the Pyrenees to the Garonne; the ſecond from the Garonne to the Seine; and the third from thence to the Meuſe and the Scheld.

In each of theſe tracts there was a multiplicity of ſeparate cantons and independent communities, of which Cæſar had occaſion to enumerate no leſs than four hundred. Even the ſmalleſt of theſe communities, by his account, was broken into parties and factions, who had ſeparate objects, and were engaged in oppoſition to each other. The People, in general, were held in a ſtate of dependance by two ſeparate orders of men, whoſe condition and character may account for the manifold diviſions and animoſities that took place in their country. One order was eccleſiaſtical, compoſed of the Druids, who, by their profeſſion, had the keeping of ſuch myſteries, and the performance of ſuch rites as were then in uſe; and, having over their fellow-citizens the claim to a hierarchy, had, among themſelves, in

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the various pretenſions to preferment and rank in their own order, continual ſubjects of competition, jealouſy, and quarrels.

The other order was intirely military, and conſiſted of perſons whoſe principal diſtinction aroſe from the number of their armed adherents; and who, therefore, vied with each other in the multitude of their retainers, or in the force of their parties [1].

The country, we learn, in general, was interſperſed with what are called towns, and what were, in reality, ſafe retreats, or places of ſtrength. It abounded in corn and cattle, the reſources of a numerous people; armies were collected, and political aſſemblies were ſtatedly, or occaſionally called: but how the people were accommodated, or in what degree they were ſupplied with the ordinary productions of mechanic or commercial arts, is no where deſcribed.

In theſe particulars however, as they were probably leſs ſkilful than the Italians, ſo they ſurpaſſed the Germans, to whom they yielded in the reputation of valour; and they were now in reality on the eve of becoming a prey to the rapacity and ferocity of the one, or to the ambition, refined policy, and ſuperior arts of the other.

Among parties, who were already ſo numerous, and likely to be divided indefinitely by family or perſonal jealouſies, Cæſar was about to find the occaſions, which he undoubtedly ſought for, of raiſing his reputation in war, of enriching himſelf and his dependants, and of forming an army inured to ſervice, and attached to himſelf. While he was yet in Italy, he had intimation of a wonderful project formed by the Helvetii, natives of the tract which extends from the Jura to the Alps, and of the vallies which divide thoſe mountains, to quit their own country in order to exchange it for a better ſettlement, in a leſs inclement region, on the lower and more fertile plains of Gaul.

[1] Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 10—20.

They

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They had taken, for this purpoſe, an exact account of their own numbers in every canton, and muſtered no leſs than three hundred and fifty-eight thouſand ſouls, of whom ninety-two thouſand were warriors, or men fit to bear arms. To put this multitude in motion, a great apparatus of proviſions, of horſes, and of carriages was neceſſary; and they allotted two years for the neceſſary preparations. This time was now elapſed, and the ſwarm began to diſlodge on the twenty-fifth of March of the year in which Cæſar was to take poſſeſſion of his province. On receiving the alarm, he ſet out from Italy, and with haſty journies arrived at Geneva, where, to prevent ſurpriſe, he broke down the bridge of the Rhône, and took other meaſures to preclude the acceſs of ſtrangers to his province.

In the mean time the Helvetians ſent a pacific meſſage, deſiring, that they might be allowed to paſs the Rhône, and giving aſſurances that they would abſtain from every ſort of hoſtility on their march through the Roman province. Cæſar, in order to gain time, affected to take their requeſt into conſideration, promiſed to give them an anſwer by the middle of April; and in this manner amuſed them, while he aſſembled the legion, that was diſperſed in different parts of the province, and ordered new levies to be made with the greateſt diſpatch. At the ſame time, he fortified the banks of the river, from the Lake of Geneva, to the narrow paſs[1] at which the Rhône enters between the Jura and the Vuache, and from thence running under cliffs and ſteep mountains, renders the acceſs from Helvetia to Gaul either impracticable or eaſily obſtructed.

Being thus prepared for his defence, he, on the return of the Helvetian deputies, gave them for anſwer, That the Romans never allowed ſtrangers to paſs through their country; and that if any attempt were made on his province, he ſhould repel it by force. Upon receiving this anſwer, the Helvetians, though too late, endeavoured

[1] Fort l'Ecluſe.

to

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to effect the paſſage of the Rhône, and made repeated attacks, either where the river was fordable, or where it admitted the uſe of rafts or of boats, but were repulſed in every attempt, and were at laſt obliged to turn to the right, where, by the conſent of the Sequani, their neighbours in that part of the country, they paſſed over the Jura into Gaul.

Cæſar, probably not more alarmed for the ſafety of his province, than deſirous to render it a ſcene of action, determined to obſerve the migrations of this enemy, and to ſeize the occaſion they furniſhed him of forming his troops to ſervice. For this purpoſe he himſelf, in perſon, repaſſed the Alps, and without any regard to the limitations of his commiſſion, which reſtricted his military eſtabliſhment to three legions, ordered additional levies, and with the forces aſſembled near Aquileia, returned to his northern province. In this march he met with oppoſition from the inhabitants of the mountains, who endeavoured to obſtruct his way: but he had traverſed the country of the Allobroges, and paſſed the Rhône above its confluence with the Soane[a], when he had intelligence that the Helvetii, having cleared the paſſes of Jura, and marched through the country of the Sequani, were arrived on the Soane; and although they had hitherto, agreeably to their ſtipulations with the natives, abſtained from hoſtilities, that they threatened the nations inhabiting beyond this river with fire and ſword.

Upon application made to him for protection from the natives inhabiting between the Soane and the Loire, this willing auxiliary continued his march; and being informed, that of the Helvetii, who had moved in four diviſions (this being the number of their cantons), the three firſt had already paſſed the Soane; and that the fourth diviſion being to follow, yet remained on the nearer bank of the river, he marched in the night with three legions, ſurpriſed

[a] Then the Arar.

this

this rear-diviſion; and, having put many of them to the ſword, forced the remainder to take refuge in the neighbouring woods.

As ſoon as the main body of Cæſar's army arrived on the Soane, he conſtructed a bridge, and paſſed that river in his way to the enemy. The Helvetians, ſenſible of their loſs in the late action, and alarmed at the rapidity of his motions, he having executed in one day the paſſage of a river which had detained them above ninety days, ſent a deputation to treat with the Roman Proconſul, and to obtain, if poſſible, his permiſſion to execute their project of a new ſettlement on amicable terms. They offered, in caſe they were allowed to ſit down in quiet, to leave the choice of the place to himſelf; bidding him remember, at the ſame time, that "the arms of the Helvetii had, "on former occaſions, been felt by the Romans. That the recent "fate of a ſingle canton taken by ſurpriſe ought not to flatter him "too much: that the Helvetians had learned from their fathers to "rely more on valour than on artifice or on negociation; but that they "did not wiſh to have their preſent migration ſignalized with any "maſſacres, nor their new ſettlement ſtained with Roman blood."

To this meſſage, Cæſar replied, "That he could recollect to have "heard of inſults which had been offered to the Romans by their "nation, and to which they now probably alluded: that he likewiſe "had more recent provocations which he knew how to reſent: "nevertheleſs, if they meant to comply with his demand, to repair "the injuries they had done to the Allobroges[3] and to the Edui[4], "and to give hoſtages for their future behaviour, that he was will-"ing to grant them peace."

Upon this reply the Helvetian deputies withdrew, ſaying, That it was the practice of their countrymen to receive, not to give hoſtages; and both armies moved on the following day: the Helvetians, in

[3] Inhabitants of what is now the territory of Geneva, and part of Savoy.

[4] Occupying the country between the Soane and the Loire.

ſearch

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ſearch of ſome quarter where they might ſettle without interruption; and Cæſar, to obſerve their motions, and to reſtrain them from plundering the country of his allies. Both continued on the ſame route during fifteen days, with no more than an interval of five or ſix miles between the front of one army and the rear of the other.

On this march Cæſar's cavalry, having raſhly engaged themſelves on unfavourable ground, received a check; and he himſelf, being obliged to follow the courſe of the Soane, by which he received his proviſions, was likely to loſe ſight of the enemy, when he had intelligence, that they had taken poſt at the foot of a hill, about eight miles in his front, and ſeemed to have formed a reſolution to receive him, in that poſition, if he ſhould chuſe to attack them. Having examined the ground on which they were poſted, and obſerving, that the height in their rear was not by nature inacceſſible, nor ſufficiently ſecured againſt him, he diſpatched Labienus in the night at the head of two legions, with orders to poſſeſs himſelf of the eminence, and to fall down from thence on the enemy's rear whenever he ſaw them attacked by himſelf in front. Labienus accordingly got poſſeſſion of the hill, and Cæſar advanced towards the foot of it to occupy the attention of the enemy, and to attack them in front. But the purpoſe of this diſpoſition was fruſtrated by the miſinformation of an officer of horſe, who, being advanced before the army, reported, that the enemy ſtill appeared on the height, and that Labienus probably had failed in his attempt to ſeize it. Cæſar, diſconcerted by this information, made a halt, in which he loſt ſo much time as to give the enemy an opportunity to decamp, and to retire in ſafety. He nevertheleſs continued his purſuit for one day longer, and at night encamped about three miles in their rear. But being obliged, on the following day, to alter his route in order to receive a ſupply of proviſions, the enemy believed that he was retreating, and began to purſue in their turn. He halted on a riſing ground to receive them,

placed his new levies with the baggage on the higher ground, and the choice of his army on the declivity towards the plain. Here the enemy advancing to attack him, after an obſtinate engagement which laſted from one in the afternoon till night, were defeated with the ſlaughter of about two hundred thouſand of their people; and the remainder, amounting to no more than one hundred and thirty thouſand ſouls, reduced to deſpair by the ſenſe of their loſſes, and the want of ſubſiſtence, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Cæſar ordered them back into their own country, charging the Allobroges to find them ſubſiſtence, until they ſhould be able to provide for themſelves. The Boii however, a part of this unfortunate migration, were received by the Edui, who, to gain this acceſſion of people, allotted part of their own lands to accommodate theſe ſtrangers [5].

At the end of this firſt operation of Cæſar, while great part of the ſummer yet remained, another ſervice on which to employ his army ſoon preſented itſelf. The nations who inhabited the banks of the Soane and the Loire, being ſenſible of the deliverance they had received from a ſtorm, which, by the uncertainty of its direction, alarmed every quarter of Gaul, ſent deputies to congratulate the Roman general on his late victory, and to propoſe that they might hold, under his protection, a general convention of all their ſtates. The object of their meeting, as it ſoon appeared, was to obtain ſome relief from the common oppreſſion they underwent from the tyranny of Arioviſtus, a German chief, who, when the Gauls were at war among themſelves, had been invited as an auxiliary to one of the parties, and had obtained the victory for his allies; but took for the reward of his ſervices poſſeſſion of one third of their territory, which he beſtowed on his own people, and aſſumed for himſelf the ſovereignty of the whole. His force was daily augmented by the

[5] Cæſ. de Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 28, 29.

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continual arrival of more emigrants from Germany; ſo that, from fifteen thouſand men, with whom the Chief had arrived, his followers had multiplied to an hundred and twenty thouſand. To accommodate this numerous people, he had recently made a demand of another third of the territory of the Sequani, and was extending his poſſeſſions from the neighbourhood of the Rhine to the Soane. Moſt of the nations on this tract had been obliged to ſubmit to a contribution levied by theſe ſtrangers, and to give hoſtages for the regular payment of it.

The unfortunate nations, who, by truſting to the protection of a barbarous prince, had expoſed themſelves to this calamity, now applied for relief to another power, whoſe pretenſions in the end were likely to be equally dangerous to their freedom. Senſible of the hazard to which they expoſed their hoſtages by entering into any open concert againſt the Germans, they made their application to Cæſar in ſecret, and found him ſufficiently willing to embrace every opportunity of rendering his province a theatre of action to his army, and of renown to himſelf. He ſent without delay a meſſage to Arioviſtus, deſiring to have a conference with him on affairs that concerned the general intereſts of Gaul. This haughty chieftain replied with diſdain, "That if the Roman general meant to have "an interview with him, his place of reſidence was known; that "he neither could truſt himſelf in the quarters of Cæſar, without an "army, nor would be at the expence of aſſembling one, merely for "the ſatisfaction of a conference with him."

Cæſar renewed the meſſage with an expreſs requiſition that the hoſtages of the Edui ſhould be reſtored; that Arioviſtus ſhould abſtain from hoſtilities againſt this People, or againſt any other ally of the Romans; and that he ſhould not ſuffer any more of his countrymen to paſs the Rhine.

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To this meſſage Arioviſtus replied, That he had conquered the poſſeſſions which he held in Gaul, and that he knew of no power who had a right to direct him in the uſe of his conqueſts; that whoever attacked him ſhould do ſo at his peril; and that Cæſar, if he thought proper, might try the ſpirit of his people; they were ready to receive him, and had not for fourteen years ſlept under any cover.

Cæſar, not to ſeem backward in accepting this challenge, and in compliance with a maxim which he often obſerved with ſucceſs, *That his blows ſhould anticipate his threats, and outrun the expectations of his enemy*, advanced upon the Germans before they could think him in condition to act againſt them. For this purpoſe, without communicating his deſign to any perſon of his own army, he repaſſed the Soane, and aſcended by the courſe of the Douſe to Veſontio, now Beſançon, a place of ſtrength, which he underſtood Arioviſtus meant to ſeize, as the principal reſort of his forces.

Here, for the firſt time, his intention of making war on the Germans began to be ſuſpected in his own army; and the legions, taking their account of the ſtrength and ferocity of that enemy from the report of the Gauliſh auxiliaries, were greatly alarmed. Many citizens of diſtinction who had crowded to the ſtandard of Cæſar, as to a place of victory and honour, now, under various pretences, applied for leave to retire. Their example ſpread a kind of panic in the army, and both officers and men muttered their reſolution not to obey, if they ſhould be ordered upon what they were pleaſed to conſider as a ſervice ſo unreaſonable and wild.

Cæſar, being thus called upon to exert that undaunted courage and maſterly eloquence by which he was diſtinguiſhed on many occaſions, aſſembled all the officers of his army, and reprimanded them for attempting to penetrate the deſigns of their general, or for pretending to queſtion the propriety of his motions. The matter in diſpute with Arioviſtus, he ſaid, might be terminated in an

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amicable manner. This chieftain had very lately made advances of friendſhip to the Romans, had been favourably received, and there was no reaſon to believe that he would now wantonly provoke their reſentment. " But if he ſhould, of whom are you afraid? Of a " wretched remnant of the Cimbri or Teutones, already vanquiſhed " by Marius? Of a people confeſſedly inferior to the Helvetians, " whom you have ſubdued? But ſome of you, I am told, in or- " der to diſguiſe your own fears under the affectation of wiſdom, " talk of difficulties in the ways by which you are to paſs, and of " the want of proviſions which you are likely to ſuffer. I am not " now to learn from ſuch perſons as you what I owe to my truſt, " nor to be told that an army muſt be ſupplied with proviſions. " But our allies are ready to ſupply us in greater quantities than we " can conſume, and the very country we are to paſs is covered with " ripe corn. As for the roads, you ſhall ſpeedily ſee and judge of " them. I am little affected with what I hear of a deſign to aban- " don me in caſe I perſiſt in this expedition. Such inſults, I know, " have been offered to commanders, who, by their avarice or by their " miſcarriages, had forfeited the regard or the confidence of their " troops; what will happen to me a little time will diſcover. I " meant to have made a longer halt at this place, but ſhall not defer " giving you an opportunity to ſhow, whether regard to your duty, or " the fear of a ſuppoſed enemy, is to have the greateſt effect on your " minds. I mean to-morrow, at two in the morning, to decamp, " and ſhall proceed, if no other part of the army follows me, with " the tenth legion alone."

This ſpeech had a very ſudden effect. The tenth legion, having been formerly diſtinguiſhed by their general, felt this expreſſion of confidence as an additional motive to deſerve it, and ſent a deputation of their officers to return their thanks. The whole army ſoon vied in excuſes for their late miſbehaviour, and in aſſurances of their reſolution

reſolution to ſupport their general in any ſervice on which he might be pleaſed to employ them. He accordingly decamped at the hour appointed; and making a circuit of forty miles, to avoid ſome difficulties which lay on the direct road, after a continual march of ſeven days, in which he was conducted by Divitiacus, a native of Gaul, he arrived within twenty-four miles of the German quarters.

Upon this unexpected arrival, Arioviſtus, in his turn, thought proper to deſire a conference with Cæſar. He propoſed that they ſhould meet on horſeback, and be attended only by cavalry. In this part of his army, which was compoſed chiefly of Gauliſh horſe, Cæſar was weak. But, not to decline the propoſal that was made to him, he mounted his ſuppoſed favourite legion on the horſes of the Gauls, and with this eſcort came to the place appointed for the conference.

It was an eminence in the midſt of a ſpacious plain, about half-way between the two armies. The leaders, each attended by ten of his officers, met at the top of the hill. Their eſcorts drew up at the diſtance of two hundred yards on each ſide.

Cæſar began the conference, by reminding Arioviſtus of the honours recently beſtowed upon him by the Roman Senate, who ordered him the uſual preſents, and gave him the title of king. "The "Edui," he ſaid, "were the allies of the Roman People; they had "formed this connection in the height of their proſperity, and when "they were ſuppoſed to be at the head of the Gauliſh nations; "that it was not the cuſtom of the Romans to let nations ſuffer by "their alliance, but to render it in every inſtance, to the party who "embraced it, a ſource of proſperity and honour. He therefore "renewed his former requiſition, that Arioviſtus ſhould not make "war on the Edui, or on any nation in alliance with Rome; that he "ſhould remit their tribute, and releaſe their hoſtages; and, if he "could not ſend back into their own country ſuch of the Germans

"as

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" as were already on this ſide of the Rhine, that he ſhould at leaſt " prevent the arrival of any more from that quarter."

In anſwer to theſe propoſitions, Arioviſtus replied, That he had been invited into Gaul by the natives of this country; that he had done them ſervices, and had exacted no more than a juſt reward; that, in the late quarrel betwixt them and himſelf, the Gauls had been the aggreſſors, and had ſuffered no more than the uſual conſequences of a defeat; that to indemnify him for his loſſes, they had ſubjected themſelves to a tribute, and had given hoſtages for the regular payment of it. " Am not I too," he ſaid, " by your own account, " in alliance with the Romans? Why ſhould that alliance, which is " a ſafeguard and an honour to every one elſe, be a loſs and a miſ- " fortune to me? Muſt I alone, to preſerve this alliance, reſign the " advantage of treaties, and remit the payments that are due to me? " No; let me rather be conſidered as an enemy than as an ally upon " theſe conditions. My countrymen have paſſed the Rhine, not to " oppreſs the Gauls, but to defend their leader. If ſtrangers are to " be admitted here, the Germans, as the firſt occupiers, have a right " prior to that of the Romans. But we have each of us our pro- " vince. What do Roman armies on my territory? I diſturb no " poſſeſſion of yours. Muſt I account to you likewiſe for the uſe " which I make of my own?"

To this pointed reply Arioviſtus ſubjoined a reflection, which ſhowed that he was not unacquainted with the ſtate of parties at Rome. " I know," he ſaid, " that the Romans are not intereſted " in this quarrel, and that, by cutting you off, I ſhould perform an " acceptable ſervice to many of your countrymen. But I ſhall take " no part in your internal diviſions. Leave me; make war where " you pleaſe; I ſhall not interpoſe in any matter which does not con- " cern myſelf."

Cæſar

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Cæſar continued to plead the engagements which the Romans had contracted with many of the nations who now claimed their protection. "If conqueſt could give any right to poſſeſſion," he ſaid, "we are the firſt conquerors. We have long ſince ſubdued the Ar-"verni; but it is not our practice to enſlave every nation we van-"quiſh, much leſs to forſake thoſe we have once patronized." While he yet ſpoke the German horſe had advanced, and even began to throw darts, which made it expedient for Cæſar to break up the conference. He accordingly withdrew, giving ſtrict orders to his people not to return the inſults of the enemy.

In a few days after this conference, the German chieftain propoſed another perſonal interview, or, if that were declined, deſired that ſome perſon of confidence ſhould be ſent with whom he might treat. Being gratified in the ſecond part of this alternative, but intending no more by this requeſt than a mere feint to lull the enemy into ſome degree of ſecurity, he pretended to take offence at the quality of the perſons who were ſent to him, ordered them into cuſtody, and on the ſame day put his army in motion upon a real deſign, which ſhowed that, barbarian as he was, he underſtood the plan, as well as the execution, of military operations. Obſerving that the Romans derived their ſubſiſtence from the country behind them, he made a movement, by which he paſſed their camp, took a ſtrong poſt about eleven miles in their rear, and by this means intercepted their ordinary ſupply of proviſions.

Cæſar for many days ſucceſſively endeavoured, by forming on the plain between the two armies, to provoke the enemy to a battle; but having failed in this purpoſe, he was obliged to divide his army, and to place it in ſeparate poſts, which he fortified, in order to recover a communication with the country behind him. He learned that the Germans had borne with great impatience the defiances he had given them; but that they were reſtrained from fighting by the predictions

of

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of their women, who foretold that their own people would be defeated, if they ſhould hazard a battle before the change of the moon.

The Germans, notwithſtanding the awe in which they ſtood of this prediction, endeavoured to diſlodge one of the diviſions of Cæſar's army, and, having failed in that attempt, were afterwards attacked by the Romans in their camp, and defeated with great ſlaughter. Arioviſtus himſelf, with the remains of his followers, fled to the Rhine, about fifty miles from the field of battle, paſſed that river in a ſmall canoe; numbers of his people periſhed in attempting to follow him, and the greater part of thoſe who remained were overtaken, and put to the ſword by Cæſar's cavalry.

In this manner Cæſar concluded his firſt campaign in Gaul. And laid the foundation of his future conqueſts in that country, by ſtating himſelf as the protector of its native inhabitants againſt the Helvetii and the Germans, two powerful invaders who were likely to ſubdue it. He placed his army for the winter among the nations whom he had thus taken under his protection, and ſet out for Italy, under pretence of attending to the affairs of his province on that ſide of the Alps; but more probably to be near to Rome, where he had many political intereſts at ſtake, friends to ſupport, and enemies to oppoſe, in their canvas for the offices of State. His head quarters were fixed at Lucca, the neareſt part of his province to Rome; and that place began to be frequented by numbers who were already of his party, or who deſired to be admitted into it, and with whom he had previouſly made his own terms in ſtipulating the returns they were to make for the ſeveral preferments in which he undertook to aſſiſt them.

At the election of Conſuls for this year, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was joined with Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos, of whom the latter had, in the capacity of Tribune, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an inſtrument of the moſt dangerous factions. Lentulus had lately attached

tached himself intirely to Pompey, and, by the influence of this patron, probably now prevailed in his election. He had been Edile in the Conſulate of Cicero, and had taken a vigorous part in thoſe very meaſures for which Cicero was now ſuffering in exile [6]. He was likely to favour the reſtoration of that injured citizen, and upon this account was now the more acceptable to Pompey, who, having an open rupture with Clodius, was diſpoſed to mortify him by eſpouſing the cauſe of his enemies.

Clodius, ſoon after his late victory over Cicero, greatly roſe in his preſumption, and, forgetting that he had prevailed more by the connivance of Pompey and Cæſar, and by the ſupport of their friends, than by any influence of his own, ventured to ſet Pompey himſelf at defiance, to queſtion the validity of his acts in the late ſettlement of Aſia, to ſet the young Tigranes, ſtill the priſoner of Pompey, at liberty [7]; and propoſed to reſtore him again to his kingdom. In the debates which aroſe on theſe meaſures in the aſſembly of the People, Pompey had the mortification to find that the ſarcaſms of Clodius were received by the audience in general with applauſe, as well as by the partizans of the Senate, in particular, with marks of ſatisfaction. Chiefly governed by vanity and impatient of obloquy, he abſented himſelf from the public aſſemblies during the remainder of Clodius' term in office, and was ready to embrace every meaſure by which he might be revenged of that factious Tribune, or regain his own credit with the more reſpectable claſs of the citizens [8].

Encouraged by this diviſion among their enemies, the majority of the Senate, who juſtly conſidered the cauſe of Cicero as their own, had ventured, on the twenty-ninth of October, while Clodius was yet in office, to move for his recal. Eight of the Tribunes concurred

[6] Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. ep. 22.
[7] Vid. Aſcon. Padian. in Orat. pro Milone.
[8] Plutarch. in Vit. Cicer. p. 475 & 476.

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in urging this motion, and it was rejected only in conſequence of the negative of Ælius Ligur, one of the college whom Clodius had prepared to act this part, and whom he was ready to ſupport by force, if the oppoſite party ſhould perſiſt in their motion [9].

Upon the election of the new Conſuls and Tribunes for the following year, better hopes of ſucceſs were entertained by the friends of Cicero. Lentulus declared that the reſtoration of this exile ſhould be the firſt object of his adminiſtration; and that he would not fail to move it on the day that he entered on office. Metellus too, the brother-in-law of Clodius, though always inclined to favour the popular faction, could not in this matter ſet himſelf in oppoſition to Pompey, and declared his intention to concur with the Conſul [10]. Milo, Sextius, and ſix more of the Tribunes, with all the Prætors except Appius Claudius, the brother of Publius, declared their intention to take an active part in forwarding this meaſure.

Encouraged by theſe appearances, Cicero left his retreat at Theſſalonica, and arrived at Dirrachium, before the twenty-fifth of November, to be at hand to conſult with his friends on the ſteps that were to be previouſly taken. Mean time the Conſuls-elect had their provinces aſſigned. Lentulus was deſtined to command in Cilicia and Cyprus, and Metellus in the farther province of Spain. Both were amply gratified in every article of their appointments, in order to confirm them in the intereſt of the Senate: but Cicero expreſſed great anxiety leſt theſe conceſſions ſhould be found premature; and, being made before the new Tribunes entered on office, or could have their voice in theſe deſtinations, was afraid leſt it might alienate their affections from his party, and render them leſs zealous to move for his recal.

U. C. 696. P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther, Q. Cæcil. Metell. Nepos.

The Conſul Lentulus, notwithſtanding, kept his word; and, on the firſt of January, the day of his entering on office, moved the Senate

[9] Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. ep. 23.

[10] Ibid. ep. 24.

to

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to reſolve that Cicero ſhould be immediately recalled from baniſhment; that all perſons oppoſing his return ſhould be declared enemies to their country; and that if the People ſhould be diſturbed by violence in paſſing this decree, it ſhould, nevertheleſs, be lawful for the exile to avail himſelf of it [11].

This motion was received in the Senate with general applauſe. Eight of the Tribunes were zealous in ſupport of it. On the contrary, two members of the college, Numerius and Serranus, were gained by Clodius to oppoſe it. Serranus, however, could venture no farther at this meeting than to plead for a delay. But he was prevailed upon, during the intervening night, to interpoſe his negative, and the motion accordingly could proceed no farther in the Senate.

It was reſolved, notwithſtanding, to propoſe a law to the People for Cicero's reſtoration; and a day was fixed for this purpoſe. Early in the morning of that day Fabricius, one of the Tribunes in the intereſt of the exile, endeavoured to occupy the place of aſſembly with an armed force, but found that Clodius, with a numerous troop of gladiators, was there before him. A conflict enſued, in which Fabricius, together with Ciſpius, another of the Tribunes who came to his aſſiſtance, with all the party of the Senate, were driven from the Forum.

Clodius, at the head of his gladiators, with ſwords already ſtained in blood, purſued his victory through the ſtreets. The temple of the Nymphs, in which were kept ſome public records which he wiſhed to deſtroy, was ſet on fire [12]; the houſes of Milo and Cæcilius the Prætor were attacked. "The ſtreets, the common ſewers, "the river," ſays Cicero, "were filled with dead bodies, and all "the pavements were ſtained with blood." No ſuch ſcene had been

[11] Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. ep. 26. & in Orat. poſt reditum.
[12] Cicero pro Milone, 27 Parad. 4 d. Haruſpicum Reſponſio 27.

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acted ſince the times of Octavius and Cinna, when armies fought in the city for the dominion of empire [14].

Quintus Cicero eſcaped by hiding himſelf under the dead bodies of his own ſervants, who were ſlain in defending his houſe. The Tribune Publius Sextius actually fell into the hands of his enemies, received many wounds, and was left for dead among the ſlain. This circumſtance, however, alarmed the party of Clodius not leſs than it alarmed his opponents. The odium of having murdered, or even violated the perſon of a Tribune, was likely to ruin their intereſt with the People; and they propoſed to balance this outrage by putting to death Numerius, another Tribune, who, being of their own ſide, ſhould appear to be killed by the oppoſite party; but the intended victim of this ridiculous and ſanguinary artifice, receiving information of their deſign, avoided being made the tool of a party at the expence of his life, and made his eſcape [15].

After ſo ſtrange a diſorder, parties for ſome months, mutually afraid of each other, abſtained from violence. The Tribune Milo commenced a proſecution againſt Clodius for his crimes; but it was for ſome time eluded by the authority of Appius Claudius, brother of the accuſed, who was now in the office of Prætor; and the courts, when actually called, were repeatedly diſperſed by the armed party of gladiators, with which Publius Clodius himſelf infeſted every public place. It was vain to oppoſe him without being prepared to employ a ſimilar force, and Milo accordingly had recourſe to this method. He purchaſed a troop of gladiators, and of Beſtiarii, or baiters of wild beaſts, the remainder of thoſe who had been employed by the Ediles Pomponius and Coſconius, and who were now in the market for ſale. He ordered the bargain to be ſecretly ſtruck, concealing the name of the buyer, leſt the oppoſite party, ſuſpecting the deſign, ſhould interpoſe to prevent him.

[14] Orat. pro Sext. c. 35, 36. 3°.

[15] Cicero pro Sextio.

So

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So provided, Milo ventured to encounter with Clodius. Their parties frequently engaged in the ſtreets, and the populace, fond of ſuch ſhews, enjoyed the ſpectacle which was preſented to them in every corner of the city [16].

While the diſorders which thus aroſe from the diſputes relating to Cicero's reſtoration were daily augmenting, he himſelf fell from the height of his hopes to his former pitch of dejection and ſorrow. The attempt which had been made in his favour might have ſucceeded, if Pompey had been fully prepared to concur in it. But all the meaſures of the Triumvirate being concerted at the quarters of Cæſar, Pompey was obliged, after declaring his own inclinations on the ſubject, to conſult his aſſociate, and found him by no means inclined to reſtore a citizen who was likely to be of ſo much conſequence, and who was to owe the favour of his reſtoration to any other than himſelf. The Tribune Sextius, before the late diſſolution, had made a journey into Gaul, to obtain the conſent of Cæſar to this meaſure, but could not prevail; and it is probable that this artful politician was unwilling to reſtore an exile who was likely to aſcribe the principal merit of that ſervice to Pompey, and, by his own inclinations in favour the Senate, to become an acceſſion to a party which Cæſar wiſhed to degrade and to weaken by every means in his power. It was to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Senate that Cæſar made his coalition with Pompey and Craſſus; and from animoſity to this body, he wiſhed to cruſh every perſon of conſequence to their party, and to favour the pretenſions of every ambitious citizen who ventured to act in open defiance of their government.

Pompey, in the mean time, though committing himſelf as a tool into the hands of Cæſar, was flattered with the appearance of ſovereignty which he enjoyed in the city, and willingly ſupported.

[16] Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 2.

Cæſar

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Cæſar in every meaſure that ſeemed to fix his attention abroad, conſented to the repeated augmentations of the army in Gaul, and approved of every enterprize in which their leader was pleaſed to employ them.

In this year, which was the ſecond of Cæſar's command, two more additional legions were by his orders levied in Italy; and, under pretence of an approaching war with the Belgæ, a nation conſiſting of many cantons in the northern extremities of Gaul, this reinforcement was made to paſs the Alps to the northward in the ſpring. As ſoon as the forage was up, he himſelf followed in perſon, took the field, and, in the uſual ſpirit of his conduct, endeavoured, by the rapidity of his motions, to fruſtrate or to prevent the deſigns of his enemies.

His force now conſiſted of eight Roman legions, beſides numerous bodies of horſe and foot from different cantons in Gaul, archers from Crete and Numidia, and ſlingers from the Balearian iſlands; ſo that it is likely the whole may have amounted to about ſixty thouſand men. The greater part of his army had wintered on the Soane [17] and the Douſe [18], as protectors, not as maſters, of the country, being received only in the character of allies. Cæſar having now taken numbers of their people into his army as auxiliaries or as hoſtages, and having ſpent twelve days in preparing for his march, took his route to the northward, under pretence of carrying the war into the enemy's country, or of preventing them from gaining, to their ſuppoſed confederacy againſt the Romans, any of the nations in the ſouthern parts of Gaul.

His way lay through the high, though level, countries, now termed Burgundy and Champagne, in which the Soane, the Moſelle, the Meuſe, and the Seine, with ſo many other conſiderable rivers

[17] Antiently named the Arar.

[18] The Dubis.

that

that run in different directions, have their ſource. After a march of fifteen days, he arrived in the Canton of the Remi [19], where he found a people, though of the Belgic extraction, diſpoſed to receive him as a friend, and to place themſelves under his protection.

From this people he had a confirmation of his former intelligence relating to the deſigns of the Belgic nations, and an account of the forces which they had already aſſembled. From the track of country that is watered by the rivers, which are now called the Oiſe, the Scheld, and the Meuſe, he underſtood that no leſs than three hundred and fifty thouſand men could be muſtered, and were actually aſſembled, or preparing to aſſemble, againſt him. To prevent the junction of this formidable power, or to diſtract part of its force, he detached his Gauliſh auxiliaries to make a diverſion on the Oiſe [20], while he himſelf advanced to the Aiſne [20], paſſed this river, and fortified a ſtation on its northern bank. Having a bridge in his rear, he left ſix cohorts properly intrenched before it, to ſecure his communication with the country behind him.

While he remained in this poſt, the Belgæ advanced with a great army, attacked Bibrax, a place of ſtrength about eight miles in his front; and having ſpent many hours in endeavouring to reduce it, were about to renew their aſſault on the following day. But Cæſar having in the night thrown into the garriſon a conſiderable reinforcement of archers and ſlingers, the appearance of this additional ſtrength on the battlements induced the enemy to deſiſt.

They nevertheleſs continued to advance, laid waſte the country, and came within two miles of his camp. They had a front, as appeared from their fires, extending about eight miles.

Cæſar, conſidering the numbers and reputation of this enemy, thought proper to proceed with caution. He obſerved them for

[19] Now the diſtrict of Rheims.

[20] Jafara and Axona.

ſome

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ſome days from his entrenchments, and made ſeveral trials of their ſkill in partial encounters before he ventured to offer them battle. But being encouraged by the event of theſe trials, he choſe a piece of ſloping ground that lay before his camp, and was fit to receive his army. As the enemies front was likely to extend farther than his, he threw up intrenchments on the right and left to cover his flanks; and with this ſecurity, to prevent his being ſurrounded, drew forth his army. The Belgæ too were formed on their part; but the ground between the two armies being marſhy, neither thought proper to paſs that impediment in preſence of the other; and after a few ſkirmiſhes of the horſe and irregular troops, the Romans re-entered their camp. The enemy, upon this event, diſappointed in their expectations of a battle, took their way to the fords of the Aiſne[21], in order to paſs the river, and get poſſeſſion of the bridge in the rear of the Romans. Cæſar had intelligence of this movement from the officer who was ſtationed to guard that poſt; and marching inſtantly with all the cavalry, archers, and ſlingers of the army, he arrived in time to overtake them, while yet entangled in the fords, and obliged them to retire.

The Belgæ, having made theſe ſucceſſive attempts with much impetuoſity, but without proper foreſight, ſoon appeared to be ill qualified to maintain a permanent war with ſuch an enemy. They were diſheartened by their diſappointments, and alarmed by the rumour of a diverſion which Cæſar had cauſed to be made in a part of their own country. They had exhauſted their proviſions, and found themſelves under a neceſſity to break up their camp. It was therefore reſolved in their general council, that their forces, for the preſent, ſhould ſeparate; and if any of their cantons ſhould be afterwards attacked by Cæſar, that the whole ſhould aſſemble again for their common defence.

[21] Axona.

With

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With this reſolution they decamped in the night, but with ſo much noiſe and diſorder that Cæſar ſuſpected a feint, or an intention to draw him into a ſnare. He therefore remained in his lines till the morning, when it appeared that they were actually gone, and were ſeen at a diſtance on the plain moving in the greateſt diſorder, and as in a total rout, ſtriving who ſhould ſooneſt get beyond the reach of their enemies. He purſued them with his cavalry ſo long as it was day, and, though with great bravery reſiſted in his attacks on their rear, made conſiderable havock. At the approach of night he diſcontinued the purſuit, and withdrew again to the camp he left in the morning. On the following day he moved with his whole army, and, that the enemy might not have time to re-aſſemble their forces, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. In the beginning of his march he followed the courſe of the Aiſne, and in his way reduced the Sueſſones and Bellovaci, two cantons that lay on the right and the left, near the confluence of this river with the Oyſe. From thence, being himſelf to march to the northward, to viſit the banks of the Sambre and the Meuſe, he detached the young Craſſus, with a conſiderable force, towards the ſea coaſts, to occupy thoſe cantons which now form the provinces of Normandy and Bretanny.

Part of the country through which the Meuſe and the Sambre paſſed, now forming the dutchy of Hainault, was then occupied by the Nervii, one of the fierceſt of the Belgic nations, who, having heard with indignation of the ſurrender of the Bellovaci and Sueſſones, their neighbours, prepared for reſiſtance, ſent ſuch of their people as, by their ſex or age, were unfit to carry arms into a place of ſecurity, aſſembled all their warriors, and ſummoned their allies to a place of general reſort. They took poſt on the Sambre, where the heights on both ſides of the river being covered with woods, enabled them to conceal their numbers and their diſpoſitions. They

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had intelligence that Cæſar, except in preſence of an enemy, uſually moved his legions with intervals between them, which were occupied by their baggage; and they made a diſpoſition to ſurpriſe him on the march, and under this diſadvantage. For this purpoſe they choſe their ground on the Sambre, and agreed that the van of the Roman army ſhould be ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted, but that the appearance of the firſt column of baggage ſhould be the ſignal for a general attack to be made at once from all the different ſtations in which their parties were poſted.

Cæſar, in the mean time, about three days after he had marched from Samarobriva, now ſuppoſed to be Amiens, being appriſed that he was come within ten miles of the river, on the banks of which the enemy was poſted, altered the form of his march, placed ſix legions, clear of incumbrance, in the van of his army, next to theſe the whole of his baggage, and in the rear the two legions that were laſt levied in Italy. When he entered the open grounds on the Sambre, a few parties of horſe appeared, but were ſoon driven into the woods by his cavalry. The legions that came firſt to their ground began, as uſual, to intrench, and received no diſturbance till the column of baggage came in ſight. At this ſignal multitudes of the enemy preſented themſelves on every ſide, drove in the cavalry that were poſted to cover the working parties, and in many places were cloſe in with the main body of the army before the infantry had time to uncover their ſhields, or to put on their helmets. The Roman ſoldier, nevertheleſs, ran to his colours, and, without waiting for the orders of his general, from whoſe abilities, on this occaſion, he could derive no advantage, endeavoured to join his companions in the order to which they were accuſtomed.

The event of this tumultuary action was various in different places. The Nervii, in one part of the action, forced the imperfect works of the Roman camp; but in another part of it were themſelves forced

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forced from their ground, and driven in great numbers into the river. Some of the Roman legions were broken, loſt the greater part of their officers, and when Cæſar arrived to rally them, were huddled together in confuſion. He was reduced to act the part of a mere legionary ſoldier, and, with a ſhield which he took from one of his men, joined in the battle, and in this manner, by his preſence and by his example, kept the enemy at bay, until he was relieved by the arrival of two legions of the rear-guard, and of two others, that were ſent by Labienus to ſupport him.

This ſeaſonable relief, where the Romans were moſt diſtreſſed, changed the fortune of the day; and the confuſion, which in the beginning of the action had been turned to ſo good account by the Nervii, now became fatal to themſelves. The greater part of them fell in heaps on the ground where they firſt began the attack. The few who attempted to fly were met at every opening of the woods by parties of the enemy, by whom they were forced into the thickets or put to the ſword; and as they fell in the end with little reſiſtance, many became a prey to the followers of the legions, who put themſelves in arms and bore a part in the maſſacre. Of four hundred chiefs only three eſcaped; and of an army of ſixty thouſand men, no more than five hundred left the field of battle. The piteous remains of this nation, conſiſting of ſuperannuated men, of women, and of children, ſent, from the marſhes in which they had been concealed, a meſſage to implore the victor's mercy; but it does not appear in what manner he diſpoſed of them.

Another enemy yet remained in the field. The Attuatici, deſcendants of the Cimbri and Teutones, the late terrors of Gaul, of Spain, and of Italy, being ſettled below the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuſe, had been on their march to join the Nervii, when they heard of this unfortunate action; and then withdrew to their own country. Being purſued by Cæſar, they ſhut themſelves up in their principal fortreſs.

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Here they made a voluntary ſubmiſſion; and being commanded to lay down their arms, threw ſuch a quantity of weapons from the battlements, as almoſt filled up the ditch to the height of the ramparts. But Cæſar, having delayed taking poſſeſſion of the place till the following day, the beſieged, whether they only meant to deceive him, or repented of their ſurrender, took arms again in the night, and in a ſally endeavoured to ſurpriſe the Roman army. But four thouſand of them being killed in this deſperate attempt, and the remainder being forced into the town, were, in conſequence of their former breach of faith, to the amount of fifty thouſand perſons, ſold for ſlaves.

Thus Cæſar having, in the ſecond year of his command, penetrated to the Meuſe and the Scheld, and being maſter of the eaſtern frontier of Gaul as far as the Rhine, and even from beyond that river having received ſome offers of ſubmiſſion; being maſter too of ſeveral Cantons in Normandy and Bretanny, which had ſubmitted to the young Craſſus, placed his army for the winter in the midſt of theſe conqueſts, and himſelf, as at the end of the former campaign, ſet out for Italy and the neighbourhood of Rome.

Here the principal point which he left in conteſt between the parties, relating to the reſtoration of Cicero, had been for ſome time determined. Clodius had found a proper antagoniſt in Milo, and, as often as he himſelf, or any of his party, appeared in the aſſemblies of the People, or in the ſtreets, was every where attacked with his own weapons.

Every one agreed, that if the laws could not give protection to the citizens who were moſt willing to be governed by them, they ſhould not by their formalities ſcreen the diſorderly and profligate in the practice of every ſpecies of crime.

Clodius had now for ſome months lain under an impeachment from Milo, and had declared himſelf candidate for the office of Ædile, endeavouring

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endeavouring by violence, and by the artifices of his brother, to put off the trial till after the elections, when, if he ſhould be veſted with any public character, he might be able to ſcreen himſelf under the privilege of his office. His own credit, however, and the fear which citizens entertained of his armed banditti, who were now in a great meaſure reſtrained by Milo, had abated ſo much, that the party of the Senate determined to make another vigorous effort for the reſtoration of their exiled member.

This buſineſs was accordingly again moved in the Senate; and about the beginning of June a decree was paſſed in the fulleſt terms for the reſtoration of Cicero. The Conſul was charged with the farther conduct of this meaſure as of the utmoſt conſequence to the commonwealth. This officer accordingly iſſued a proclamation, in terms employed only on the greateſt occaſions, requiring all who had the ſafety of the republic at heart to ſupport him in the execution of this decree. There was, in conſequence of this proclamation, a great concourſe of citizens from all parts of Italy. The enemies of the meaſure ſhrunk and withdrew their oppoſition. The act paſſed in the aſſembly of the People on the fourth of Auguſt. Cicero had been ſo confident of this event, that he on the ſame day ſailed from Dyrrachium, and on the following arrived at Brundiſium. On the eighth day, being ſtill at this place, he had intimation of the act being paſſed, ſet out for Rome, and continued his journey through multitudes of people, who were aſſembled on the roads to teſtify their joy upon his return: he entered the city on the fourth of September.

Next day he addreſſed the Senate in a harangue, which is ſtill extant, compoſed of laviſh panegyric or vehement invective, correſponding to the demerit or merit of parties in his late diſgrace and reſtoration. The multitudes that were aſſembled on this occaſion, their impatience to ſee him, their acclamations and wonderful unanimity,

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raiſed him once more to his former pitch of glory, and appeared to repay all the ſervices he had rendered to the public, and to compenſate all the ſorrows of his late diſgrace. The whole matter was, to perſons of reflection, an evidence of that weakneſs with which this ingenious man ſuffered himſelf to be affected by popular opinion, and of the levity with which multitudes run into different extremes.

During theſe tranſactions Cæſar was at a great diſtance, in the northern extremities of Gaul, engaged with fierce and numerous enemies, and involved in difficulties, concerning which there were various reports, and of which the iſſue, with reſpect to himſelf and his army, was ſuppoſed to be uncertain. In theſe circumſtances, however willing Pompey may have been to perſevere in the meaſures concerted with Cæſar, it is probable that he found himſelf unable to reſiſt the force of the Senate, which was now exerted to obtain the reſtoration of a perſon who had taken ſo diſtinguiſhed a part in their meaſures.

It is poſſible likewiſe, that in theſe circumſtances Pompey may have taken upon him to act independently of Cæſar, though he afterwards, in trying to gain Cicero to the party of the triumvirate, affected to give Cæſar equal merit with himſelf in procuring his recal, and he appealed to Quintus, the brother of Marcus Cicero, for the truth of this aſſertion [22]. Cicero himſelf, however, was not diſpoſed to give Cæſar any credit upon this account; and, though both Cæſar and Craſſus, after the matter was decided, affected to concur in it, yet he does not ſeem to have believed them ſincere. He imputes to Cæſar an active part in the injury he had received, but none in the reparation that was done to him [23].

Pompey, not the leſs jealous of Cæſar for their pretended union, and ſenſible of the advantage he had gained in a military command of

[22] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. i. ep. 9.

[23] Orat. in Senat. poſt Reditum, c. 15.

ſo long a duration at the gates of Rome, now wiſhed to propoſe for himſelf ſome appointment of equal importance. The moment of cordiality in the Senate on their recovering a favourite member, and the firſt emotions of gratitude in the breaſt of Cicero, whom he had obliged, appeared to form a conjuncture favourable for ſuch a propoſition; and he laid, with his uſual addreſs and appearance of unconcern, the plan of a motion to be made for this purpoſe.

The importation of corn into Italy had lately miſcarried, and a great ſcarcity and dearth had followed. The populace being riotous upon this complaint, had in the theatre attacked with menaces and violence numbers of the wealthy citizens who were preſent, and even inſulted the Senate itſelf in the Capitol. A report induſtriouſly raiſed by the enemies of Cicero was propagated, to make it be believed that the diſtreſs aroſe from his engroſſing for ſome time the attention of the State; and it was repreſented, in oppoſition to this clamour, that the late corn act of Clodius, and the miſconduct of one of his relations, intruſted by him with the care of the public granaries, was the cauſe of this diſtreſs. It was inſinuated by the adherents of Pompey, that no man was fit to relieve the People beſides himſelf; that the buſineſs ſhould be committed to him alone; and Cicero was called upon, as he entered the Senate, to make a motion to this purpoſe, as bound to procure ſome relief to the People, in return to their late cordiality in his cauſe.

Cicero had probably owed his recal to the declarations of Pompey in his favour; and, however little reaſon he had to rely on his friendſhip, it was convenient to appear on good terms with him. He ſuffered himſelf, therefore, to be carried by the ſtream that ſeemed to run in favour of this faſhionable leader. As if the neceſſity of the caſe had ſuggeſted the meaſure, he moved the Senate that a commiſſion, with proconſular power over all the provinces, ſhould be granted:

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granted to Pompey to ſuperintend the ſupplies of corn for the city. The Senate, either of themſelves diſpoſed to grant this requeſt, or won by the eloquence of their newly recovered member, inſtructed the Conſuls to frame a reſolution to this purpoſe, and carry it to the aſſembly of the People for their aſſent.

Here C. Meſſius, one of the Tribunes, propoſed to enlarge the commiſſion, and to comprehend the ſuperintendency of the revenue, with an allotment of fleets and armies ſuited to the extent of this unprecedented truſt. Pompey, obſerving that this additional clauſe was ill received, denied his having any ſhare in propoſing it, and affected to prefer the appointment intended for him in terms of the act which had been propoſed to be drawn up by the Conſuls. His partizans, however, ſtill pleaded for the extenſion of the commiſſion as propoſed by Meſſius, but in vain. The extravagance of the propoſal gave a general alarm, not only to the Senate, but even to the party of Cæſar, who wiſhed to employ Pompey againſt the Senate; but not to arm him with a military force, or to give him in reality that ſovereignty of which he ſo much affected the appearances.

The extraordinary commiſſion, now actually granted to Pompey, although it was exorbitant in reſpect to the influence it gave him over all the producers, venders, buyers, and conſumers of corn throughout the whole empire; yet, as it did not beſtow the command of an army, fell ſhort of the conſequences which Cæſar principally dreaded in his rival; and though probably the cauſe of ſome jealouſy, did not produce any immediate breach between them.

Pompey, being intitled by this commiſſion to appoint fifteen lieutenants, put Cicero at the head of the liſt; and this place was accepted of by him, on this expreſs condition, that it ſhould not prevent his ſtanding for the office of Cenſor, in caſe an election took place on the following year[24]. He was now in the way of recovering his

[24] Cicero Orat. in Senat. poſt Redit. c. 13. ad Att.

conſideration

conſideration and his dignity, but was likely to meet with more difficulty in reſpect to his property, which Clodius had taken care to have forfeited, having even demoliſhed his houſe, and conſecrated the ground to pious uſes. This laſt circumſtance had placed a bar in his way, which could not be removed without a formal decree of the pontiffs.

The college met on the laſt of September to hear parties in this cauſe. A violent invective having been pronounced by Clodius againſt his antagoniſt, Cicero replied in that oration, which is ſtill extant among his works on the ſubject of his houſe [25]. The queſtion was, Whether the ground on which Cicero's houſe had formerly ſtood, being formally conſecrated, could be again reſtored to a profane or common uſe? The Pontiffs appear to have been unwilling to give any explicit deciſion. They gave a conditional judgment, declaring, that the conſecration of Cicero's ground was void, unleſs it ſhould be found that this act had been properly authoriſed by the People. Both parties interpreted this judgment in their own favour; and the Senate was to determine, whether, in the act of conſecration, the conſent of the People had been properly obtained.

The Senate being met on the firſt of October, and all the parties who were members of it being preſent, Lucullus, in the name of the Pontiffs, his colleagues, reported, That they had been unanimous in their judgment to revoke the act of conſecration, unleſs it ſhould be found, that the magiſtrate, who had performed that ceremony, had been properly authoriſed by the People; but that this was a queſtion of law now before the Senate. A debate enſued, in which Lentulus Marcellinus, Conſul-elect for the following year, gave his opinion againſt the legality of the conſecration: he was followed by numbers, and the judgment of the Senate was likely to be on that ſide.

[25] Pro Domo ſua.

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Clodius, to put off the queſtion, ſpoke for three hours, and would have prevented the Senate's coming to any reſolution, if the members, becoming impatient, had not ſilenced him by their interruptions and clamours. A reſolution being moved for in the terms that had been propoſed by Marcellinus: the Tribune Serranus, who had formerly ſuſpended the decree for the recal of Cicero, now again interpoſed with his negative. The Senate, nevertheleſs, proceeded to engroſs the decree, in which it was reſolved, that the ground on which Cicero's houſe had formerly ſtood, ſhould be again reſtored to him in property; that no magiſtrate ſhould preſume to conteſt the authority of the Senate in this matter; and if any interruption were given in the execution of this decree, that the Tribune, who now interpoſed with his negative, ſhould be accountable for the conſequences. Serranus was alarmed. His relation, Cornicinus, to give him the appearance of greater importance, and an opportunity to recede with dignity, laid himſelf on the ground at his feet, and beſought him, by his intreaties, to ſay, that he would not inſiſt for the preſent on the negative he had given; but he begged the delay of a night to conſider of the matter. The Senate, recollecting the uſe which he formerly made of ſuch a delay on the firſt of January, was diſpoſed to refuſe it, when, upon the interpoſition of Cicero himſelf, it was granted; and he having thought proper to withdraw his negative intirely, the act accordingly paſſed on the ſecond of October. Cicero was allowed two millions Roman money [26] to rebuild his houſe in town; five hundred thouſand [27] to rebuild his villa at Tuſculum, and two hundred and fifty thouſand [28] to rebuild that at Formiæ. The firſt ſum he ſeems to have conſidered as adequate to his loſs, but complains of the other two [29]. He proceeded, without delay, to take poſſeſſion of his ground, and to employ workmen in

[26] About 16,145l. 16s. 8d.
[27] About 4,036l. 5s.
[28] About 2,018l. 4s. 6d.
[29] Ad Atticum, lib. iv. epiſt. 2.

rebuilding

rebuilding his houſe. He had made ſome progreſs, when Clodius, on the the third of November, came with an armed force, diſperſed the workmen, and attacked the houſe of Quintus Cicero that was adjoining, ſet it on fire, and kept a guard of his retainers in the ſtreets till it was burnt to the ground.

By this act of violence, Clodius had rendered his cauſe, in the criminal proſecution which ſtill hung over him, in a great meaſure deſperate. His ſafety required the actual deſtruction of his enemies, and he had no ſcruple to reſtrain him from the moſt violent extremes. He accordingly attacked Cicero as he paſſed in the ſtreets on the eleventh of November, attended by a company of his friends, forced them into a walled court, where they with difficulty defended themſelves. Clodius, in this attack, had frequently expoſed his own perſon, and might have been killed; but Cicero was now become too cautious for ſo bold a meaſure. "I have put my affairs," he writes to Atticus, "under a gentle regimen; and, in all the cures I am to "apply for the future, have renounced the uſe of the ſurgeon's "knife."

Clodius, upon this occaſion, being diſappointed of his deſign upon Cicero's life, came into the ſtreets on the following day, which was the twelfth of November, with a number of ſlaves provided with lighted torches, and eſcorted by a party armed in form with ſhields and ſwords. They made directly for a houſe belonging to Milo, with intention to ſet it on fire; took poſſeſſion of that of P. Sylla, in its neighbourhood, as a fortreſs in which to defend themſelves, and to keep off all aſſiſtance, till the houſe they were to ſet on fire ſhould be burnt to the ground.

While they were about to execute this purpoſe, a number of Milo's ſervants, led by one Flaccus, ſallied forth againſt the incendiaries, killed ſeveral of the moſt forward, put the reſt to flight, and would not have ſpared Clodius himſelf, if he had not availed himſelf of the

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retreat, which, in entering on this design, he had prepared for his party.

On the following day, Sylla made his appearance in the Senate, in order to exculpate himself; but Clodius still remained shut up in his own house. It appears scarcely credible, that a state could subsist under such extreme disorders; yet the author of them had been long under prosecution for crimes of the same nature; and it was still a question, whether the charge against him should be heard, or whether he should not be allowed to take refuge in one of the offices of State, to which he was sure of being named by the People, provided the elections were allowed to precede his trial.

Marcellinus, the intended Consul of next year, moved the Senate to hasten the prosecution, and to join the late disorders committed by the criminal to the former articles of the charge which lay against him. But Metellus Nepos, one of the present Consuls, and the relation of Clodius, having formerly found means to put off the trial, was now determined to prevent it altogether, by hastening the election of Ædiles, in which Clodius was candidate. He endeavoured to prevent any immediate determination of the Senate by prolonging the debate. But the majority of the members were greatly exasperated, and resolved, that the trial of Clodius for these repeated acts of violence and outrage should precede the elections. The Consul Metellus, notwithstanding, was determined to give him a chance to have refuge from this prosecution in the public office to which he aspired, and would have brought on the elections on the nineteenth of November, if he had not been prevented by Milo, who, in the middle of the preceding night, had, with an armed force, occupied the place of assembly, and was prepared to observe the heavens, and to announce some of the celestial presages of unfavourable events, in case other methods to suspend the elections should not have prevailed.

Metellus,

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Metellus, and the two brothers, Appius the Prætor, and Publius Clodius, being appriſed of this intention, and of the power with which it was ſupported, did not make their appearance in the field, and Milo kept his ſtation till noon, when he withdrew with the general applauſe of the Senate, and of the more orderly citizens.

The meeting, or aſſembly of the People, being adjourned to next day, Metellus, in order to lull the vigilance of Milo, aſſured him, that there was no occaſion to occupy poſts in the dead of the night; that he meant to do nothing before it was day; that if any one meant to ſuſpend the election, he ſhould, in the morning, be found in the market-place, and there ſubmit to the forms which any one was legally intitled to plead againſt his proceeding. Milo, accordingly, at break of day, repaired to the market-place, where he expected to be joined by the Conſul; but ſoon afterwards was told, that Metellus had deceived him, was haſtening to the field of Mars, where the elections were commonly held, and would inſtantly begin to call the votes, when it would be too late to interpoſe even under the pretence of religion. Upon this information, he immediately purſued and overtook him before the election began; and, by declaring his intention to obſerve the heavens, once more fruſtrated the deſigns of the faction.

On the twenty-firſt, the People could not aſſemble by reaſon of the public market; and their meeting being called for the twenty-third, Milo again took poſſeſſion of the field with an armed force; and Cicero, who concludes a letter to Atticus with deſcribing this ſtate of affairs, made no doubt of Milo's ſucceſs [39]. What paſſed on this day is uncertain; but it is known, that Clodius at laſt prevailed; that, being elected Ædile, he was, by the privilege of his office, ſcreened from the proſecution that was intended againſt him; and being him-

[39] Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. epiſt. 3.

ſelf

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U. C. 697. Cn. Corn. Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marc. Philippus.

ſelf ſafe, did not fail, upon the expiration of Milo's Tribunate, to retort the charge upon his proſecutor; and accordingly brought him to trial on the ſecond of February, for acts of violence and breach of the peace.

Pompey, as well as Cicero, appeared in defence of Milo; and they ſucceeded in having him acquitted, while they incurred a torrent of reproach and invective on the part of the proſecutor. The market-place was crowded with the partizans and retainers of Clodius: he had inſtructed them to reply to his interrogations, and to direct all their abuſe on Pompey. "Who ſtarves the People for want of corn? "Pompey. Who wants to be ſent to Alexandria? Pompey." This farce greatly diſturbed the concerted dignity of this politician. His principal object was conſideration, and he could not endure contempt. He was on bad terms with the Senate; and they liſtened to the invective of his perſonal enemies with apparent ſatisfaction. He complained to Cicero that the People were alienated from him; that the Nobility were his enemies; that the Senate was adverſe, and the youth in general ill diſpoſed to him [31]. He had indeed ſubmitted to become the agent of Cæſar at Rome; and, with the friends of the republic, incurred the odium of their joint meaſures, while the other was riſing every day in military reputation, and was forming an army almoſt at the gates of Rome, with which he held every party in the republic in awe. Pompey, on this occaſion, really did, or affected to believe, that a deſign was formed againſt his own life; he aſſembled a numerous party of his retainers from the country, and abſented himſelf, during ſome time, from the Senate and from the aſſemblies of the People.

[31] Cicer. ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. epiſt. 3.

CHAP. VII.

Return of Cato from Cyprus.——His Repulſe at the Election of Præ-tors.——Arrival of Ptolomy Auletes at Rome.——Viſit of Pompey and Craſſus to Cæſar's Quarters at Lucca.——Renewal of their Aſſociation.——Military Operations in Cæſar's Province.——Violent Election of Craſſus and Pompey.——Provinces.——Of Craſſus in Syria.——Of Pompey in Spain for five Years.——Craſſus departs for Syria.

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THE particulars we have related in the laſt chapter have led us on to the middle of February, in the Conſulate of Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcius Philippus. The firſt was attached to the forms of the republic, and was a ſtrenuous partizan of the Senate. His election was probably a continuation of the victory which this party had obtained in the reſtoration of Cicero. Philippus was now nearly related to Cæſar, having married his niece, the widow of Octavius; and poſſibly owed his preferment in part to that connection. He was, by this alliance, become the ſtep-father of young Octavius, now a boy of ten years of age, brought up by his mother in the houſe of her ſecond huſband. This appears to have been a man of great moderation, no way qualified to be a party in the deſigns or uſurpations of the family with which he was now connected.

Some time before theſe Conſuls entered on office, in the end of the preceding year, Marcus Cato arrived from having executed his commiſſion to Byzantium and Cyprus. The buſineſs upon which he had been ſent to the firſt of theſe places, was to reſtore ſome exiles who had been driven from their country in the violence of faction.

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At the ſecond he was to ſeize the treaſure and the other effects of Ptolomy, and to reduce his kingdom to the form of a Roman province. This meaſure, by all accounts, was unjuſt, and the office highly diſagreeable to Cato; but he was determined to perform it with the punctuality and reſpect due to all the orders of the State. While he himſelf went to Byzantium, he ſent forward Canidius to Cyprus, to intimate the commands of the Roman People, and to exhort the king to ſubmiſſion. Upon his return to Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, he had intelligence, that this prince, unable to bear the ruin of his fortunes, had, in deſpair, killed himſelf. His treaſure was ſeized, and his effects ſold: the whole yielded to the treaſury about ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver. Upon the approach of Cato to Rome, the magiſtrates, the Senate, and multitudes of the People went forth to receive him. The Senate thought proper in this manner to diſtinguiſh their friends, and to favour them with ſome marks of conſideration, in order to balance, if poſſible, the public honours that were frequently laviſhed on their enemies. For the ſame purpoſe likewiſe they reſolved to inſert the name of Cato among the Prætors of this year; but this honour he himſelf rejected as unprecedented and illegal. The year following, however, when he ſtood candidate for this office in the ordinary form, he was rejected; and Vatinius, the well-known tool of Cæſar, who had been employed by him in all meaſures that were too mean for himſelf to acknowledge, was choſen [r].

Cæſar, as has been obſerved on different occaſions, had a ſerious antipathy to Cato, conſidered him as a determined and reſolute opponent; and accordingly employed all his influence to exclude him from the offices of State, and probably had a particular pleaſure in procuring him a repulſe, by the preference of ſo mean an antagoniſt

[r] Plutarch. in Vit. Catonis, & Cicero in Vatinium.

as

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as Vatinius, who had the preſent majority of votes againſt him. But, in mentioning this event, Valerius Maximus is pleaſed to reverſe the form of expreſſion, uſual in ſpeaking of diſappointed candidates, ſaying, "That the liſt of Prætors for this year had not the "honour of Cato's name[a]."

Cato, in the execution of his late commiſſion, had taken exact inventories of all the effects ſold at Cyprus; but his books being loſt, or burnt in a veſſel that took fire on the voyage, Clodius frequently threatened him with a proſecution to account for the ſums he had received; and in this he was ſeriouſly inſtigated by Cæſar, who, from his winter quarters at Lucca, watched all the proceedings at Rome.

From this ſtation, the Proconſul of Gaul, although he could not attend in perſon, ſent his agents to the city, took part in every tranſaction of moment that related to his adherents or to his enemies. It appeared to be his maxim, that no man ſhould be his friend or his enemy without feeling the ſuitable effects. Memmius, who had been Prætor with Domitius Ahenobarbus, and who had joined his colleague in the proſecution that was commenced againſt Cæſar at the expiration of his Conſulate, having ſince been Prætor of Bithynia, and accuſed of miſconduct in his province, was attacked by him in a memorial which he drew up to be employed in ſupport of the charge. Memmius, in defending himſelf, recriminated, and ſpared no kind of invective; and in the iſſue of this matter had the good fortune to eſcape from the reſentment of his enemy.

The power of Cæſar, aided by his influence in ſo important a ſtation, was daily increaſing; and as he ſpared no pains to cruſh thoſe whom he deſpaired of gaining, ſo he declined no artifice to gain every one elſe. All the ſpoils of his province were diſtributed in gratuities at Rome. He knew the ſtate of every man's family, and where he could not reach the maſter, paid his court to the

[a] Val. Max. lib. vii. c. 5.

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miſtreſs, or to the favourite ſlave. While in his winter quarters at Lucca, many Senators reſorted from Rome to pay their court, of theſe no leſs than two hundred were ſaid to have been preſent at one time; and ſo many of them in public characters, that the Lictors, who paraded at the entrance of his quarters with the badges of office, amounted to one hundred and twenty [3].

During this winter, a queſtion relating to the reſtoration of Ptolomy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, gave riſe to warm debates in the Senate. This prince had been dethroned by his ſubjects; and, conceiving that he had ſufficient credit with many perſons at Rome, who had experienced his bounty, he repaired thither to ſolicit his own reſtoration. In his way he had an interview with Marcus Cato at Cyprus, and was adviſed by him to return to Egypt, and to accept of any terms from his own People, rather than to enter on ſuch a ſcene of anxiety and mortification, as he ſhould find every ſuitor for public favour engaged in at Rome. The giddineſs of the multitude, the violence of the parties of which one was ſure to oppoſe what the other embraced, the avarice of thoſe who might pretend to be his friends, and whoſe rapacity the treaſures of his kingdom could not aſſwage, were ſufficient to deter the king from proceeding on his voyage. But the importunity of his attendants, who wiſhed to have him reſtored without any conceſſions to his ſubjects, confirmed him in his former reſolution. He accordingly proceeded to Rome; and, to the great encouragement of his hopes, was favourably received by Pompey, who was then poſſeſſed of the reigning influence in the city, and who conſidered this as a proper opportunity to have a military commiſſion joined to the civil one of which he was already poſſeſſed.

In the mean while the people of Alexandria, not knowing to what place their king had withdrawn, imagined that he was dead, and

[3] Plutarch. in Cæſare.

put

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put his daughter Berenice in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Being afterwards informed, that he had ſteered for Italy, and was likely to engage the Romans againſt them, they ſent a deputation to counteract his ſolicitations in the Roman Senate. But theſe deputies being intercepted, and murdered by his order, he proceeded, without oppoſition, in his application at Rome, and obtained a decree for his reſtoration to the crown.

The king of Egypt, by having procured an act in his own favour, yet made but a ſmall progreſs in the buſineſs on which he was come. New difficulties aroſe in the choice of a perſon to carry the decree of the Senate into execution, which greatly retarded its effect.

Soon after this decree had paſſed, Lentulus Spinther, Conſul of the preſent year, being deſtined at the expiration of his magiſtracy in the city to command in Cilicia and Cyprus, had inſerted the buſineſs of reſtoring the king of Egypt as a part of his own commiſſion. But after Lentulus was gone for his province, this part of the commiſſion, probably by the influence of Pompey, who had views on that expedition, as the object of a military command for himſelf, was recalled. A ſtrong party of the Nobles, however, being jealous of the ſtate which Pompey affected, and of his continual aim at extraordinary powers, conceived an expedient to diſappoint him on this occaſion, or to render the commiſſion unworthy of his acceptance. In viſiting the books of the Sybils, verſes were ſaid to be found, containing an injunction to the Romans, not indeed to withhold their friendſhip from a king of Egypt ſoliciting their protection, but "to "beware how they attempted to reſtore him with a military force." The authenticity of this oracle was acknowledged, or declared by the Augurs; and the Tribune Caius Cato, who was averſe to the cauſe of Ptolomy, availed himſelf of it, to ſuſpend the effect of the reſolution which had been already taken in favour of that prince.

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The Senate and People were divided in their opinions. One party urged, that Pompey ſhould be appointed to reſtore the king of Egypt to his throne; others agreed, that he might be appointed, provided that he undertook the commiſſion, as Proconſul, attended by two Lictors, and, in the terms of the oracle, without any military force [4]. Pompey himſelf affected to think, that the buſineſs ſhould have been left as it was in the department of Lentulus the Proconſul of Cilicia and Cyprus; but his retainers, ſo long as they had any hopes of rendering this a military commiſſion, or of making it a pretence for placing their patron again at the head of an army, never ceaſed to urge that he ſhould be employed in it.

Ptolomy himſelf likewiſe wiſhed to have this buſineſs devolve upon Pompey, as the moſt likely perſon to command the force of the commonwealth, and to employ it effectually in his favour. But both deſpairing at laſt of ſucceſs, Ptolomy retired to Epheſus; and, fearing the reſentments he had provoked in the conteſt with his own people, and in the late murder of their deputies, he took refuge in the temple of Diana; a retreat from which he was conducted, about two years afterwards, by Gabinius, and replaced on his throne [5].

Pompey was diſguſted with his diſappointment in not being named to this ſervice, and probably more by the little reſpect that was paid to him by all parties while he lay under the laſh of continual invectives from Clodius, and from Caius Cato. Having obtained, on the fifth of April, a grant of ſome money towards executing his office of general purveyor of corn for the People; and having heard his own and Cæſar's embezzlement of the public treaſure, eſpecially in the alienation of the revenues of Campania, ſeverely cenſured in the Senate [6], he left Rome on pretence of applying the ſums with which he was now entruſted for the purchaſe of corn in Sar-

[4] Dio, lib. xxxix. c. 12—16. Cicero ad Lentulum. Epiſt. ad Familiares, lib. vii.

[5] Liv. Epitom. Decad. xi. lib. 5.

[6] Cicero ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. ep. 5 & 6.

dinia and Sicily. In his way he paſſed by Lucca, and, together with Craſſus, augmented the number of attendants who paid their court at the quarters of Cæſar. CHAP. VII.

At an interview of theſe three leaders they renewed their former confederacy; and it being known, that Domitius Ahenobarbus was to ſtand for the next election of Conſuls, Cæſar, conſidering how much a citizen ſo determined in oppoſition to himſelf, inſtigated by Cato, and ſupported by the party of the Senate, might attempt or execute againſt him in his abſence, propoſed, that the oppoſition to this candidate ſhould not be committed to any perſon of inferior conſideration in their party; but that Pompey and Craſſus ſhould themſelves enter the liſts, in order to exclude Domitius from the Conſulate [7].

It was agreed likewiſe, at this conference, that, upon the expiration of the term for which they were to hold this office, Pompey ſhould have the province of Spain, Craſſus that of Syria, each with a great army: that Cæſar ſhould be continued in his preſent command, and have ſuch additions to the eſtabliſhment of his province as might enable him to ſupport an army of eight Roman legions, with the uſual accompaniments of auxiliaries and irregular troops. Such was already the ſtate of his forces [8], including a legion of native Gauls; he having, contrary to the expreſs limitations of his commiſſion, by which he was reſtricted to three legions, made this enormous augmentation. This convention, like the former, was, for ſome time, kept a ſecret, and only began to be ſurmiſed about the uſual time of the elections.

Soon after theſe matters were ſettled, Craſſus being to remain in Italy, Pompey proceeded on his voyage to Sardinia, and Cæſar repaired to his army in Gaul, where the war in different places had

[7] Suet. in Cæſare, c. 24.

[8] Ibid.

been

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been renewed in his abſence. Among the diſpoſitions he had made for the winter, the young Craſſus was left to command on the coaſts of the Britiſh Channel; and Galba, another of his lieutenants, was poſted among the Alps to protect the traders of Italy at a principal paſs of theſe mountains. This officer had diſlodged the natives from many of their ſtrong holds, whence they were accuſtomed to infeſt the highways, and to lay ſuch as paſſed into Italy under contributions; and he took hoſtages for their good behaviour for the future. He fixed his quarters, during the winter, at Octodurus, now ſuppoſed to be the village of Martinach in the Vallé, ſituated at the foot of the mountains over which travellers paſs in the route of the greater abbey of St. Bernard. Here he remained for ſome time in quiet poſſeſſion of his poſt; but the natives obſerving, that the legions under his command had been greatly reduced by the ſervices of the preceding campaign, and by the detachments which he had recently made from his quarters, formed a deſign to ſurpriſe and to cut him off. For this purpoſe, the inhabitants of the village in which he was quartered, ſuddenly withdrew from him, and ſoon after appeared with multitudes of their countrymen on the neighbouring mountains. From thence they made a furious attack on the Roman entrenchment, continually ſending freſh numbers to relieve thoſe who became fatigued, or who had exhauſted their weapons.

The Romans, on the firſt proſpect of this attack, had deliberated, whether they ſhould not abandon their poſt; but had reſolved to maintain it, and were now become ſenſible that they muſt periſh, if they could not, by ſome impetuous ſally, diſperſe the numbers that were aſſembled againſt them. For this purpoſe, they determined to break from their lines, and to mix with the enemy ſword in hand; a manner of fighting, in which, by the ſuperiority of the Roman ſhield and ſword, they always had a great advantage. They accordingly ſallied from their entrenchment, and, with the ſlaughter of ten

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ten thouſand of the enemy, who began the attack with thirty thouſand, obliged them to retire. Galba, nevertheleſs, not thinking it prudent to remain in a ſituation in which he had been expoſed to ſo much danger, retired, for the remainder of the winter, to the neighbourhood of Geneva.

The war had broke out at the ſame time in the quarters of Craſſus, at the other extremity of the province. Some nations, who had made their ſubmiſſion, and given hoſtages at the end of the preceding compaign, repented of this ſtep, and entered into a concert to recover their liberties. They began with ſeizing the Roman officers who had been ſtationed among them as commiſſaries to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army, and they detained them as pledges for the recovery of their own hoſtages.

The principal authors of this revolt were the inhabitants of what is now termed the coaſt of Britanny, between the rivers Vilaine and Blavet. They truſted to the ſtrength of their ſituation on ſmall iſlands, or peninſulas, that were joined to the continent only by ſome narrow beach or iſthmus, which the ſea, at high water, overflowed. They depended likewiſe on the ſtrength of their ſhipping, in the uſe of which, by the practice of navigation on that ſtormy ſea, and by their frequent voyages even to Britain, they were extremely expert. They ſupplied the want of canvas and hempen cordage with hides and thongs of leather, and the want of cables with iron chains, to which they faſtened their anchors.

Cæſar, having received intellignce of this enemy while he remained in his quarters at Lucca, ſent orders to build as many ſhips as poſſible upon the Loire, and to aſſemble mariners from the neighbouring coaſts. Apprehending, at the ſame time, a general defection of the province, and perhaps a deſcent from the Germans, that were ever ready to profit by the diſtreſs or diviſions of their neighbours, he ſent Labienus with a large body of horſe to the

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Moſelle, at once to awe the Belgic nations, and to guard the paſſage of the Rhine. He ſent alſo Titurius Sabinus with a proper force into Normandy, where the natives were already in arms; and the young Craſſus to the Garonne, to give the natives of Gaſcony ſufficient occupation in their own country, and to prevent their junction with the authors of this revolt.

He himſelf made haſte to join the troops that were ſtationed in Britanny, and ordered Decimus Brutus to aſſemble his fleet, and to make ſail without loſs of time for the bay of Vannes. After his arrival on the coaſt, he met with all the difficulties which he had reaſon to expect from the nature of the country, and from the diſpoſition and ſkill of its inhabitants. The enemy had retired from the continent to their ſtrong holds on the promontories or head-lands, in which they were periodically ſurrounded by the ſea. Being attacked at one ſtation, they withdrew in their boats to another; and by their ſituation ſeemed to be ſecure from any enemy, who was not in a condition to make his attack, at once, both by ſea and by land. They eluded a land attack by embarking on board of their veſſels; and an attack from the ſea, by landing from their boats, which they drew up on the beach.

Cæſar, to decide the event of this ſingular conteſt, was obliged to wait the arrival of his ſhipping. As ſoon as it appeared, the natives, ſenſible that their fate depended on the event of a ſea-fight, embarked the moſt expert of their warriors, got under ſail with all their force, amounting to two hundred and twenty veſſels, and ſteered directly for their enemy. While the fleets drew near to each other, the ſhores were crowded with ſpectators; and the army with Cæſar himſelf came forth on the heights, from which they could behold the ſcene.

The Romans being inferior to their enemy in the uſe of their ſails, as well as in the ſtrength of their veſſels, endeavoured to ſupply their defect, as uſual, by an effort of addreſs and unexpected contrivance.

They

They had provided themſelves with ſcythes, faſtened to ſhafts of a proper length, in order to cut the enemy's rigging, and let looſe or diſcompoſe their ſails; and having thus, in the firſt encounter, diſabled many of their ſhips, they grappled with them, and boarded them ſword in hand.

The Gauls, ſeeing a great part of their fleet thus irrecoverably loſt, would have eſcaped with the remainder; but were ſuddenly becalmed, and being, from ten in the morning till night, continually expoſed to the attack of the Romans, were all either taken or deſtroyed; and the nation, thus bereft of its principal ſtrength and the flower of its people, ſurrendered again at diſcretion.

Under pretence that they had violated the law of nations, in ſeizing the perſons of officers who were ſtationed among them in a public character, their leaders were put to death, and their people ſold for ſlaves.

The inhabitants of the lower banks of the Seine, at the ſame time, having been defeated by Titurius, returned, agreeably to what was ſaid to be the character of Gauliſh nations, to their former ſubmiſſion, with the ſame levity with which they had thrown it aſide.

The nations inhabiting the banks of the Garonne were ſtill inclined to reſiſt the approaches of Craſſus to their country. To the advantage of numbers, they joined a lively courage, of which the Romans themſelves had frequently felt the effects. Every chief was attended by a number of followers, whom he called his Soldurii, and who had devoted themſelves to his ſervice. While the chieftain lived, the Soldurii fared in every thing alike with himſelf; but if he periſhed by violence, they too muſt die, and there was no inſtance of their failing in this part of their engagement.

Craſſus being arrived on the Garonne, and warned by the example of other Roman officers, who had fallen or miſcarried in this ſervice, deferred paſſing the river till he had augmented his force by the

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junction of ſome troops from Toulouſe, and other parts of the Roman province. Being thus reinforced, he proceeded againſt the natives who were divided into many little hordes, of which Cæſar has, on this occaſion, enumerated twelve, jealous of each other, and unwilling to join even in their common defence. They accordingly, notwithſtanding their valour, fell ſeparately into the hands of the Romans, and in the end were vanquiſhed, or made their ſubmiſſion.

By theſe conqueſts, the former acquiſitions of Cæſar on the Seine and the Marne, had a direct communication with the diſtricts of Toulouſe and Narbonne, or what was already called the Roman province of Gaul. Cæſar himſelf, having re-eſtabliſhed peace in thoſe tracts which are now termed Britanny and Normandy, cloſed the campaign with a march to the northward, where he penetrated through the marſhes and woods into Brabant; but being ſtopped by heavy rains, and the approach of winter, he returned on his route, without making any ſettlement; and having put his army into winter quarters among the nations who had lately revolted, he ſet out as uſual for Italy. There his preſence was greatly wanted by Pompey and Craſſus, who, on the approach of the elections, were likely to meet with unexpected difficulties in executing the plan lately concerted between them.

At Rome, the ſpring and part of the ſummer had paſſed in diſputes between perſons connected with the oppoſite parties. Clodius had attacked Cicero in his own perſon, in his effects, and in the perſons of his friends. P. Sextius, who, in the character of Tribune, had been ſo active in the recal of this injured exile, and who had expoſed his life in the riots to which that queſtion gave riſe, was now accuſed, and brought to trial for ſuppoſed acts of violence committed by him in the courſe of thoſe conteſts. He was defended with great zeal by Hortenſius, and with a proper gratitude by Cicero; and by their

joint endeavours was, on the twelfth of March, acquitted by the unanimous verdict of his judges *. CHAP. VII.

After this trial was over, a piece of ſuperſtition, curious as it forms a picture of the age, gave occaſion to a freſh diſpute between Cicero and his enemy Clodius. Upon a report, that horrid noiſes and claſhing of arms had been heard under ground in one of the ſuburbs, the Senate thought proper to take the ſubject under conſideration, and they referred it for interpretation to the college of Aruſpices. This body delivered in judgment, that the gods were offended, among other things, by the neglect and profanation of the holy rites, and by the proſtitution of ſacred places to profane uſes. This reſponſe Clodius endeavoured to apply to the caſe of Cicero's houſe, once conſecrated and ſet apart for religion, and now again profaned by being reſtored to its former owner. Cicero endeavoured to remove the charge of profanation from himſelf to Clodius, by reviving the memory of his famous adventure in Cæſar's houſe. "If I quote "any more recent act of impiety," ſays he, "this citizen will recal "me to the former inſtance, in which he intended no more than "adultery." He proceeded, however, to apply the reſponſe of the Augurs to a late intruſion of Clodius in ruſhing into the theatre with an armed rabble, while the games were celebrating in honour of the great Goddeſs.

The Senate for two days together liſtened to the mutual invectives of both parties, and were entertained with their endeavours to ſurpaſs each other in declarations of zeal for religion. Cicero, however, by the goodneſs of his cauſe, the force of his admirable talents, and perhaps ſtill more by the aid of the Triumvirate, whoſe favour he earneſtly cultivated, prevailed in the conteſt.

* Cicero ad Quint. Frat. lib. ii. epiſt. 4. Orat. pro Sext.

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This martyr in the cauſe of the Senate, ever ſince his return from baniſhment, courted the formidable parties, whoſe power, at leaſt to hurt, he had experienced. He committed, or affected to commit, himſelf intirely into the hands of Pompey; and, with a declaration of much attachment alſo to Cæſar, compoſed a flattering panegyric, which this leader received with great pleaſure [10], probably more on account of the breach it was likely to make among his opponents in the Senate, than on account of the ſatisfaction he received from it, or of any real acceſſion of ſtrength it gave him in the purſuit of his deſigns. By this conduct Cicero diſguſted his former friends, and felt his ſituation in the city ſo painful, that he abſented himſelf, during great part of the ſummer, from Rome; a circumſtance which interrupted the courſe, or changed the ſubject of thoſe letters to which we are indebted for the beſt record of the times.

We have indeed great reaſon to regret any interruption of materials from which the hiſtory of this Conſulate might be collected. The republic ſeems in part to have recovered its dignity by the able and reſolute conduct of Marcellinus, and by the tacit concurrence of his colleague Philippus, who, though connected with Cæſar, did not co-operate in the execution of his deſigns [11]. By the influence of theſe Conſuls the applications made to the Senate by Gabinius, now commanding in Syria, for certain cuſtomary honours were rejected [12]. This refuſal was intended to mortify Pompey, who protected Gabinius, and who himſelf was commonly treated by Marcellinus with great freedom and ſeverity. The ariſtocratical party recovered their courage, and Domitius Ahenobarbus, by their influence, was in a fair way to ſucceed in his election for Conſul of the following year.

[10] Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 5.
[11] Cic. ad Quint. Frat. lib. ii. ep. 6.
[12] Ibid. ep. 7.

The

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The Tribunes, excited chiefly by Caius Cato, eſpouſed the oppoſite intereſt, and propoſed many reſolutions to the People, in order to favour their deſigns. The Conſul Marcellinus endeavoured to interrupt them by the appointment of faſts and holidays, in which it was not lawful to tranſact affairs in the aſſembly of the People. The Tribunes, in their turn, ſuſpended the election of Conſuls, and in this were encouraged by Pompey and Craſſus, who feared the effect of a choice to be made under the direction of Marcellinus, and had not even openly declared their own intentions to offer themſelves. Their late interview with Cæſar, and the part they ſince took, had created ſuſpicion of their views. Marcellinus put the queſtion to Pompey in the Senate, whether he deſired the Conſulate for himſelf? And this politician, long unaccuſtomed to make plain declarations, anſwered indirectly, That if there were no ill-diſpoſed citizens in the commonwealth, he ſhould have no ſuch deſire. Craſſus, to the ſame queſtion, made a like evaſive reply, That he ſhould be governed by what he judged beſt for the State. Both appear to have perceived that they were to rely for ſucceſs chiefly on popular tumults; and as theſe would come to be employed with great diſadvantage againſt ſuch an able and reſolute magiſtrate as Marcellinus, they took meaſures to defer the elections until the term of the preſent Conſuls in office ſhould expire [13].

They found the Tribune Caius Cato a proper inſtrument for their purpoſe, ſecured his negative, and employed it repeatedly to ſuſpend the elections. The republic, upon the approach of the new year, being to loſe its former magiſtrates, without any ſucceſſion of new ones, was likely to fall into a ſtate of great confuſion. The Senate went into mourning, and diſcharged every member from aſſiſting at any of the public diverſions. In this ſtate of ſuſpence and

[13] Dio, lib. xxxix. c. 37.

public

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public alarm, Publius Clodius, who had for ſome time been at variance with Pompey, as if gained by the ſympathy of meaſures on this occaſion, was reconciled to him, and attacked Marcellinus with continual invectives.

In this manner the year was ſuffered to elapſe without any election of Conſuls. The faſces dropped from the hands of Marcellinus and Philippus, and an interregnum enſued. Pompey and Craſſus then openly appeared as candidates for the vacant offices of State. Young Craſſus came from the army in Gaul, attended by a numerous body of citizens then ſerving under Cæſar: they brought a conſiderable acceſſion of votes to the party of their general, and were themſelves not likely to be outſtripped by their opponents in acts of ſedition and the uſe of force. Domitius Ahenobarbus alone, ſupported by the councils of his kinſman Marcus Cato, had the courage to perſiſt in a conteſt with theſe powerful and dangerous antagoniſts. The time of election being fixed, he went before break of day to occupy his place in the field of Mars, but found his way already obſtructed by a diſorderly populace, and even by men in arms. The ſlave who carried a light before him was killed. Some of his friends, particularly Marcus Cato, was wounded *; and his adherents, not being in condition to diſpute the ground with the force that was aſſembled againſt them, retired to their own houſes, leaving Pompey and Craſſus to be named without oppoſition.

In the ſame manner the faction of the Triumvirate over-ruled every other election, procured the preference, which has already been mentioned, of Vatinius to Cato, and filled every office with their own creatures. They carried the appointment of Ædiles by actual force, and at the expence of the lives of ſome of thoſe who oppoſed them. Pompey himſelf having been entangled in one of theſe tumults,

* Plutarch. in Craſſ. Pompeio, &c.

retired

retired to change his clothes, which were ſtained with blood. They were diſappointed in the nomination only of two of the Tribunes, Publius Acquilius Gallus and Ateius Capito, who were of the oppoſite party. CHAP. VII.

Theſe events however were, by the conteſt which aroſe on every queſtion, deferred for all the months of winter and ſpring. The offices of Prætor were not filled up by the middle of May [15]. The elections had begun for this purpoſe ſome time before; but it being obſerved that Marcus Cato had the firſt Centuries, Pompey, under a pretence, allowed by the Roman ſuperſtition, that he was to obſerve the heavens, interpoſed to ſuſpend the ballot. The faction employed the time which they obtained by this delay in procuring votes, and were ſo unguarded in giving money, that they laid themſelves open to a criminal proſecution, and had reaſon to apprehend that whatever election they made would be diſputed at law. To prevent this conſequence, Afranius, a perſon intirely under the direcion of Pompey, moved in the aſſembly of the People for a diſpenſation from the ſtatute of bribery in the caſe of elections then depending for the office of Prætor; and having obtained this extraordinary indulgence, ſecured to the party the fruits of their influence and of their money [16]. U. C. 698. Cn. Pompeius Magnus, 2do; M. Licinius Craſſus.

Among the acts of Pompey and Craſſus, in their ſecond Conſulate, are mentioned ſome regulations reſpecting the courts of juſtice by which the juries, though taken in equal numbers from the Senate, the Equeſtrian order, and the maſs of the People, were nevertheleſs limited to perſons of conſiderable property. There are likewiſe mentioned ſome reſolutions then paſſed to enforce the laws againſt murder, and to amend thoſe againſt bribery by additional penalties, together with a ſumptuary law to check the extravagance and prodigality of the age. "So willing were theſe magiſtrates," ſaid Hor-

[15] Cicer. ad Quint. Frat. lib. ii. ep. 9.

[16] Cicero ad Quint. Frat.

tenſius,

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tenſius, " to compenſate by their acts for the defects of their practice, " that they made laws even to limit the expence of the table." Such profeſſions to reform the age were probably intended to retrieve the character which the popular leaders had loſt by the violence and bare-faced corruption of their recent canvaſs, and to mark their adminiſtration with ſome meaſures that might ſeem to diſprove the imputations commonly laid to their charge.

Pompey, at the ſame time, had an opportunity to ſignalize his Conſulate, by opening, during the preſent year, the magnificent theatre which he himſelf, or his freedman Demetrius, had erected for the accommodation of the People at their public ſhows. At this ſolemnity were exhibited many dramatic performances and entertainments of every ſort. Among theſe, in the courſe of five days, no leſs than five hundred lions were let looſe and killed by African huntſmen; and the whole concluded with the baiting of eighteen elephants, animals that ſeemed to have ſagacity enough to be conſcious of the indignity and the wrong which they ſuffered. By their piteous cries they moved compaſſion in the breaſts even of that barbarous rabble, for whoſe entertaiment they were ſlain [17].

The allotment of provinces, which was the principal object of this Conſulate, was for ſome time kept from the view of the People. Pompey continued to profeſs that he did not intend to accept of any province whatever. But the public gave no credit to ſuch declarations on his part; and his own partizans were accuſtomed to preſs upon him what he affected to decline [18]. Every one, therefore, in all converſations, endeavoured to accommodate him in a province, ſome with Syria, others with Spain and Africa; to all which ſuggeſtions, or officious projects, he affected indifference, or even averſion. Trebonius, however, at this time Tribune of the People,

[17] Dio. lib. xxxix. Cicero ad Familiar. lib. vii. Plin. lib. viii. c. 7.
[18] Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 9.

made a motion, which was ſoon underſtood to be the real mind of Pompey, and the actual reſult of his counſels: that the province of Syria ſhould be aſſigned to Craſſus; that of Spain, together with Africa, to himſelf; each in imitation of Cæſar's appointment in Gaul, to continue for five years, with ſuch eſtabliſhments of men and of money as the neceſſity of the ſervice during that period might require. This motion was made in execution of the original plan concerted with Cæſar, and it ſerved to bring to light the object of their late conference at Lucca, which had ſo much alarmed the friends of the republic.

On the day that this motion was made in the aſſembly, Marcus Cato, by means of the Tribunes Atteius Capito and Acquilius Gallus, obtained leave to addreſs the People. He endeavoured to diſappoint the purpoſe of the meeting, by occupying ſo much of their time as to prevent their coming to any deciſion. Being commanded ſilence, and perſiſting to ſpeak, he was ordered by Trebonius into cuſtody. In this manner, however, the firſt day was ſpent, and the aſſembly adjourned to the next morning.

The Tribunes Atteius and Gallus, ſuſpecting that means might be uſed to exclude them from the aſſembly which was then to be held, took meaſures to ſecure their admiſſion. For this purpoſe Gallus remained all night in the ſenate-houſe, which fronted the Comitia or place of aſſembly. But this device was turned againſt himſelf; the oppoſite party having placed a guard to confine him in that place during the greater part of the following day. His colleague Atteius, with Cato, Favonius, and ſome others, eluded the parties that were placed to intercept them, and found their way to the place of aſſembly. When the queſtion was put, Cato, being lifted up into view by thoſe of his friends who were about him, gave an alarm that it thundered; an intimation ever held by the religious cuſtoms of the Romans to

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be ominous, and ſufficient to ſuſpend their procedure in any buſineſs of State. He was, however, on this occaſion forced from the Comitium with the ſlaughter of ſome of his friends, who reſiſted the force that was employed againſt them. About the ſame time the Tribune Acquilius was wounded in forcing his way from the Senate-houſe, and a great concourſe of people was forming round him as he ſtood bleeding in the ſtreets. Violence to the perſon of a Tribune was ſtill conſidered with religious horror, and the Conſuls, in whoſe behalf this tumult had been raiſed, fearing the conſequence of ſuffering ſuch a ſpectacle to remain in the view of the People, ordered the multitude to withdraw, and removed the Tribune, ſtill bleeding of his wounds, from the public view.

In the ſequel of theſe operations, Pompey and Craſſus obtained the provinces in queſtion, and in the terms propoſed; they proceeded to fulfil their part of the late engagement to Cæſar, by moving that his command ſhould be continued during an additional term of five years more. "Now, indeed," ſaid Cato (addreſſing himſelf to Pompey), "the burden is preparing for your own ſhoulders. It will "one day fall on the republic, but not till after it has cruſhed you "to the ground."

Theſe arrangements being made, the officers thus appointed proceeded to take charge of their truſt. Pompey, the newly named Proconſul of Spain, under pretence of a war ſubſiſting with the Vaccei, raiſed the eſtabliſhment of his province to four legions, two of which Cæſar ſoon after, under pretence of more urgent ſervice in Gaul, had the addreſs to borrow from him.

Pompey either had not yet begun to perceive what Cato ſuggeſted to him, That the greateſt difficulty he had to fear, in preſerving the eminence to which he aſpired, was the emulation of Cæſar; and that the ſword muſt determine the conteſt between them; or he flattered himſelf

himſelf that, like the perſon who ſtays at the helm, he was to command the veſſel; and by remaining at the ſeat of government, while his aſſociates and rivals accepted of appointments at a diſtance, that he continued to preſide as ſovereign, and ſupreme dictator of the whole. Under the influence of theſe conceptions, although his proper ſtation was Spain, he either procured, or at leaſt availed himſelf of, a motion that was made by ſome of the Tribunes to detain him in Italy; and fancied, while he ſent his own lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, as private agents for himſelf into that province, that even Cæſar and Craſſus, though in a more publick character, were however to act in a ſubordinate ſtation to himſelf. CHAP. VII.

Craſſus ever conſidered riches as the chief conſtituents of power, and he expected, with the ſpoils of Aſia, to equal the military or political advantages that were likely to be acquired by his rivals in Europe. From the levies and other preparations which he made for his province, it ſoon appeared that he intended a war with the Parthians, the only antagoniſts which the Romans had left on the frontier of Syria. Obſerving that he was likely to meet with an oppoſition to this deſign from the Senate and from the Tribunes, who exerted their powers to interrupt his preparations, and took meaſures to detain him at home, he became the more impatient to ſet out for his province, and left Rome before the expiration of the year for which he was elected into the office of Conſul. The Tribune Atteius endeavoured to ſtop him, firſt by his tribunitian negative, next by actual force, and laſt of all by ſolemn imprecations, devoting the Conſul himſelf, and all who ſhould follow him on that ſervice, to deſtruction.

While Craſſus paſſed through the gates of Rome, on his intended departure for Aſia, this Tribune, with a lighted fire, the uſual form of devoting a victim to the infernal gods, denounced a curſe, which greatly alarmed many of the followers of Craſſus. This piece of ſuperſtition he might, in his own mind, have juſtly contemned: but it

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was imprudent to slight the effects of it on the minds of the People, and on the minds of his own army. In the apprehension of both he was by this form doomed to destruction, and proceeded in the war at the head of troops ill prepared to ward off calamities, which they were thus made to believe hung over them, in consequence of imprecations of which they did not question the efficacy.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

State of the Commonwealth.——Adminiſtration of the Provinces.——Operations of Cæſar in Gaul, Germany, and Britain.——State of Pompey at Rome.——Progreſs of Craſſus into Syria.——Kingdom of Parthia.——Invaſion of Craſſus beyond the Euphrates.——Second Invaſion of Cæſar in Britain.

CHAP. I.

THE provincial appointments of Pompey and Craſſus, with that which was at the ſame time prolonged to Cæſar, ſeemed to diſmember the empire, if not to expoſe the republic itſelf to great danger.

Of theſe three adventurers, Pompey and Cæſar, apart from the evil particularly apprehended in any of their meaſures, were in themſelves

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ſelves ſubjects of a very dangerous character: neither poſſeſſed that dignity of mind which fits the citizen for the equality of perſons in a republican State; neither could acquieſce in the ſame meaſures of conſideration or power which other Senators had enjoyed before him; neither could be at eaſe where he did not command as maſter, or appear at leaſt as the principal object in every ſcene in which he was employed.

This paltry ambition, ſome ages before, might have been held in contempt by the meaneſt of the People, or muſt have ſhrunk before that noble elevation of mind by which the ſtateſman conceived no eminence beſides that of high perſonal qualities employed in public ſervices, or before that auſtere virtue which confined the public eſteem to acts of public utility, ſupported by unblemiſhed reputation in private life. But in the preſent age, there was a faſhion which ſet ſuch antiquated notions at defiance, controuled the authority of the State itſelf, and beſtowed on private adventurers the attachment which belonged to the commonwealth, and the deference which was due to its legal head.

In the progreſs of this republic the character of parties has already repeatedly changed, and the danger to be apprehended from them accordingly varied.

In the firſt periods of its hiſtory, citizens were divided on the ſuppoſed diſtinctions of birth; and, in the capacities of Patrician or Plebeian, ſtrove for prerogative or privilege with much emulation, as ſeparate orders of men in the commonwealth, but with little jealouſy of perſonal intereſts.

In a ſubſequent period, when the invidious part of the former diſtinction was removed, citizens having no longer the ſame ſubject of animoſity, as being born to different pretenſions, they entered more fully on the competition of individuals, and the formation of ſeparate factions. They ſtrove for the aſcendant of ariſtocratical or

democratical government, according to the intereſt they had formed to themſelves in the prevalence of either. They were ready to ſacrifice the peace and honour of the Public to their own paſſions, and entéred into diſputes accordingly, which were in the higheſt degree dangerous to the commonwealth. They thought perſonal provocations were ſufficient to juſtify public diſorders; or, actuated by vehement animoſities, they ſignalized their victories with the blood of their antagoniſts. But, though ſanguinary and cruel in their immediate executions, they formed no deliberate plans of uſurpation to enſlave their country, nor formed a ſyſtem of evils to continue beyond the outrage into which they themſelves were led by their ſuppoſed perſonal wrongs or factious reſentments. CHAP. I.

We are now again once more to change the ſcene, and to have under our conſideration the conduct of men who were in reality as indifferent to any intereſt of party as they were to that of the republic, or to any object of State; who had no reſentments to gratify; or who eaſily ſacrificed thoſe which they felt to the purpoſes of a cool and deliberate deſign on the ſovereignty of their country. Though rivals, they could occaſionally enter into combinations for mutual ſupport, frequently changed their partizans, and had no permanent quarrel but with thoſe who uniformly wiſhed to preſerve the republic. They were ſurrounded by perſons who admired the advantages of wealth or of power which were gained at the expence of their country, and who indeed were ready to extol the virtues of any adventurer who led a numerous liſt of retainers to ſhare in the ſpoils of the commonwealth.

Peace had now, for ſome years, except in that part where Cæſar commanded, been eſtabliſhed throughout the empire. Inſtead of military operations, the State was occupied in directing the farms of the revenue, in hearing complaints of oppreſſion from the provinces, and in appointing the ſucceſſion of military governors. Beſides the diſputes

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diſputes which have been mentioned relating to the provincial appointments of Craſſus and Cæſar, there aroſe a queſtion on the ſubject of provinces to be aſſigned to their immediate predeceſſors in the Conſulate, Marcellinus and Philippus. It was ſtrongly urged that Piſo, Gabinius, and even Cæſar, ſhould be recalled to make way for officers who were intitled to ſimilar command in their turns. This meaſure was ſupported in part by Cicero, who vehemently contended, that Piſo and Gabinius ſhould be ſuperſeded; but urged the continuance of Cæſar in his ſtation, a circumſtance for which this able adventurer had taken ſufficient precaution not to leave it in hazard from the iſſue of this debate.

Piſo, the near relation of Cæſar, in the event of theſe deliberations, was actually recalled, and, upon his return to the city, complained to the Senate, in terms of great aſperity, of the injury done to his character. Cicero had ever treated Piſo and Gabinius, though in reality but the inſtruments of Pompey and Cæſar, as the principal authors of his late calamities; and, upon the preſent occaſion, had pronounced againſt Piſo that violent invective which ſtill remains among his works, and which the ſubſequent conduct of the perſon againſt whom it was directed in a great meaſure diſproved.

Gabinius had for ſome years enjoyed the government of Syria, and during this time had ventured to employ the force of his province in a manner, which, together with ſome other offences, drew upon him, at his return to Rome, the animadverſion of the Senate.

It has been mentioned that Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, in exile from his kingdom, had applied to the Romans for aid in recovering his crown; that his ſuit had been granted, but rendered ineffectual by the regard which was paid to a ſuppoſed oracle, which forbade his being reinſtated with a military force; that he had withdrawn to Epheſus, and taken ſanctuary in the temple, where he waited for ſome change of fortune in his favour. Lentulus, the

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governor of Cilicia, to whom the buſineſs of reſtoring him, though without military force, had been committed by the Senate, deliberated whether he ſhould not venture to diſregard the reſtriction impoſed upon him; march with an army to reſtore the king of Egypt; poſſeſs himſelf of the wealth which was to be found in effecting ſuch a revolution, and truſt to the influence of his friends at Rome in procuring his pardon from the Senate, and even their approbation of what he ſhould have done.

Upon this queſtion Cicero adviſed Lentulus, if he had a force ſufficient to undertake the enterprize, not to loſe an opportunity of performing a ſervice which, though not authoriſed, could be afterwards vindicated. But the buſineſs ſtill remained in ſuſpence, when Gabinius arrived in Syria, and probably, by an advice from Pompey to the ſame purpoſe with that of Cicero to Lentulus, undertook, in oppoſition to a decree of the Senate and of the Augurs, the reſtoration of this exile to his throne. Having received or bargained for a great ſum of money in return for this ſervice, he advanced with a fleet and an army towards Egypt, paſſed through Paleſtine, and on his way raiſed a contribution in that country.

Berenicé, the daughter of Ptolomy, now in poſſeſſion of the crown, had married Archelaus; and, in order to ſtrengthen her hands againſt her father, had aſſumed her huſband as a partner in the throne. But the forces of theſe aſſociated ſovereigns were defeated by Gabinius, and Ptolomy was reſtored to his kingdom. Gabinius, with the treaſure amaſſed on this occaſion, hoped to be ſecure againſt the attacks which, at his return to Rome, were likely to be made upon him, for his contempt of the Senate, and of the oracle, and for the extortion of which he was accuſed at the ſame time in Paleſtine, a part of his own province.

In this buſy time of Cæſar's faction at Rome, he himſelf, upon an alarm of an invaſion from Germany, had been called to defend

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the northern extremity of Gaul. Two ſeparate hordes, the *Tenchteri* and *Uſipetes*, pretending to be driven by ſuperior force from the uſual tract of their migrations, had united together, and preſented themſelves on the banks of the Rhine. The native inhabitants of the right of that river inſtantly abandoned their habitations, and collecting all the boats that could be found on it to the oppoſite ſide, made a diſpoſition to ſtop the paſſage of theſe invaders.

The Germans, obſerving the precautions which were taking againſt them, affected to lay aſide the deſign of paſſing the Rhine; and, by changing their courſe, made a feint to divert the attention of their antagoniſts. In execution of this purpoſe, they continued for three days to retire from the river. At the end of this time, ſuppoſing that their opponents would be off their guard, and returned to their ordinary way of life, they ſuddenly turned their whole cavalry, and in one night repaſſed the ground over which they had marched on the three preceding days, ſurpriſed a ſufficient number of boats with which to accompliſh their paſſage, diſlodged the natives of the country on the left of the river before them, and from thence continued their migrations betwixt the Rhine and the Meuſe, over what is now called the dutchies of Juliers, of Limburg and Luxemburgh.

Theſe invaders amounted, by Cæſar's account, to upwards of four hundred thouſand ſouls[1]; a number which exceeds that of the inhabitants of any city in Europe, beſides London and Paris, and which may perhaps raiſe ſome ſuſpicion of error in copying the text, or of exaggeration in the commentary, which was itſelf intended to raiſe the character of Cæſar at Rome. On the queſtion relating to the probability of ſo great a number, it may be obſerved, that thoſe migrating nations, certainly unacquainted with many of the arts which are practiſed to ſupply and accommodate populous cities, were

[1] Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 15.

likewiſe exempt from the want of ſuch ſupplies, and acquieſced in what was neceſſary to mere ſubſiſtence. Such nations have leſs ſkill and induſtry than the manufacturer and the trader in a ſettled and well regulated city; but they have leſs waſte and leſs miſapplication of labour to ſuperfluous and unprofitable purpoſes than take place in great cities.

The German nations of this age, although they had opportunities to obſerve among their neighbours the advantages of land-property, and of agriculture ſupported by ſkill and induſtry, yet frequently preferred the ſtate of migration, and from policy declined making any permanent ſettlement, leſt the care of property, and the ſtudy of unneceſſary accommodation, ſhould corrupt or enervate their people. Their favourite occupation was hunting, which they conſidered as a preparation for war. They traverſed the woods and paſture lands, with numerous herds, and ſubſiſted chiefly by milk, fleſh, and game. They likewiſe knew the uſe of corn, of which they ſometimes took a crop from favourable lands; but without remaining any longer than one ſeaſon to cultivate any particular portion of ground.

They moved in great and numerous bodies, that muſt to a great extent have covered the face of the country over which they paſſed; but the body thus moving together were diſtinguiſhed into ſeparate clans and fraternities, led by their headmen or chiefs, who kept order in their ſeveral diviſions. They allowed private parties to make war beyond the limits of their own country, and to chuſe their leaders for this purpoſe. In peace, the ſeparate clans had no band of connection. If they had at any time a general government which comprehended the whole of their tribes, it was but a temporary expedient, to which they had recourſe in war, and on other preſſing occaſions.

Under ſuch equality of conditions, every individual, who was of a proper age, was obliged to labour for himſelf, and to ſubſiſt by

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what he procured; and he employed his labour only in procuring what was neceſſary. In theſe circumſtances, it was not likely that commodities ſhould accumulate; but the numbers of the people, if we may rely on the teſtimony of Cæſar in this place, or on the evidence of ancient hiſtory in general, was certainly great [a].

The Suevi, before whom the preſent invaders of Gaul had retired, were ſaid to conſiſt of a hundred cantons, each furniſhing annually a thouſand men for war, and a like number for the care of their herds and domeſtic concerns. Such clouds gathering on the frontier of Cæſar's province, required his preſence. He accordingly aſſembled his army, and advanced between the Rhine and the Meuſe.

The Germans, in general, were accuſtomed to deſpiſe the Gauls, and the preſent invaders expected no formidable oppoſition on this ſide of the Rhine; they had ventured to divide their forces, and had ſent the great body of their horſe upon an excurſion beyond the Meuſe to ſcour the lower parts of the country, and upon Cæſar's approach, they offered to treat with him. "They neither fought "(they ſaid) nor would they decline a war with the Romans. It "was their way to repel injuries with the ſword, not to elude them "by negociation. But in the preſent caſe, they ſhould nevertheleſs "condeſcend ſo far as to aſſure the Roman general, that they had "paſſed the Rhine from neceſſity, and not with any intention to in-"vade his province. That if he were pleaſed to receive them as "friends, they were in condition to merit this title, ſhould be con-"tent with the ground they had gained, or accept of any other "which he might chuſe to aſſign them." Cæſar replied, "That while "they remained in Gaul, he could not conſider them as friends. "That if they repaſſed the Rhine, he had allies in Germany, with "whom he ſhould endeavour to join them in a league of defence.

[a] Cæſar de Bell. Gal. lib. iv. vi.

"againſt

" againſt the common enemy, by whom they had been thus forced " to relinquiſh their uſual bounds."

Having received this anſwer, the German deputies, to make their report, and to receive the command of their nations, deſired a ceſſation of arms for three days. But Cæſar, ſuſpecting that they only meant to amuſe him, and to gain time for the junction of all their forces, refuſed to comply with this requeſt, and continued his march. Being arrived within twelve miles of their camp, he was again met by their deputies, with freſh intreaties that he would advance no farther, or at leaſt, that he would give to the cavalry, who made the vanguard of his army, orders to abſtain from hoſtilities for three days: that in this time, they might have an anſwer from the German nations mentioned in their laſt conference, and know whether ſuch a league could be formed, as was then propoſed, to give them ſome proſpect of ſafety in returning to their uſual haunts.

Cæſar, upon this occaſion, ſeems to have granted a ceſſation of arms; though on account of what afterwards happened, he is willing to diminiſh the extent of his own engagement, and to impute the breach of faith which followed to his enemies. He agreed to advance no farther than four miles for the convenience of water, and ſent an order to his van-guard to abſtain from hoſtilities. This order, however, had no effect. His advanced guard, conſiſting of five thouſand horſe, had an encounter with eight hundred of the enemy.

When this encounter happened, the Germans were not yet joined by the great body of their horſe. They had earneſtly ſued for a ceſſation of hoſtilities; it was not likely that they would have begun the attack. Yet Cæſar accuſed them of a deſign, with this ſmall party, to ſurpriſe the whole of his cavalry.

On the day which followed this ſkirmiſh of the cavalry, the leaders and principal men of the Germans leaving their own camp, unfurniſhed

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unfurniſhed with officers, in perfect ſecurity, came in great numbers to that of Cæſar to exculpate themſelves, to convince him of their pacific diſpoſitions, and to prevent the farther progreſs of his army. This he thought a favourable opportunity to cut off, by a complete ſurprize, this enemy entirely, and to finiſh the war. Having accordingly ſecured the perſons of their leaders, who had thus put themſelves in his hands, he advanced with his whole army directly to their camp, eaſily overcame the few that took arms to oppoſe him, and without diſtinction of ſex or age, put the whole to the ſword. The country, over all the ways by which they endeavoured to eſcape from the camp, at which the ſlaughter began, to the confluence of the Rhine and the Meuſe, was ſtrowed with the ſlain [z].

The Roman people, though ſeldom ſparing of the blood of their enemies, were ſhocked at the recital of this extraordinary maſſacre; and when Cæſar, on account of this victory, applied for a thankſgiving, and for the uſual honorary decrees of the ſenate, he was charged with having wantonly invaded the nations of Gaul, and of having diſhonoured, by an act of treachery, the arms of the Republic. It was propoſed to deliver up his perſon to thoſe injured nations, that he might expiate, by his own ſufferings, ſo many acts of injuſtice and impiety, which the Gods might otherwiſe avenge on his country.

The German horſe, that by their abſence had eſcaped this calamity which befel their countrymen, appear ſoon after to have repaſſed the Rhine, and to have taken refuge with ſome of the Hordes who lived near the ſources of the Roer and the Lippe. Thither Cæſar, to ſpread the terror of his arms, ſoon afterwards purſued them; and paſſed the river, not in boats and by ſurpriſe, as the Germans were accuſtomed to do, but in a manner which he ſeems to

[z] That branch of the Rhine which falls into the Meuſe, changes its name for that of Wall.

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have choſen, as better ſuited to the dignity of the Roman ſtate; he projected a bridge, which was executed in ten days, with much ingenuity, and ſome oſtentation of his power and ſkill. This work being finiſhed, he placed proper guards at both its extremities, and advanced with the main body of his army into the contiguous parts of Germany, where, on account of the reception given in that quarter to the cavalry who had eſcaped the late maſſacre on the Meuſe, he laid the country under military execution.

Cæſar, from the place at which he had paſſed the Rhine, appears to have gone up the eaſtern ſide of the river, where he viſited the Ubii, a nation inhabiting over againſt what are now the cities of Bonne and Cologn. Here he had intelligence, that the Suevi, a nation conſiſting, as has been obſerved, of a hundred cantons, and muſtering two hundred thouſand warriors, who were divided into two ſquadrons that took the field, and conducted the domeſtic affairs of the nation by turns, were preparing to oppoſe him; that they had actually ſent their wives, children, and ſuperannuated men into places of ſafety, and had aſſembled their warriors to meet him. This nation having an aſcendant over all the cantons of Germany, conſidered it as a proof of their valour, that no nation could pretend to ſettle on the tract of their migrations, or within reach of their excurſions; and that the country, to a great diſtance around them, was accordingly waſte. In their own movements, they never halted above a year to raiſe a ſingle crop from fields, which, to keep up the martial ſpirit of their nation, and to preclude the deſire of property, with the other paſſions that accompany ſettlement, they ſucceſſively abandoned.

Cæſar, not being prepared to enter on a war with ſuch an enemy, and being ſenſible that a defeat might expoſe his army to ruin, while even a victory could procure him no adequate advantage, having remained eighteen days on that ſide of the Rhine, and employed no more than twenty-eight days in the whole ſervice, choſe, while he

ſtill

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ſtill had the reputation of victory unimpaired, to repaſs that river, and to break down his bridge.

This ſingular man, whoſe abilities were equal to any taſk, and who had no occaſion to court the publick admiration by meaſures concerted on purpoſe to obtain it, was, nevertheleſs, not above oſtentation, and gave way to it not only where it might contribute to impoſe on an enemy, but even where it would do no more than gratify his own vanity, or increaſe the fame of his actions at Rome. To this motive we may venture to impute the deſign, which, at an advanced ſeaſon of the year, and at the end of the ſame ſummer in which he had, between the Meuſe and the Rhine, vanquiſhed the numerous army of the Tenchteri and Uſepetes, in which he had paſſed the Rhine, and inſulted the warlike nations of Germany, even on their own ground, he now projected the invaſion of Britain, though ſurrounded by the ocean, and untouched by the arms of any foreign invader. To carry this deſign into immediate execution, as ſoon as he had repaſſed the Rhine, he continued his march through the low countries, and collected his forces in the neighbourhood of the Portus Itius and Geſoriacum [4]. While we perceive the features of vanity in the leader, we muſt admire the hardineſs and vigour of the troops who could accompliſh theſe ſervices.

The extent of this iſland, the numbers and character of its people, were then unknown on the continent. Cæſar having in vain endeavoured to procure information in theſe particulars, ſent a galley with orders to explore the coaſt, and to obſerve the countenance of the natives. He ordered all his ſhipping, and even thoſe veſſels which he had employed the preceding year againſt the Veneti [5], to ſail round the Cape of Britanny into the Britiſh channel, and repair to the ſtraits which ſeparate this iſland from the continent.

[4] Calais and Boulogne.

[5] In the Bay of Biſcay, about Vannes.

On

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On the report of theſe preparations, which evidently pointed at Britain, ſome of the natives, willing to avert by negociation the ſtorm which threatened them, ſent to the Roman Proconſul a ſubmiſſive meſſage, and offered to come under his protection.

Cæſar, founding a claim to the poſſeſſion of the iſland on theſe advances which were made to him, proceeded with more boldneſs to the execution of his enterpriſe. That the natives of the country he was leaving might not create any trouble in his abſence, he obliged them to give hoſtages, and made a proper diſpoſition of his army to keep them in awe. He had aſſembled at the moſt convenient haven on the Gauliſh ſide, now ſuppoſed to be the Wiſſan, between Calais and Boulogne [6], eighty tranſports or ſhips of burden, with a number of galleys to accommodate the officers of rank, and their equipage. The remainder of his ſhipping was yet detained, by contrary winds, in a creek at ſome miles diſtance, ſuppoſed to be Boulogne; thither he ſent his cavalry, with orders to embark on board the ſhips where they lay. He himſelf went on board, with the infantry of two legions, at the former haven, and having found a favourable wind and moderate weather, weighed about ten at night, and reached the coaſt of Britain, on the following day, at ten in the morning. The cliffs, where he firſt came near to the ſhore, were high and ſteep, and the hills were covered with numerous bodies of foot, of men on horſeback, and even in wheel carriages, from which the natives of this country were accuſtomed to make war. It being impoſſible to land under ſuch difficulties; and in the face of this oppoſition he bore away, as is probable, to the northward about eight miles, with a favourable wind to ſome part of the flat ſhore [7] which ſurrounds the Downs; and here, in the manner of ancient debarkations, for which

[6] See Danville's Geography of antient Gaul.

[7] Planum & apertum littus. See Cæſar's Commentaries.

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the ſhipping of thoſe times was built, ran his tranſports aground, and prepared to land.

In the mean time the Britons, who in their march on the hills had kept pace with the Roman galleys, came down to the ſtrand, and advanced even ſome way into the water to oppoſe the deſcent. As the ſurf on that ſhore uſually runs high, and the Romans, from where their veſſels ſtruck, had ſome way to wade in water that was too deep to allow them the free uſe of their weapons, they remained on board, and durſt not meet the enemy under ſuch diſadvantages. Cæſar ſeeing his men unuſually backward, did not think proper in theſe circumſtances to urge them farther; but ordered ſome of the lighteſt veſſels, which were mounted with miſſile engines, or manned with archers and ſlingers, to row as near to the ſhore as they could on the right and the left of the landing place, and from thence to gall the enemy. This diſpoſition ſucceeded ſo well, that the beach cloſe to the water was preſently cleared, and the Romans were left to deſcend from their ſhips, and to wade undiſturbed to the land.

The Britons, ſeeing their enemy in poſſeſſion of the ſhore, offered to ſurrender, and were about to deliver their hoſtages, when an accident happened, which encouraged them again to take arms. On the fourth day after the Roman infantry had landed, a ſecond diviſion of ſhips, with the cavalry, appeared in ſight; but before they could reach the land, were diſperſed by a violent ſtorm; part was driven back on the coaſt of Gaul, part carried down the Britiſh channel, and caſt in diſtreſs on the contiguous ſhores. Even the ſhipping, from which the legions had diſembarked, lying aground in the ſurf, or at anchor in a high ſea and ſpring-tide, with which the Italians were unacquainted, were ſet adrift, or filled with water, many of them beat to pieces or greatly ſhattered, and rendered unſerviceable.

By

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By theſe misfortunes, Cæſar, although he had made no proviſion to ſubſiſt for the winter in Britain, was in danger of being obliged to remain in it for want of ſhipping. The natives retracted their late ſubmiſſion, began to drive away the cattle, and to lay waſte the country within reach of the Roman camp. They flattered themſelves that the enemy would be obliged to depart, or muſt periſh for want of proviſions; and that they would, by the example of ſo vain and calamitous an attempt, deter every ſtranger for the future from invading their iſland.

Cæſar, in the mean time, while he employed all his workmen with the greateſt diligence in repairing his ſhips, endeavoured to collect ſome proviſions, and to form a magazine. The natives aſſembled in great bodies to intercept his foragers, and obliged him to cover them with the whole force of his army. The legions were at firſt greatly diſconcerted by the unuſual effect of the Britiſh chariots, and by the want of their own cavalry; but as they prevailed in every cloſe fight, the Britons were ſoon obliged to renew their former ſubmiſſion, and became bound to deliver double the number of hoſtages they had formerly ſtipulated. But Cæſar not thinking it proper, with ſhattered veſſels, at the mercy of autumnal winds and ſtormy ſeas, to await the performance of this article, ordered the hoſtages to be ſent after him into Gaul, reimbarked with his army, and with the firſt favourable wind repaſſed to the continent. At his arrival, he found that the Gauls, upon the report of his late misfortunes, had revolted; that one of his tranſports, with three hundred men on board, having parted with the fleet, and landing at a ſeparate place, were attacked; and that it was neceſſary to ſend the remains of his cavalry to their relief. The Morini, inhabiting what are now the diſtricts of Calais and Dunkirk, with other nations of the low countries, had taken arms againſt the officers he had ſtationed to keep them in awe. The campaign therefore concluded

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with the operations, which were neceſſary to quell this revolt. Labienus ſubdued the Morini. Quintus, Titurius, Sabinus, and Lucius Cotta having laid waſte great part of the low countries, fell back to the coaſt.

The Roman army was ſoon after put into winter quarters; and Cæſar, as if ſenſible that he had made his attempt on Britain with too ſmall a force, and whatever repreſentation he might give of particulars, had incurred the imputation of a miſcarriage, gave orders to refit his fleet, and to add, during the winter, as many more ſhips as poſſible, built upon a conſtruction more fit for that ſervice, broader, and more capacious in the hull, for the reception of men and horſes, and lower in the gunwale, for the convenience of landing. The timber was probably taken from the neighbouring foreſts; but the materials of his rigging, it is ſaid, were brought from Spain. Having taken theſe meaſures to enable him at a more convenient ſeaſon to renew his expedition into Britain, he ſet out as uſual for Italy, and for the neighbourhood of Rome.

Here he found Pompey and Craſſus employed, as has been already related, in obtaining for themſelves, and for him, the objects which they had ſeverally in view. Craſſus had fixed his thoughts on the treaſures of the eaſt, and projected the ſale of kingdoms, of which he hoped to have the diſpoſal in that part of the world. Pompey too was gratified in his wiſhes, had got the command of an army, and the patronage of a great province, while he continued at Rome to enjoy his conſideration, and was veſted with a ſpecies of monarchy, in wielding the united powers of the party. Cæſar had provided, what he knew in the end was to decide every controverſy, a great army, inured to ſervice, and in a ſtation which gave an eaſy acceſs to Italy, and the command of Rome. As if ſecure of their intereſts, they permitted the election of Conſuls to proceed without diſturbance; and ſuffered Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, a profeſſed

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U. C. 699. L. Dom. Aherobarbus, App. Claud. Pulcher.

partizan of the ſenate, together with Appius Claudius, to be elected conſuls; Marcus, Cato, and Milo, to be placed in the liſt of Prætors; and ſeveral citizens, well affected to the Senate, to be admitted into the college of Tribunes.

The winter and ſpring, however, were inactive on the part of the ariſtocracy. Cato, probably did not ſee any publick object in which to engage with advantage beyond the duties of his office, in which he endeavoured to reſtrain by his authority, and by his example, the extravagance and luxury of the age. The dangerous powers which had been recently granted to perſons, from whoſe ambition the republic had much to fear, no doubt greatly alarmed the ſenate; but this body, though led by Domitius, one of the Conſuls, by Cato and Milo, two of the Prætors, and ſupported by many of the Tribunes, did not think themſelves entitled to diſpute the validity of thoſe grants, nor to attempt the revocation of what had been ſo recently confirmed by the people.

Pompey, now maſter of Spain and part of Africa, with an adequate army, ſtill under the pretence, as has been mentioned, of his commiſſion to furniſh the public granaries with corn, remained in Italy, and paſſed the greater part of his time among his country villas, executing the duties of general purveyor with the aſſiſtance of his lieutenants, and managing his intrigues in the city by means of his agents and friends. He was attended by numbers of every rank and condition, who reſorted to him with the aſſiduity of real courtiers, and with a ſervility, which, in a republic, implied the utmoſt corruption of manners. He even maintained the appearances of royalty in the ſtate which he aſſumed, as well as in the influence he acquired. While he himſelf affected reſerve and moderation, in order to appear worthy of his rank, his retainers ever treated him as a great prince, and with his connivance fomented diſorders tending to ſhake the government of the Senate; to the end that the republic might

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might be forced to rely on him for ſupport, while he himſelf affected to decline the burden.

In the management of theſe intrigues, and in the full hopes of their ſucceſs, Pompey was now left by Craſſus, as well as by Cæſar. The firſt, in his impatience to take poſſeſſion of his government, had broken through all the impediments that were placed to hinder his departure from Rome, made haſte to Brundiſium with his army, embarked, notwithſtanding the unfavourableneſs of the ſeaſon, and, with conſiderable loſs, both of men and of ſhipping in a ſtorm, made his paſſage into Macedonia. The prohibition of the Prætor ſtill ſounded in his ears. He dreaded a vote of the Senate or People to recal his commiſſion. It appears, that ſoon after his departure, a motion had been actually made for this purpoſe; and that Cicero, though formerly on ill terms with Craſſus, being taught by his late ſufferings to court the favour of thoſe who could either hurt or protect him, appeared on this queſtion in his favour, and claimed a ſhare in the merit of obtaining the deciſion that was given to confirm his commiſſion[s].

But without attending to the ſtate of theſe deliberations at Rome, Craſſus continued his march by Macedonia and the Helleſpont into Aſia. In paſſing through Galatia, finding Dejotarus, ſovereign of that principality, then of an advanced age, occupied in a work that is becoming at every age, building a new city, and making a ſettlement for more people; he is ſaid to have obſerved to the prince, that it was ſomewhat too late, at his age, to form projects of new ſettlements; "nor are you very early," replied the other, "in "your undertaking the conqueſt in Parthia."

Craſſus was turned of ſixty, and having ever conſidered riches as the ſureſt means of arriving at eminence and power, now joined, to the rapacity of a youthful ambition, the avarice of age. Upon

[s] Cicero ad Famil. lib. v. ep. 8. ad Craſſum.

his

his arrival in Syria, he pillaged the temple of the Jews, and laid hold of treaſure wherever elſe he could find it. He made a pretence of the military levies to be made in the provinces for extorting money; and afterwards, reſerving the money he had raiſed for his own uſe, neglected the levies. He required of the different diſtricts of his province, and of the neighbouring allies, large quotas of men and military ſtores, merely that they might buy exemptions with proportional ſums of money [9]. In the ſame ſpirit of avarice and rapacity, he invaded the Parthians without any authority from the State, and even without the pretence of a quarrel.

The Parthians, like other dynaſties which before or ſince have ariſen in that part of the world, or in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris, were of Scythian extraction. On the decline of the Macedonian power, about two hundred years before the preſent date, a ſwarm from the north had migrated to the lower banks of the Tigris, over-ran the country round Cteſiphon, continued to haraſs the neighbourhood by their depredations; and, at laſt, being commanded by Arſaces, the founder of this new kingdom, took poſſeſſion of an extenſive country, and though under a new name, in fact reſtored the monarchy of Perſia [10].

The Parthian, or new Perſian monarchy, being yet in its vigour, was the moſt formidable power that now any where appeared within reach of the Roman arms. Its forces conſiſted almoſt intirely of horſe. Part intended for regular charges, caſed in heavy armour, and uſing the lance; part mounted in a lighter manner for expedition and ſwiftneſs, and uſing the bow. While in the field they were attended by herds of ſpare horſes, which they paſtured, or drove in the rear of their armies. With this ſupply, upon any occaſional loſs, they new-mounted their cavalry, or, having reliefs of freſh horſes,

[9] Plut. in Craſſo, 11. Dio. Caſſ. lib. iv. c. 13.

[10] Juſtin. lib. lxi. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl, xli.

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horſes, performed amazing marches, and frequently preſented themſelves to their enemies, where it was not expected they could appear. They had different notions of victory and defeat from other nations; they always counted it a victory, when, by their flights, they drew an enemy into ſtraits by haſty and unguarded purſuits [11], and often enjoyed the greateſt advantage when they ſeemed to be routed and to fly.

When Craſſus advanced to the Euphrates, Orodes king of Parthia, then engaged in a war with Artabazes, on the ſide of Armenia, ſent a deputation to expoſtulate with the Roman general on the cauſe of his hoſtile approach, Craſſus made anſwer, That he would give the reaſons of his coming when he arrived at Seleucia, "Here," ſaid one of the Parthian meſſengers (ſhowing the palm of his hand) "hair will grow before you ſhall arrive at Seleucia." Craſſus proceeded in his march, paſſed the Euphrates, and ravaged Meſopotamia without any reſiſtance. Having continued his operations until the end of the ſeaſon, he returned for the winter into Syria [12]. Upon his arrival in this province, he was joined by his ſon Publius, who had ſerved ſome years in a conſiderable rank in the army in Gaul, and was now detached by Cæſar with a thouſand horſe, and many marks of honour, to act under his father in Syria.

This invaſion of Meſopotamia, after the ſeaſon had become far ſpent, ſerved only to alarm and provoke the enemy, without procuring any advantage to the arms of the Romans; and hoſtilities were likely to proceed in the ſpring with great animoſity, when Craſſus was to proſecute the war which he had thus commenced on ſuch dangerous ground.

Cæſar, in the mean time, found continual occupation for his troops in Gaul, or in the neighbourhood of that province. He himſelf,

[11] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. c. 15.

[12] Dio. lib. xl. Plut. in Craſſo.

with

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with his uſual activity, having been in Italy in the beginning of winter, and having conferred with the perſons with whom he entruſted the management of his affairs at Rome, proceeded to Illyricum, upon a report, that this part of his province was infeſted by the incurſions of the Pyruſtæ, a warlike tribe on the frontier. Upon his arrival, the invaders withdrew, and were diſowned by their nation. The State denied, that they had ever given a commiſſion to make war on the Roman province, became bound for the future to reſtrain the depredations of private adventurers, and gave hoſtages for the obſervance of this article.

Early in the ſpring, Cæſar returned from this expedition to the quarters of his army in the Low Countries, and found, that in conſequence of the orders he had given at the end of the preceding campaign, no leſs than ſix hundred tranſport veſſels, and twenty-eight galleys, were actually built in different harbours from Oſtend to Bulogne, and in a few days might be ready for ſea. He accordingly ordered them to be launched, and directed the whole to aſſemble at the ſame port from which he ſailed on the preceding year, in order to receive the army on their intended invaſion of Britain. But, before his departure, being informed that certain nations on the Moſelle were meditating a revolt, and were ſoliciting the Germans to come over the Rhine to their aſſiſtance, to the end that he might not leave any enemy on foot in his rear, and that he might ſecure the peace of Gaul in his abſence, he marched to the Moſelle with four legions and eight hundred horſe. Upon his arrival he had the good fortune to find the people divided between two leaders, who, being jealous of each other, made their ſubmiſſions ſeparately, and gave the neceſſary hoſtages as a pledge for their future behaviour.

With theſe ſecurities, Cæſar returned to the coaſt, found all his armed galleys and five hundred and ſixty of his tranſports actually aſſembled; the other forty tranſports had been put back by contrary

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winds, and were ſtill retained at the port at which they had been built. The force intended for this expedition to Britain conſiſted of five legions, amounting poſſibly, on the probable ſuppoſition that they were not complete, to about twenty thouſand men [13], together with a body of Gauls, including many of their chiefs, whom Cæſar choſe to retain with his army, rather as hoſtages for the fidelity of their countrymen, than as auxiliaries in the war. The fleet conſiſted of five hundred and ſixty tranſport veſſels, twenty-eight armed gallies, with many tenders and ſmall craft, provided by officers for their own conveniency, and for the reception of their equipages; in all eight hundred ſail.

The wind being northerly for five-and-twenty days [14] after the fleet was aſſembled, the troops ſtill remained on ſhore. At the expiration of this time the wind changed, and the troops began to embark, but were ſuddenly interrupted by the deſertion of a Gauliſh chief, who, being averſe to the ſervice, thought this a favourable opportunity to diſengage himſelf with his followers. Cæſar conſidered this deſertion as a declaration of war, and being ſenſible of the danger he might incur in caſe of any diſaſter by having ſuch enemies in his rear, ſuſpended the embarkation, and ſent a party of horſe in purſuit of the fugitive, who, being overtaken, was killed in attempting to defend himſelf. His followers were brought back and obliged to embark for Britain.

On the return of the party employed in this ſervice the embarkation proceeded, and being completed at ſunſet of the ſame day, the wind being ſtill fair, the fleet weighed, and got into the Channel; but the wind ſoon after having failed, or ſhifted more to the weſt, and the tide being ſet to the northward, they were carried a conſiderable way in that direction paſt the port for which they had

[13] The legions, at the end of this campaign, were reduced to 3,500 l.

[14] See Cæſar's Commentaries.

ſteered

ſteered. At day-break, they ſaw the land of Britain on their left, and ſeemed to leave ſome conſpicuous part of the iſland, probably the South Foreland, aſtern: but with the turn of the tide, and the help of their oars, they arrived at noon at a convenient part of the coaſt not far diſtant from the landing-place of the former year, but leſs expoſed to the ſea. This place we may ſuppoſe to have been *Pigwell Bay*, beyond the mouth of the Stour, or the entry to Sandwich Haven [15].

The Britons had aſſembled as formerly to oppoſe the deſcent of the Romans; but, on the appearance of ſo great a fleet, were intimidated, and withdrew from the coaſt.

Cæſar, flattering himſelf that he had found a ſafer road for his ſhips than that at which he had ſtationed them in the preceding year, left his fleet at anchor, and guarded againſt any attempts of the natives by a body of ten cohorts and three hundred horſe, that were properly entrenched on the ſhore. Being informed that the Britons had their forces aſſembled on a ſmall river (probably the *Stour*), at the diſtance of ten or twelve miles from his landing-place, he put his army in motion in the night, and at break of day came up with them, diſlodged them from their poſt, and obliged them to withdraw to a place of retreat in that neighbourhood, which, on occaſion of their own wars, had been fortified in their manner with a mote, and ramparts of wood. To reduce them in this ſtronghold, he erected ſome works, and made regular approaches; but as he had not inveſted the place, the only effect of his attack was, to force the enemy

[15] Mr. d'Anville, on a ſuppoſition that Cæſar muſt have paſſed into Britain by the ſhorteſt poſſible line, fixes upon Hith, about eight miles weſt of Dover, as the place of his landing in his firſt invaſion of Britain; and, conſequently, on ſome other contiguous part as the place of his landing in the ſecond invaſion: but this does not agree, either with the deſcription of the coaſt, being planum et apertum littus, or with the ſequel of the ſtory, which places ſome ſuch river as the Stour to be paſſed in his march, about twelve miles from the ſhore. The coaſt at Hith, though not altogether inacceſſible, is ſteep and hilly, and would have expoſed Cæſar to difficulties in his firſt operations on ſhore, which he could not poſſibly have omitted to mention.

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to abandon it, and to continue their retreat. He had taken his reſolution to purſue them on the following day, and had begun his march in three diviſions, when it appeared, that the element which is the ſafeguard of Britain, though not always ſufficient to keep its enemies at a diſtance, yet is ſubject to accidents which render the attempt of invaders very difficult, and their condition, even when on ſhore, ſufficiently hazardous. To this purpoſe a meſſenger overtook Cæſar on his march with tidings, that all his ſhips, in a ſtorm which aroſe in the preceding night, had been driven from their anchors, had run foul of each other, that many of them were ſtranded and wrecked, and all of them greatly damaged.

Cæſar, on this report, ſuſpended his march, and, having fixed the main body of his army in a well-fortified camp; he himſelf, with a proper eſcort, returned to the coaſt. At his arrival, he found that forty of his ſhips were irrecoverably loſt; but that the remainder, though greatly damaged, might be refitted. For this purpoſe he gave orders in the army, that all who had been inſtructed in the trade of a carpenter, ſhould repair to the ſea-port to be employed in refitting the fleet; he called many workmen likewiſe from Gaul, and gave directions for building a number of new veſſels on different parts of that coaſt; and to guard, for the future, againſt ſuch accidents as had lately befallen his ſhips, he ordered that they ſhould be drawn on ſhore. In this work the army was inceſſantly employed for ten days, and without intermiſſion even in the night. The fleet, at length, being in this manner ſecured from the dangers of the ſea, and covered by an entrenchment on the ſide of the land, he returned to his camp, and reſumed the operations of his army.

It appears that the natives of Britain, being divided into many ſmall cantons or ſeparate principalities, and, as uſual in ſuch caſes, frequently at war among themſelves, had been actually at variance when Cæſar arrived; but, during the ſhort reſpite which the diſaſter

diſaſter that had befallen his fleet had given them, that they had agreed to ſuſpend their own quarrels, and were aſſembled in greater numbers than formerly, under Caſſivelaunus, a chieftain of Middleſex, or, as Cæſar deſcribes him, a prince reſiding on the northern banks of the Thames, and at about ſeventy or eighty miles from the ſea.

This chieftain brought into the field a numerous army of infantry, of horſemen, and armed chariots. His knowledge of the woods enabled him to haraſs the Romans on their march, and, following the tracts that were clear of underwood, not only to gall them with miſſiles from the thickets, but to charge them likewiſe with his horſemen and chariots, even in places where the ground ſeemed leaſt fitted to the movement of ſuch bodies. Encouraged with his ſucceſs in this ſpecies of warfare, he ventured to attack the whole cavalry of the Roman army, which, being on a foraging party, were ſupported by an intire legion. But the Britons being, in this attempt, defeated with great ſlaughter, their chief loſt courage, or was deſerted by his followers, and never more attempted to face the Romans.

Cæſar, finding this enemy remit his ardour, advanced with a quicker pace. From his ſilence on the ſubject of any difficulty in paſſing the Medway, we muſt ſuppoſe him to have followed the vale of the Stour to Aſhford, and from thence to have kept on the plains to Maidſtone, near to which place the river Medway is every where naturally fordable; and from the length of his march, being about eighty miles from the ſea, when he came upon the banks of the Thames, we may ſuppoſe him to have arrived on that river at the reach which runs from ſouth to north, ſomewhere between Kingſtone and Brentford. There he obſerves, that the only ford in the river was fenced and guarded; that a row of ſharp ſtakes was driven under water; that the oppoſite bank was lined with a paliſade, and manned by a numerous body of the natives. He nevertheleſs proceeded to force his way, and by the impetuoſity of his attack, drove the enemy

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from their poſt, and, without any loſs, effected his paſſage, although his men were obliged to wade up to the chin.

Caſſivelaunus had, for ſome time, made no attempt to reſiſt the Roman army; he had contented himſelf with obſerving their motions, and with endeavouring to ſtrip the country before them of every particular by which they could profit on their march. Cæſar, on his part, advanced with the precautions neceſſary againſt ſuch an enemy, and, as they had deſtroyed what could be of immediate uſe to his army, he deſtroyed what was left, in order to force the natives to ſubmiſſion. In this ſtate of the war, having leiſure and opportunity to obſerve the condition of the country and the manners of the people, he gives the following account of both: "That on the "coaſt there were colonies from the neighbouring continent, ſtill "diſtinguiſhed by the names of the countries from whence they had "come; that theſe colonies, being poſſeſſed of agriculture, and well "ſtocked with cattle, were extremely populous; that they had money "made of iron or braſs; the firſt of which metals, with great quan-"tities of tin, were found in their own iſland; the other metal was "imported from abroad; that the winter was milder here than in Gaul; "that the woods of Britain furniſhed the ſame timber with thoſe of "Gaul, except the fir and the beech; and that the houſes were built "in the ſame manner in both countries." From this account of the coaſt he proceeds to obſerve, "That the inland parts were occupied by "the original natives, who, with little corn, ſubſiſted chiefly by milk "and the other produce of their herds; that, by a particular ſuperſti-"tion, although poſſeſſed of hares, of geeſe, and other fowls, they were "forbid to eat of theſe animals; that they were curious in the orna-"ments of the perſon, affected to have buſhy whiſkers, and long hair; "that they ſtained or painted their bodies of a blue colour, and had "no clothes beſides the ſkins of beaſts; that they aſſociated in ſmall "clubs or fraternities of ten or a dozen in number." And adds a cir-

cumſtance, in which, if he were not deceived, as is common enough to foreigners, by ſome appearances which were not ſufficiently explained to him, he gives a ſtriking example of the diverſity which takes place among mankind in ſettling the canon of external actions. The brothers, the father, and the ſon, though ſeparately married, and reputed the parents of children, brought forth by their reſpective wives, yet, without jealouſy or imputation of evil, lived with thoſe wives in common [16].

Cæſar, being on the left of the Thames, made an alliance with the Trinobantes, ſuppoſed to have been inhabitants of Eſſex and Suffolk. The ſovereign of this canton having, in ſome quarrel with his own people, been expelled from his kingdom, had taken refuge with Cæſar in Gaul, and was now, by force of the Roman arms, reſtored to his kingdom. Five other principalities made their ſubmiſſion at the ſame time. Caſſivelaunus retired to his principal fortreſs, which, conſiſting of a paliſade and a ditch ſituated in the leaſt acceſſible part of the woods, was by the natives, as Cæſar is pleaſed to expreſs himſelf, called a town, and was in reality, in caſe of alarm, a place of retreat for themſelves and their cattle. On the approach and attack of Cæſar on one ſide, Caſſivelaunus retired by an outlet on the other, leaving ſome herds of cattle, and many of his men, to fall into the enemy's hand.

After this defeat, the Britiſh prince endeavoured, as a laſt reſource, to give Cæſar ſome trouble in his rear; and for this purpoſe ſent an order to the four princes of Kent, to aſſemble their people, and endeavour to force the Roman ſtation, and deſtroy the Roman ſhipping, where they lay on the coaſt. They accordingly attacked the intrenchment, but were repulſed; and Caſſivelaunus himſelf, reduced to deſpair by the defection of ſo many of his countrymen, and by his

[16] See Cæſar's Commentaries on his laſt expedition to Britain.

repeated

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repeated defeats, determined to make his ſubmiſſion. The ſeaſon of the year being far advanced, and Cæſar, deſirous to retire with honour from a country in which he was not prepared to make any ſettlements, accepted this on eaſy terms.

A certain tribute was impoſed on the nations inhabiting the banks of the Thames, hoſtages taken for the payment of it, and the invaders, with a numerous aſſemblage of priſoners, then the only or principal ſpoils of this iſland, retired to their ſhips, which, not being ſufficient to receive them at one embarkation, were obliged to return for a ſecond; and in this way ſucceſſively, without any material accident, tranſported the whole of the Roman army into Gaul.

CHAP. II.

Death of Julia the Daughter of Cæſar and the Wife of Pompey.——Trial of Gabinius.——Detection of an infamous Tranſaction of Memmius and Ahenobarbus.——Revolt of the Low Countries.——Military Execution againſt the Inhabitants of the Country between the Rhine and the Meuſe.——Operations of Craſſus in Meſopotamia.——His Death.——Competition for the Conſulate.——Death of Clodius.——Riot in the City.——Pompey ſole Conſul.——Trial of Milo.

CHAP. II.

WHILE the Roman army was in Britain, there happened, by the death of Julia, the daughter of Cæſar and the wife of Pompey, a great change in the diſcontinuance of the relation which ſubſiſted between them, and in the ſeparation of their ſuppoſed political intereſts. The connection which then came to be diſſolved, had been deviſed as a bond of confederacy between parties whoſe interfering objects of ambition muſt have otherwiſe, on many occaſions, excited their mutual jealouſy. Neither the father-in-law, nor the ſon was likely to ſacrifice his ambition to mere affection, but each may have expected, that the other ſhould be, in ſome degree, the dupe of his relation, and ſhould abate a little of the jealouſy to which he was, by his ſituation and his objects, ſo naturally inclined. This paſſion, however, we may believe was far from having been extinguiſhed in the mind of either. The choice which Pompey made of Spain for his province, with a military command for a term of five years, probably proceeded from a deſire to retain his ſuperiority over Cæſar, and to have in his power, in caſe of a breach between them, a province, though leſs contiguous to Italy than that which was held by Cæſar,

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not leſs fitted to furniſh formidable armies and the reſources of war.

Notwithſtanding theſe effects of jealouſy, while the familiar relation of father-in-law and ſon ſubſiſted between Cæſar and Pompey, and while Craſſus continued to hold a ſpecies of balance in their councils, they ſeemed to acquieſce in a participation of conſequence and power. But the death of Julia, and that likewiſe of the child of which ſhe had been delivered only a few days before her death, put an end, not only to any real cordiality in this connection, but even to any ſemblance of friendſhip, and rendered them, from this time forward, mutually jealous of the advantages they ſeverally gained, whether in reſpect to force in the provinces, or to ſtate and popularity at Rome.

It is obſerved, that, from this date, Cæſar became more than formerly attentive to reports from the city, and more careful of his intelligence from thence[1]; and that he endeavoured to gain every perſon who might be of conſequence in deciding the conteſt which he perceived muſt ariſe. Among theſe he paid his court in particular to Cicero, who was likely, about this time, to devote himſelf to Pompey, and whom he wiſhed, at leaſt, to keep in ſuſpence between them: for this purpoſe, as appears from their correſpondence, he applied, as uſual, to his vanity, and, while he was piercing the woods of Britain in purſuit of Caſſivelaunus and his painted followers[2], affected to read and to admire verſes which were ſent to him by a perſon much more eſteemed for his proſe than his poetry.

The Roman army had been tempted into Britain by the hopes of finding mines of ſilver, but were diſappointed; for, beſides ſlaves, they found no booty in that iſland. Such probably likewiſe were the principal ſpoils of Gaul; yet we find their general, in conſequence of

[1] Cicero ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. ep. 15. & lib. iii. ep. 1.
[2] Ibid. lib. ii. ep. ult. Ad Atticum, lib. iv. ep. 16.

his

his conquests in that country, enabled to expend great sums in supporting his influence at Rome. While Pompey procured his own appointment to the command of an army, in order to keep pace with Cæsar in the provinces, Cæsar, in his turn, projected public works at Rome to vie with the magnificence of Pompey, and with that of other citizens, who made such works a part of their policy to gain the People. For this purpose Cæsar proposed to build a Basilica[3], and to enlarge the Forum, at an expence of six millions Roman money, or about fifty thousand pounds; to rail in the field of Mars with marble ballisters, and to surround the whole with a colonade or portico extending a thousand paces, or about a mile.

In these several works Cæsar affected to consult or to employ Cicero in a manner which flattered his vanity, and renewed his hopes of being able also to direct his councils[4] in what related to matters of State.

In the mean time, parties in the city, though engaged on the side of different competitors for office at the approaching elections, were likewise intent on the cause of Gabinius. This officer, while yet in his province, had been impeached for disobeying the orders of the Senate, and for contempt of religion in his expedition to Egypt. But having, by the influence of Pompey and of Cæsar, eluded this first attack, he set out for Rome in great confidence, and, on his journey, gave out, that he was to demand a triumph. But, upon his approach to the city, hearing in what manner the Senate and People were affected towards him, he thought proper to make his entry in the night; and being arrived, on the eighteenth of September, did not even venture to appear in the Senate for ten days. No less than three prosecutions were preparing against him: for treason, for ex-

[3] What the Romans called a Basilica or palace, was a kind of exchange, containing porticoes for merchants, and other public accommodations.

[4] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. iv. ep. 16.

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tortion in his province, and for other crimes. The firſt day on which he preſented himſelf in the Senate, the Conſuls, when he would have withdrawn, commanded him to ſtay. And, having called the farmers of the revenue from Syria, who attended with a complaint from the province, bid them ſtate their charge.

An altercation enſued, in which Cicero, mindful of the injuries he had received from Gabinius, took a principal part againſt him, and pronounced an invective, which the other returned with the abuſive appellation of *fugitive*, in alluſion to his late exile [5]. Yet, ſoon after, when this criminal was brought to trial for extortion in his province, Cicero, as will afterwards be mentioned, undertook, at the ſolicitation of Pompey, to appear in his defence.

Before this trial for extortion took place, C. Memmius, one of the Tribunes, on the ninth of October delivered to the People, with great force, a charge of treaſon againſt Gabinius [6]. The judgment of the Tribes being called, and ſentence of condemnation likely to paſs, while the Lictors were preparing to ſeize their priſoner, his ſon, a young man, with much filial piety, a virtue highly eſteemed by the Romans, threw himſelf at the feet of the Tribune, and, being rudely ſpurned on the ground, happened to drop his ring, the badge of Roman nobility; the ſpectators were moved; Lelius Balbus, another of the Tribunes, interpoſed, and, with the general approbation of the People, commanded the proceſs to ſtop [7].

The other proſecutions nevertheleſs were continued againſt Gabinius. One before the Prætor Alfius, in which, though the majority of the judges voted to acquit, there were twenty-two, out of ſeventy, who voted guilty [8]. Another before Cato, on a charge of depredation in his province, to the amount of quater millies, four hundred millions Roman money, or about three millions ſterling; in

[5] Cicero ad Quint. frat. lib. iii.
[6] Ibid. lib. iii.
[7] Val. Max. lib. viii. c. 1.
[8] Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 16.

this laſt was condemned, and forced into exile. At this trial, Pompey and Cæſar continued to employ their influence in his favour. And Cicero, although he had hitherto treated Gabinius as the author of his own exile, being reconciled to Pompey and Cæſar, no longer continued at variance with a perſon, who had been no more than their tool or inſtrument in procuring his misfortunes, and condeſcended, on this occaſion, though ineffectually, to plead his cauſe[9].

The approaching elections gave riſe to competitions and intrigues more connected with the ſtate of the republic, and more an indication of the manners which then prevailed. The poorer citizens came to depend for their ſubſiſtence on the diſtributions of corn and other gratuities, which were made or procured by thoſe who courted popularity, or who aſpired to the offices of State. Corruption became every day more flagrant and leſs diſguiſed; and the laws againſt bribery were loſing their force for want of perſons to proſecute a crime, of which ſo many either wiſhed to reap the benefit, or which many were ſo ſtrongly tempted to commit. To ſupply this defect, Cato moved in the Senate, That every one elected into office ſhould be ſubjected to an inqueſt, even if no one ſhould proſecute.[10]; and actually obtained an edict, requiring the ordinary judges, that were named for trials within the year, to take cognizance of the means by which candidates ſucceeded to office; and to ſet thoſe aſide who were found to have incurred the penalties of corruption[11]. The Tribunes interpoſed their negative, or ſuſpended the effect of this reſolution, until an act of the People ſhould be obtained to confirm it. The propoſal gave great offence to the parties concerned; and Cato, being attacked by the populace, narrowly eſcaped with his life. He afterwards, in a full aſſembly of the more reſpectable citizens, was favourably heard on this ſubject. But Terentius, one of the Tribunes,

[9] Dio. lib. xxxix. c. 63. Cicero ad Quint. frat. lib. iii, ep. 1 & 3.

[10] Plutarch. Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 16.

[11] Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 16.

ſtill

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ſtill perſiſting in his negative, this attempt to reſtrain the corrupt practices of thoſe who canvaſſed for office had no effect.

The candidates themſelves, in the mean time, if each could have truſted the laws for reſtraining others, as well as himſelf, from the practice of giving money; or if any number of them could have relied upon an agreement to be entered into among themſelves to refrain from it, would, it is probable, have been glad to be relieved from an abuſe which rendered their pretenſions ſo expenſive and ſo precarious. Moved by theſe conſiderations, candidates for the office of the Tribune entered into an agreement not to bribe, and depoſited each a ſum of money [10] in the hands of Cato, to be forfeited by any perſon who ſhould be found acting in contravention to their treaty [11]. One of them, however, was detected in giving money, and accordingly forfeited his pledge.

In the competition for the Conſulate, corruption was carried to the greateſt exceſs. An office was opened, at which the candidates dealt out money to the People, who came in the order of their Tribes to receive it [12]. A gratuity of ten millions of ſeſterces [13], was offered to any perſon who ſhould ſecure the vote of the firſt Century, or, as it was called, the *Prerogativa*. The demand for money to be employed in this ſpecies of traffic became ſo great, that by the firſt of July intereſt roſe from four to eight per cent. [14]. All the four candidates, Memmius, M. Scaurus, Cn. Domitius, and M. Meſſala, mutually raiſed proſecutions for bribery againſt each other; and in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, it appeared that Caius Memmius, once a vehement partizan of the Senate, had made his peace with Cæſar, and was now ſupported by his party at Rome.

[10] Quingena, 500,000 Roman money about 4000 l.

[11] Plutarch. Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 15. ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. c. 12.

[12] Ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 17.

[13] About 80,000 l.

[14] Ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. ep. 15. Idibus quintilibus fœnus fuit beſſibus ex triente.

CHAP. II.

Memmius, it may be remembered, having been Prætor at the expiration of Cæſar's Conſulate, brought a charge of high miſdemeanour in office againſt him. And Cæſar appeared for ſome time to reſent this attack; but was in reality as little to be diverted from his purpoſe by reſentment, as he was by affection, and knew how to chooſe his friends from among thoſe who had the reſolution to provoke, as well as from among thoſe who inclined to ſerve him. Cæſar accordingly made uſe of this opportunity to ſeparate Memmius from the reſt of his enemies, and by his means brought to light a ſcene of corruption, in which Memmius himſelf, with other profeſſed ſupporters of the Senate, had been concerned, and which furniſhed Cæſar, and the ſuppoſed popular party, with a great triumph againſt theſe pretenders to purity and public virtue.

It appeared that, among other irregulatities at Rome in the adminiſtration of government, even laws, and ſuppoſed acts of the Senate or People, could be forged or ſurreptitiouſly obtained. The preſent Conſuls, Cn. Domitius, Ahenobarbus, and Ap. Claud. Pulcher, entered into a compact with two of thoſe who were candidates to ſucceed them, Caius Memmius and C. Domitius Calvinus: the two firſt, to ſecure their own nomination to lucrative provinces at the expiration of their Conſulſhip; the two others now ſtanding for this office, to ſecure their elections. The parties agreed to forge an edict of the Senate and of the People, fixing the conſular provinces. And a ſum of money was depoſited by the candidates in the hands of the Conſuls, to be forfeited, if they did not ſupport this forgery, with the evidence of three Augurs, who ſhould vouch for the paſſing of the law in the aſſembly of the People, and two Senators of conſular dignity, who ſhould ſwear they were preſent when this allotment of provinces was confirmed by the Senate, although it was notorious that no meeting of the Senate had been held for this purpoſe.

Memmius

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Memmius being gained by the parties of Cæſar and Pompey, was perſuaded to ſacrifice his own reputation, in order to ruin that of Domitius Ahenobarbus. He laid this ſtrange agreement, which had been drawn up in writing, together with the bonds which had been granted upon it, before the Senate. Appius Claudius braved the detection; but Ahenobarbus, profeſſing himſelf to be of a party which contended for purity and reformation of manners, incurred much diſgrace and reproach.

From this tranſaction it ſhould appear, not only that the aſſemblies of the People were extremely irregular and tumultuary, and might be made up of ſuch perſons as were by any party purpoſely brought to the Comitium; but that even the meetings of the Senate might be packed; that their proceedings were careleſly recorded, and might be eaſily forged. The numbers required to form a Comitium or aſſembly of the People not being fixed, any convention of perſons brought from any part of Italy, occupying the uſual place of aſſembly, might take upon them the deſignation and powers of the Roman People; and as the fluctuating ſovereignty of the People by this means paſſed from one party to another, its orders were often ſurreptitious and contradictory, and every law might be conſidered as the mandate of a party or faction, not as the will of the community [15]. Great as theſe diſorders were, there were at all times numerous parties who had an intereſt in the continuance of them; and the age, though ſuffering under the moſt grievous abuſes, was ſtill more averſe to the neceſſary reformations.

The infamy of this recent tranſaction produced a delay of the elections, until the term of the preſent Conſuls in office was expired. An interregnum accordingly enſued. The partizans of Pompey hinted the neceſſity of naming a Dictator. He himſelf

[15] Dion Caſſius, lib. xxxix. c. 65.

affected

affected great reſerve, in expectation that when the preſent troubles came to their height, the powers neceſſary to ſuppreſs them would, by general conſent, be preſſed into his hands.

In the mean time Cæſar, whoſe councils had ſo great a ſhare in determining theſe events, was detained in the northern parts of Gaul, and was obliged, contrary to his uſual practice, to paſs the whole winter on this ſide of the Alps. On his return from Britain, finding that the harveſt in Gaul had been unfavourable, he was tempted, in order to facilitate the ſubſiſtence of his army, to extend his quarters much farther than had been his ordinary practice. Labienus, with one diviſion, was ſent to the Moſelle; Titurius Sabinus, with another, to the neighbourhood of the Meuſe, near to what are now the diſtricts of Liege and Maeſtricht. Quintus Cicero was poſted on ſome of the branches of the Scheld or the Sambre, in the county of Hainault. And the whole army, by this diſpoſition, extended from the Seine to the Meuſe about Maeſtricht, and from the ſea to the neighbourhood of Treves. The diſtance at which the poſts were placed from each other being obſerved by the natives, who ſtill bore with impatience the intruſion and uſurpation of theſe ſtrangers, tempted them to form a deſign againſt each of the quarters apart, and by cutting them off, to rid their country for ever of theſe imperious and inſatiable gueſts, who acted as proprietors in every territory on which they were received, and branded every act of reſiſtance to their unjuſt uſurpation with the name of defection and rebellion.

In execution of this deſign, Ambiorix, leader of the nations which were ſituated in the angle, above the confluence of the Meuſe and the Rhine, and round the quarters of Sabinus, which are ſuppoſed to have been at a place which is now called Tongres, ſuddenly preſented himſelf with a numerous body before the Roman ſtation; and endeavoured to force the intrenchment; but being repulſed; had recourſe to an artifice in which he ſucceeded. Affecting a great

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regard for the Romans, he desired that he might have an opportunity to communicate to their general a matter of the most serious importance. An officer being sent to him upon this request, he pretended to disclose, with the utmost regret, a secret design formed by the Gauls to cut off the Roman army; gave notice that a great body of Germans had already passed the Rhine to join in the execution of this design; that he himself had been very much averse to the project; but had been obliged to give way to the popular impetuosity of his countrymen, which he could not resist; that all he could do was to warn the Romans of their danger, to the end that they might, in the most effectual manner, consult their own safety. If they chose, while it was in their power, to withdraw, and to gain the nearest station of their own people, he had influence enough to hinder their being molested on the march: but if they should hesitate for any time, or wait till the Germans arrived, it would no longer be in his power to avert the storm with which they were threatened.

This admonition, even from an enemy, after a long debate in the council of war, determined Sabinus to quit his present situation. He accordingly began a march of fifty miles towards the quarters of Quintus Cicero. And falling into a snare, which the treacherous chieftain had laid for him, perished, with an intire legion and five cohorts, of whom the greater part were put to the sword. Some got back to the station they had left, but finding no security in that place, killed themselves in despair. A very few escaped, by the woods, to Labienus on the Moselle.

The natives, thus encouraged by the success of their first operation, pushed on to the quarters of Quintus Cicero, armed and assembled the country as they passed, and arrived with such expedition, that they intercepted all the parties which were abroad in search of wood, provisions, or forage, and made so unexpected an attack on the Roman

Roman ſtation, as left Cicero ſcarcely time ſufficient to man his intrenchments. They renewed the artifice which they had practiſed with ſo much ſucceſs againſt Sabinus. But Cicero, though unacquainted with the manner in which that officer had been betrayed, determined to remain in his camp, and as ſoon as poſſible to give intimation of his danger to Cæſar. For this purpoſe he ſtrengthened his poſt with additional works, and publiſhed a reward to the firſt perſon who ſhould ſucceed in carrying intelligence to the neareſt quarter of the Roman army.

The enemy being about ſixty thouſand men, formed a circle, facing to the centre, quite round the Roman intrenchment; and, the more effectually to cut off all communication of ſupplies or intelligence from without, effected a line of circumvallation, conſiſting of a ditch fifteen feet wide, and a breaſtwork eleven feet high, extending over a circumference of fifteen miles [15]. In this work, being unprovided with intrenching tools, they were obliged to cut the turf with their ſwords. But having begun it by a ſufficient number of hands in all its parts at once, they, according to Cæſar's account, completed the whole in three hours.

From this line, which they formed by the direction of ſome Italian deſerters, they made regular approaches to the Roman intrenchment; and having puſhed their turrets quite up to the ditch, threw, by means of their ſlings, red hot bullets and burning darts into the thatch with which the huts of the camp were covered; ſet them on fire; and, in the midſt of the confuſion which aroſe from this circumſtance, endeavoured to ſcale the paliſade and the parapet.

While Cicero continued, with great ability and courage, to withſtand theſe attacks, the perſons who endeavoured to carry the tidings of his ſituation to Cæſar were repeatedly intercepted, and cruelly tortured, to deter others from renewing the ſame attempt. The in-

[15] Cæſar de Bell Galico, lib. v. c. 42.

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telligence, however, by means of a native Gaul, who, availing himſelf of the dreſs, manners, and language of his country, paſſed unobſerved through the lines of the enemy, was at laſt carried to the head-quarters of the Roman army.

Cæſar, as uſual, truſting more to diſpatch and rapid execution than to the numbers of his men, left a legion at Samarobriva [16] to guard his ſtores, magazines, and baggage, and with two other legions, not exceeding ſeven thouſand men, being all that, without hazarding an improper delay, he could aſſemble, haſtened his march to the quarters of Cicero. He diſpatched two meſſengers, one to Labienus, with orders, if poſſible, to put the troops under his command in motion towards the Meuſe, and another to Quintus Cicero himſelf, with hopes or aſſurances of immediate relief. The firſt meſſenger found Labienus beſet with a numerous army of Gauls, and therefore unable to move; the other, having come to the foot of Cicero's intrenchment, caſt the billet which contained the intelligence, wound up on the ſhaft of a dart, againſt one of the towers, where it ſtuck, and hung for ſome days unobſerved; but being found at laſt, it was carried to Cicero, and gave notice of Cæſar's approach. At the ſame time the fire and the ſmoke of his camp began to appear on the plain, and gave both parties equal intimation of his coming.

The Gauls, without delay, got in motion with all their force, and having abandoned their lines of circumvallation, advanced to meet Cæſar. Cicero ſent him intelligence of this movement of the enemy. The armies arrived nearly at the ſame time on the oppoſite ſides of a brook running in a hollow tract between ſteep banks, which neither party in the preſence of the other could venture to paſs.

Cæſar, ſuppoſing that the great inequality of his numbers might inſpire the Gauls with contempt, endeavoured, by exceeding his uſual caution, to feed their preſumption. He affected to chuſe a ground

[16] Amiens.

that

that was fit to ſecure his camp; and contracting its limits, crowded both his legions within the dimenſions which were uſually occupied by one. In this poſture he meant to await the effects of the enemy's temerity, or, if they declined paſſing the brook, to avail himſelf of the ſecurity they were likely to feel, and to attack them in their own camp by ſurprize.

The event juſtified Cæſar in his firſt expectation. The Gauls, truſting to the ſuperiority of their numbers, thought they had nothing to dread but the eſcape of their enemy; and they accordingly paſſed the rivulet, with intention to force his lines. Inſtead of defending his camp, he poured forth his army at once from all its avenues, and, with the advantage of a ſurprize upon thoſe who came to attack him, and by the great ſuperiority of the Romans, when mixed ſword in hand with an enemy, routed, diſperſed, or forced to lay down their arms; the greater part of this multitude which came to attack him with ſo much ferocity and confidence.

By this victory Cæſar not only relieved Quintus Cicero, whom he joined the ſame evening, but likewiſe diſpelled the cloud which hung over the other quarters of his army, of which many had been at the ſame time inveſted by the natives. Theſe inſurrections, however, which kept all the inhabitants of the low countries in motion, even in the moſt unfavourable ſeaſon, gave him the proſpect of an early and a buſy campaign, and ſo much diſconcerted the plan which he had formed for the winter, that he was hindered from making his uſual journey acroſs the Alps.

During this neceſſary ſtay in Gaul, it does not appear that the intereſts which Cæſar commonly ſtudied were ſuffering in any conſiderable degree at Rome. The civil government in the city was haſtening faſt to its ruin, and the longeſt ſword was ſoon likely to decide the ſovereignty of the empire. The office of Conſul was unoccupied, and continued to be ſo from the beginning of January to the middle

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middle of July. In all this time there was no adminiſtration of juſtice[17], nor any exerciſe of magiſtracy, beſides that of the interrex, who, during the five days of his appointment, was ſuppoſed to have no other object beſides the elections of Conſuls. This object was vainly attempted by every ſucceſſive interrex. The popular tumults were fomented by the Tribunes who were in the intereſt of Pompey; and ſome prodigy, or unfortunate preſage, was continually alleged, to prevent the elections. The Senate ſtriving to put an end to theſe diſorders, even ventured to commit to priſon Q. Pompeius Rufus, a Tribune, who ſeemed to be moſt active in diſturbing the public peace. The occaſion ſeemed ripe for the execution of Pompey's deſign; and accordingly another Tribune, Lucceius Hirrus, known to be in the ſecret of Pompey's intrigues, moved that he ſhould be named Dictator[18]. He himſelf, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, abſented himſelf from the aſſembly, and ſtill kept it in his power to avow or diſown the meaſures of his creatures.

This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by Cato, and appeared to be extremely diſagreeable to all the principal members of the Senate[19]. Pompey therefore thought proper to diſclaim it, denied his having encouraged the Tribune to make it, and even refuſed to accept of the Dictatorſhip; adding, That he had been called to the exerciſe of great powers earlier than he himſelf had expected; and that he had always reſigned his powers earlier than had been expected by any one elſe[20]. In this was expreſſed the great object of Pompey's ambition; he preferred this point of eſtimation to the poſſeſſion of power. The odium of the propoſed meaſure fell upon Lucceius Hirrus, the Tribune who moved it, and had nearly brought upon him a depoſition or degradation from his office. Cato, willing to gain

[17] Plutarch. in Pompeio, p. 483.
[18] Plutarch. in Pompeio. D. Con. Cicero epiſt. ad Quint. frat. lib. iii. ep. 9.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Plutarch. in Vit. Pompeii.

Pompey,

Pompey, or to confirm him in the virtue he aſſumed, pronounced an encomium on this act of moderation, recommended the republic to his care, and encouraged him in the reſolution he had taken, to prefer the eſteem of his fellow-citizens even to the power of diſpoſing of their lives and fortunes at his pleaſure. Pompey from thenceforward joined with the Senate in bringing on the elections; and accordingly, after ſeven months interval of confuſion and anxiety, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Meſſala were choſen and entered on office in the month of July.

U. C. 700. Cn. Dom. Calvinus, M. Val. Meſſala, Coſſ.

While Pompey was endeavouring, by his intrigues in the city, to make a ſpecies of monarchy in his own perſon appear to be neceſſary, Cæſar was in fact providing himſelf with the only means which, in ſo diſtracted a ſtate, can either acquire or preſerve ſuch a power. He was joining three additional legions to the eſtabliſhment of his province; and, under pretence of his late loſs on the Meuſe, or of his fears of a general defection in Gaul, he had the addreſs to bring into his own ſervice a legion which had been recently formed in Italy under the commiſſion of Pompey. Theſe he now borrowed, and either actually debauched, or rendered of doubtful fidelity, if ever it ſhould be propoſed to recall or employ them againſt himſelf.

While he took theſe meaſures for the augmentation of his forces, and before the end of winter, having intelligence that the Nervii, or the inhabitants of the county of Hainault, held frequent conſultations together, and were about to take arms, he determined to prevent them; and for this purpoſe, with four legions drawn from the neareſt quarters, he marched into their country, and, without meeting with any oppoſition, deſtroyed their habitations, moved away their cattle, and made many priſoners. He continued theſe ſeverities until the natives, reduced to great diſtreſs, implored his mercy, and gave hoſtages for their future ſubmiſſion.

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Having, in the courſe of this winter, called the nations of Gaul to a general convention at an iſland in the Seine [21], he began the operations of the following ſummer by puniſhing ſome of the cantons [22], who had abſented themſelves from that aſſembly, and who, by this act of diſreſpect, had incurred his reſentment, or given him ſuſpicion of hoſtile intentions. The principal object of the campaign, however, was the puniſhment of Ambiorix and his countrymen, by whom, as has been related, Sabinus, with a legion and five cohorts, had been circumvented and cut off in the beginning of the preceding winter.

As the Romans ſcarcely appear to have conceived that any people had a right to withſtand their invaſions, and treated as rebellion every attempt a nation once vanquiſhed made to recover its liberties, Cæſar ſtates it as neceſſary for the credit of the Roman army, for the ſecurity of their quarters, and for preventing ſuch acts of ſuppoſed perfidy for the future, that the ſubjects of Ambiorix ſhould ſuffer an examplary puniſhment. To ſecure this effect, he projected two expeditions; one to the right and the other to the left of this enemy's country, with intention to preclude them from any retreat or aſſiſtance on either ſide. He penetrated into the woods and marſhes of Brabant, or on the left of the Meuſe, and obliged the inhabitants to come under engagements not to aſſiſt or harbour his enemies.

From thence, ſtill avoiding to give any alarm to the nation which was the principal object of theſe operations, and having formerly ſent his baggage under an eſcort of two legions to the Moſelle, he now followed in the ſame direction with the whole army; and finding that Labienus had, by a recent victory, vanquiſhed all his enemies in that quarter, he continued his march to the Rhine, conſtructed a bridge on that river a little way higher up than the place at which

[21] Now Paris.

[22] The Senones and Carnutes.

he had formerly paſſed it, and once more ſet foot upon German ground. CHAP. II.

The Suevi, and other great migrating nations of that continent, having moved to the eaſtward, leaving nothing behind them but deſarts, on which no army could ſubſiſt, he contented himſelf with exacting hoſtages from the Ubii and other contiguous nations, to ſecure their neutrality, or rather to make ſure of their concurrence in the future operations of the war. And with theſe pledges he repaſſed the Rhine, broke down part of his bridge, and left a guard of twelve cohorts properly intrenched to ſecure the remainder.

From thence he ſent forward his cavalry, with orders to make quick and ſilent marches into the countries between the Rhine and the Meuſe, and himſelf followed with the infantry. Hitherto Ambiorix and his countrymen, who were the principal objects of all theſe operations, had taken no alarm, and had enjoyed ſuch perfect ſecurity, that the leader himſelf, upon the arrival of Cæſar's horſe, narrowly eſcaped, and had no more than time, by a general intimation, to warn his people to conſult their own ſafety. They accordingly ſeparated, part hid themſelves in the contiguous marſhes, others endeavoured to find refuge with ſome neighbouring nations, or fled to the iſlands that were formed at the confluence of the Meuſe and the Rhine.

Cæſar, as if he had been forming a party of hunters, ſeparated his army into three diviſions; ſent Labienus with one diviſion to purſue thoſe who fled to the confluence of the two rivers; Tribonius with the ſecond up the courſe of the Meuſe; and he himſelf, in purſuit of Ambiorix, directed his march to the Scheld. His orders were, that each diviſion ſhould put all they met to the ſword, and calculate their time ſo as to return to the place of general rendezvous in ſeven days.

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To render this execution the more complete, all the neighbouring nations were invited to partake in the ſpoils of a country that was doomed to deſtruction. Among the parties who were allured by this invitation, two thouſand German horſe had paſſed the Rhine, and continued to ravage all before them in a body. Cæſar, in making a diſpoſition for his preſent march, had lodged the whole baggage of his army at the ſtation (ſuppoſed to be Tongres), which in the preceding winter had been fortified for the quarters of Sabinus. Here the works being ſtill intire, he left a guard with his baggage under the command of Quintus Tullius Cicero.

The Germans, in the preſent inſtance, knowing no diſtinction of friend or enemy, ceaſed to plunder the natives of the country, and turned all their thoughts on ſeizing the baggage of the Roman army. Their coming was ſo little expected, that the traders and ſuttlers who had erected their ſtalls and diſplayed their merchandiſe, as uſual, without the intrenchment, had no time to ſave their effects. Numbers of Cicero's baggage-guard were abroad in ſearch of forage. The remainder with difficulty manned the avenues of their poſt, and muſt have been forced, if the foragers, upon hearing the noiſe with which the Germans began the attack, had not returned to their relief, and forced their way through the enemy, who, miſtaking them for the vanguard of Cæſar's army, thought proper to conſult their own ſafety by an immediate flight.

Cæſar, upon his return to the poſt at which he had left his baggage, cenſured the officer commanding the guard for having divided his party, and for having omitted, on the ſuppoſition of any degree of ſecurity whatever, any part of the precautions uſual upon ſuch a duty. He proceeded to complete the revenge he had projected againſt the unhappy followers of Ambiorix, with ſending parties in every direction to burn every houſe, and lay waſte every field that had been formerly ſpared or overlooked; and this being done on the approach

of

of winter, made the deſtruction complete, as the few who eſcaped the ſword were certain to periſh by famine, or by the aſperity of the ſeaſon.

Cæſar having in this manner made an example, which he ſuppoſed was to overawe all the nations of that neighbourhood, he withdrew with his army from a country in which he had made it impoſſible for any numbers of men to ſubſiſt; and having ſtationed two of his legions on the Moſelle, and the remainder on the Marne, on the Seine, and the Loire, he himſelf haſtened into Italy, where all his views and preparations ultimately centred. The ſcene of political intrigue, in which Craſſus had hitherto bore a part with Pompey and himſelf, was now, in conſequence of recent events on the other extremity of the empire, about to undergo a great change, that was likely to affect the conduct of all the parties concerned.

In the ſpring, Craſſus had taken the field on the frontier of Syria, with ſeven legions, four thouſand horſe, and an equal number of light or irregular troops. With this force he paſſed the Euphrates, was joined by an Arabian chieftain, who is mentioned by hiſtorians under different names, of Acbarus [23] or Ariamnes, in whom, on account of his ſuppoſed knowledge of the country, the Roman general had placed great confidence. Here he expected likewiſe to have been joined by Artabazes, King of Armenia; but Orodes, now on the throne of the Parthians, prevented this junction, by invading the kingdom of Armenia in perſon, while he left Surena, a young warrior of great reputation, in Meſopotamia, to oppoſe the Romans.

Craſſus intended to have followed the courſe of the Euphrates to where it approaches neareſt to Seleucia and Cteſiphon, the capital of the Parthian kingdom; but was diſſuaded by Ariamnes, who prevailed on him to direct his march eaſtward on the plains to meet

[23] Plutarch & Dion Caſſ.

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Surena, as not in a condition to oppoſe him. Some parties too, that were advanced to examine the country, reported that they had been on the tract of departing cavalry, but that no enemy was any where to be ſeen. Thus Craſſus was induced to quit the Euphrates, and, agreeably to the directions of his guide, took the route of Carræ eaſtward. This place he fortified in his way, and occupied with a garriſon. From thence, in a few marches, he arrived in ſandy and barren plains, without trees, herbage, or water. While the army, though diſcouraged by theſe appearances, ſtill continued its march, a few horſemen belonging to the advanced guard returned to the main body with ſigns of terror, and brought an account that their diviſion had been ſurrounded by numerous bodies of horſe, and to a few cut off. That the enemy were advancing apace, and muſt ſoon appear: Craſſus at firſt fearing to be outlined by the enemy, extended his front as far as he poſſibly could; but recollecting that the Parthians were all on horſeback, and by the rapidity of their motions might eaſily gain either or both his flanks, ſo that it was proper to preſent a front in every direction, he changed his diſpoſition from a line to a ſquare, having his cavalry on the angles.

The Roman army being thus compacted, the Parthians appeared on every ſide, came within reach of an arrow ſhot, and galled them without intermiſſion. The weapons of the Romans, in this ſituation, availed them nothing; even the ſhield could not cover them from arrows, that ſhowered from every quarter, and in many different directions. They ſtood however in their place with ſome degree of courage, in hopes that the quivers of the Parthians muſt ſoon be exhauſted, and that this enemy would be obliged either to join them in cloſe fight, or to retire. But they found themſelves deceived in this expectation, obſerving that the enemy had a herd of camels in their rear, loaded with arrows, and that the quivers of thoſe in the front were continually repleniſhed from thence. At the ſame time Ariamnes,

amnes, the Arabian, deſerted, and was perceived to go over to the enemy. The deſertion of this traitor, by diſcovering that his pretended attachment, and his council, which had been unhappily followed, was only a piece of barbarous treachery to draw the army into its preſent ſituation, completed the general diſcouragement which the Romans had already begun to feel. They crowded together in deſpair, and oppreſſed with heat and thirſt, or ſtifled with duſt, they continued for a while, like beaſts caught in a ſnare, to preſent an eaſy prey to their enemies.

In this extremity, Craſſus determined to make an effort with his cavalry to drive the enemy ſo far off, as not to be able to reach his infantry with their arrows. His ſon Publius accordingly formed the Roman horſe into one body, and made a general charge. The Parthians gave way in ſeeming diſorder. The young man advanced with great impetuoſity as againſt a flying enemy, and in hopes of completing his victory: but the Parthians, under cover of the duſt which every where aroſe, inſtead of flying before him, as he ſuppoſed, were actually turning on his flanks, and even falling behind him to encompaſs his rear. The legions at the ſame time, happy to be relieved from the attack of the enemy, quitted their ground, and for a little reſumed their march, which enabled the Parthians the more effectually to ſurround the horſe; but the father, recollecting the danger to which he expoſed his ſon, again prevailed on them to halt. In this ſituation, a few of the horſe arrived, with accounts that they had been ſurrounded, that Craſſus, the ſon, was ſlain, and the whole cavalry cut off, except a few who eſcaped to the father with theſe melancholy tidings.

Night, however, was faſt approaching, and the Parthians, on a ſudden, withdrew, ſenſible that their way of fighting would expoſe them to many diſadvantages in the dark. It was always their practice to retire at night to a conſiderable diſtance from the enemy whom

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whom they had haraſſed by day, and upon theſe occaſions they generally fled like an army defeated, until they had removed ſo far, as to make it ſafe for them to paſture their horſes, and to ſtore up their arms. Craſſus appriſed of this practice, took the benefit of the night to continue his retreat, and abandoning the ſick and wounded of his army, made a conſiderable march before it was day. But the advance he had gained, was not ſufficient to hinder his being overtaken by the ſame enemy, and again involved in the ſame diſtreſs. Having his defeats and his flights renewed on every ſucceeding day, he arrived at laſt at the poſt which he had fortified at Carræ, and there found ſome reſpite from the attacks of the enemy. At this place, however, it was not poſſible to make any conſiderable ſtay, as the whole proviſions of the army were loſt or conſumed, and ſuch ſupplies as the country around might have furniſhed, were entirely in the power of the enemy. Nor was it convenient to depart immediately. The moon was then at the full, and night was almoſt as favourable to the Parthians as day. In theſe circumſtances, it was determined to wait for the wain of the moon, and then, if poſſible, to elude the enemy again by marches in the night.

In this interval, the army mutinied againſt Craſſus, and offered the command to Caius Caſſius; but he, although deſired even by Craſſus himſelf, declined to accept of it [24]. The troops of conſequence no longer obeyed any command, and ſeparated into two bodies. The firſt went off by the plains on the neareſt way into Syria: the other took the route of the mountains; and if they could reach them before the enemy, hoped to eſcape into Cappadocia or Armenia. The firſt diviſion was accompanied or commanded by Caſſius, who, though with conſiderable loſs, led them back into Syria. The other, with Craſſus himſelf, was purſued by Surena, and haraſſed on every

[24] Dio. lib. iv. c. 28.

ground

ground where the Parthian horſe could ply on their flank or their rear. Being expoſed to frequent loſſes, they ſuffered a continual diminution of their numbers, and were not likely to be long in condition to avoid the enemy, or make any reſiſtance.

Surena, apprehending that theſe remains of the Roman army might gain the mountains before he could force them to ſurrender, ſent a deputation to Craſſus, propoſing at ſome intermediate place, between the two armies, a conference, to which each ſhould bring a ſtipulated number of attendants. While this meſſage was delivering, Surena himſelf appeared at a little diſtance on an eminence, waved with his hand, and in token of peace, unbent his bow. Craſſus diſtruſting the faith of this barbarous enemy, who was ſuppoſed to hold perfidy lawful, as a ſtratagem of war, declined the conference; but his troops, weary of continual fatigue and danger, and flattering themſelves that by an accommodation an end might be ſpeedily put to their ſufferings, expreſſed ſuch a deſire of the conference, as their general, in this ſituation, could not ſafely withſtand. He put himſelf therefore, with a few friends, under the direction of Surena's meſſengers, and ſubmitted to be led to their general; but on the way, finding himſelf treated as a priſoner, he refuſed to proceed, and having made ſome reſiſtance, was ſlain. The army ſeparated into ſundry diviſions, a few eſcaped into Armenia or Syria, the greater part fell into the enemy's hands [25].

Thus died Craſſus, commonly reputed a rare inſtance of ambition, joined with avarice, and a mean capacity. It is not to be doubted, that in point of ambition he even rivaled Pompey and Cæſar; and it is probable, therefore, that his avarice was merely ſubſervient to this paſſion. It is quoted, as a ſaying of his, that no man who aſpired to a principal place in the republic ſhould be reputed rich,

[25] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. Plutarch in Craſſ.

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unleſs he could maintain an army at his own expence [26]. Such was the uſe of wealth, which, in place of equipages, horſes, and dogs, occurred to a rich man of that age at Rome. Of his capacity we cannot form a high opinion, either from the judgment of his contemporaries, or from his own conduct [27]. It appears indeed, that he owed his conſequence more to his wealth, than to his genius or perſonal qualities of any kind. On account of his wealth, probably, he was conſidered by Cæſar and Pompey as a perſon, who, if neglected by them, might throw a weight into the ſcale of their enemies; and he was admitted into their councils, as a perſon fit to witneſs their tranſactions, and on occaſion to hold the balance in ſuſpence between them. Theſe circumſtances placed him among the competitors for the principal influence at Rome, and makes his death an æra in the hiſtory of thoſe factions which were haſtening to overwhelm the republic. By this event, his aſſociates Cæſar and Pompey, already disjoined by the diſſolution of their family connection, were left to contend for the ſuperiority, without any third perſon to hold this ſpecies of balance between them.

The calm which had ſucceeded the late election of Conſuls was but of ſhort duration. The time of electing their ſucceſſors was faſt approaching, and the candidates Scipio, Milo, and Hipſæus, were already declared. Clodius, at the ſame time, ſtood for the office of Prætor. Scipio was by birth the ſon of Metellus Pius, adopted into the Cornelian family by Scipio Naſica. His daughter, in conſequence of this adoption, bearing the name of Cornelia, the widow of young Craſſus, was recently married to Pompey, who, upon this connection, ſupported Scipio, his father-in-law, in his pretenſions

[26] Cicero de officiis, lib. i. c. 8.

[27] Is Igitur mediocriter a doctrina inſtructus; anguſtius etiam a natura, &c. Cicero de claris oratoribus, c. 66. Ad Atticum, lib. iv. ep. 15.

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to the Conſulate, Milo had a powerful ſupport from the ſenate, in whoſe cauſe he had retorted the arts and violences of the ſeditious demagogues againſt themſelves. Clodius had great intereſt with the populace, and from inveterate animoſity to Milo and to his party, joined all his intereſt with Scipio and Hypſæus againſt him.

It is in the nature of human things to advance, in accumulating the good or evil to which they tend. Theſe competitors, in contending for the ſtreets and the uſual places of canvaſſing the people, joined to the former arts of diſtributing money, and of exciting popular tumults, the uſe of an armed force, and a ſpecies of military operations in the city. Three parties in arms every day paraded in different quarters of the town, and wherever they encountered, violence and bloodſhed generally followed. The oppoſite parties of Hypſæus and Milo had fought a battle in the *Via Sacra*; many of both ſides were killed, and the Conſul Calvinus was wounded in attempting to quell the riot.

Theſe diſorders ſo long obſtructed the elections, that the term of the preſent Conſuls in office expired, before the nomination of any ſucceſſors; and every legal power in the commonwealth being ſuſpended, the former ſtate of anarchy, with accumulating diſtractions, again enſued. The Senate, and the other friends of Milo, U. C. 701. would gladly have haſtened the elections, but were hindered by the partizans of the other candidates. The populace too enjoying this ſeaſon of gratuities, of entertainments, and of publick ſhews, in which the competitors continued to waſte their fortunes, were glad to have the canvas prolonged [28].

When the Senate propoſed to have recourſe to the remedy uſual in ſuch diſorders of the ſtate, by naming an Interrex, the only title under which any perſon could preſide in reſtoring the magriſtracy by an

[28] Pædianus in Argument. Orat. pro Milone.

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election of Conſuls, they were forbid by the Tribune Munatius Plancus, who was ſuppoſed to co-operate with Pompey in ſome deſign, to be favoured by deferring every meaſure that was propoſed for the reſtoration of order.

In the midſt of this ſcene, which kept the minds of men in fear of ſome general calamity, an accident happened, which brought the diſorder to a height, and forced every party to accept of a remedy. On the 13th of the kalends of February, or the 20th of January, Milo going to Lanuvium, a town about fifteen miles from Rome, of which he was chief magiſtrate, about three o'clock in the afternoon, met with Clodius returning from his country ſeat at Aricia. Milo was in a carriage with his wife Fauſta, the daughter of Sylla, and a friend Fuſius. He had a numerous eſcort, amounting to ſome hundreds of ſervants in arms, and, in particular, was attended by two noted gladiators, Eudamus and Birria. Clodius was on horſeback, with a retinue of thirty ſervants likewiſe in arms. It is likely that this encounter was altogether accidental; for the companies continued on their way without any diſturbance, till Birria, the gladiator, unwilling to paſs without giving ſome ſpecimen of his calling, as he ſtraggled a little behind his party, quarrelled with ſome of the followers of Clodius. A fray enſued: Clodius himſelf returned to quell it, or to puniſh the authors of it; but meeting with little reſpect among the gladiators, received a wound in the ſhoulder, and was carried to be dreſſed in the inn at Bovillæ, near to which place the diſturbance began. Milo being told of what had paſſed, likewiſe returned to the place; and thinking it ſafer to end their quarrels there, than await the revenge of an enemy thus provoked, who would not fail, at the head of his faction in the city, to rouſe the fury of the populace againſt him, encouraged his people to purſue their advantage: they accordingly forced their way into the inn, dragged Clo-

dious from thence, and having killed him, and diſperſed all his followers, left him dead of many wounds in the highway.

Sextus Tedius, a Senator, happening to paſs, put the body into his own carriage, and ſent his ſervants with it to Rome. They arrived before ſix at night, and proceeding directly to the houſe of the deceaſed, which ſtood on the Palatine hill over the Forum, laid the corpſe in the veſtibule.

The ſervants of the family, and multitudes from the ſtreets immediately crowded to ſee this ſpectacle. Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, ſtood over the body, and with loud lamentations uncovered and pointed out the wounds of her deceaſed huſband. The crowd continued to encreaſe all night, and until break of day, when Q. Munatius Plancus, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, Tribunes of the People, likewiſe repaired to the ſame place, and gave orders to carry the dead body naked to the market place, and there to leave it expoſed to publick view on the Roſtra; and at the ſame time accompanied this ſpectacle with inflammatory harangues to the people.

Sextus Claudius, kinſman of the deceaſed, ſoon after removed the body from the market-place to the Senate houſe, meaning to reproach the order of Senators as acceſſory to the murder. The populace, who ſtill followed in great numbers, burſt into the place, tore up the benches, and brought into a heap the materials, with the tables and deſks of the clerks, the journals and records of the Senate, and having ſet the whole on fire, conſumed the corpſe on this extraordinary pile. The fire ſoon reached the roof, and ſpread to the contiguous buildings. The Tribunes, Plancus and Rufus, who were all this while exhorting the people to vengeance, were driven from the Roſtra by the flames which burſt from the buildings around them. The Senate-houſe, the Porcia Baſilica, and other edifices were reduced to aſhes.

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The ſame perſons, by whom this fire had been kindled, repaired to the houſe of M. Lepidus, who, upon the firſt alarm of an inſurrection, had been named Interrex, forced into the hall, broke down the images of the family anceſtors, tore from the looms the webs, in weaving of which the induſtry of Roman matrons was ſtill employed, and deſtroyed what elſe they could reach. From thence, they proceeded to attack the houſe of Milo, but there met with a more proper reception. This houſe, during the riots, in which the maſter of it had borne ſo great a part, was become a kind of fortreſs, and, among the other proviſions made for its defence, was manned with archers, who plied thoſe who attacked it with arrows from the windows and terrace, in ſuch manner as ſoon obliged them to withdraw.

The rioters being repulſed from the houſe of Milo, crowded to the Temple, in which the Conſular Faſces, during the Interregnum, were kept, ſeized them by force, and carried them to the houſes of Scipio and Hypfæus, the preſent popular candidates for the Conſulate; theſe, without any other form of election, they preſſed to aſſume the enſigns of Conſular power. But not having prevailed in this propoſal, they proceeded to the houſe of Pompey, ſaluting him, with mixed ſhouts of Conſul or Dictator, according as they wiſhed him to aſſume the one or the other of theſe titles or dignities.

From this time, for ſome days, an armed populace, mixed with ſlaves, continued, under pretence of ſearching for Milo and his adherents, to pillage every place they could enter [29]. And the partizans of the candidates, Hypſæus and Scipio, thinking they had Milo at a diſadvantage, beſet the houſe of the Interrex; and, though it was not cuſtomary for the firſt in this nomination to proceed to the elections, they clamoured for an immediate aſſembly of the people for

[29] Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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this purpoſe. The party of Milo, though profeſſing likewiſe to join the ſame clamour for an immediate election, came to blows with their opponents, and protected the houſe and the perſon of the Interrex from farther violence.

Milo himſelf, who was at firſt ſuppoſed to have fled or gone into exile, hearing of the exceſſes committed by the oppoſite party, and of the general inclination of the more ſober part of the citizens to check and diſappoint their violence, ventured again to appear in the city, and at the head of his friends, renewed his canvaſs. A ſucceſſion of officers, with the title of Interrex, continued to be named at the expiration of every uſual term of five days; but ſuch was the confuſion and diſtraction of the ſcene, that no election could be made. The Senate, under the greateſt alarm, gave to the Interrex, and to the Tribunes of the People, to whom they joined Pompey, who by virtue of his proconſular commiſſion as Purveyor of Corn for the People, held a public character in the State, the uſual charge given to the Conſuls, to watch over the ſafety of the republic. They even recommended to Pompey to make the neceſſary levies throughout Italy, and to provide a military force to act for the commonwealth, in repreſſing the diſorders which were committed by the candidates for office.

Under the protection of ſuch temporary expedients, to reſtrain the violence with which all parties endeavoured to do themſelves juſtice, ſome applied for redreſs, in the way of proſecution and civil ſuit. The two Claudii, nephews of the deceaſed Publius Clodius, demanded that the ſlaves of Milo, or thoſe of his wife Fauſta, ſhould be put to the torture, in order to force a diſcovery of the manner in which their uncle was killed. The two Valerii, Nepos and Leo, with Lucius Herennius Balbus, joined in the ſame demand. On the oppoſite party, a like demand againſt the ſlaves of the deceaſed Publius Clodius was made by Cælius, one of the Tribunes; and a

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profecution for violence and corruption was entered by Manlius Cenianus againſt Hypſæus and Scipio, the competitors of Milo, for the office of Conſul.

Milo, in anſwer to the demand that was made to have his ſlaves put to the torture, pleaded that the perſons, now demanded as ſlaves, were actually freemen, he having manumitted them as a reward for their faithful ſervices in defending his perſon againſt a late attempt made by Clodius on his life. It was alleged, on the other hand, that they were manumitted to evade the law, to preſerve them from the torture, and to ſcreen himſelf from the evidence which they might in that manner be obliged to give. M. Cælius and Manlius Cænianus being Tribunes, and diſpoſed to favour Milo, had ventured to vindicate him to the People, and to load Clodius as the aggreſſor, and the intended aſſaſſin in the fray which coſt him his life. Cicero too, with great zeal and courage, while the friends of Milo were yet unſafe in the ſtreets, maintained the ſame argument in the Senate, and before the people [39]. Milo, however, would have been glad to make a compoſition; and as Pompey had all along, in the competition for the Conſulate, favoured not only Scipio but likewiſe Hypſæus againſt him, he offered to drop his pretenſion in favour of thoſe candidates, if Pompey would agree to ſuppreſs the proſecutions that were commencing againſt him. To theſe propoſals Pompey refuſed to liſten. He probably thought the election ſecure for his friends, and by affecting a zeal for juſtice, hoped to encreaſe his authority with the people.

The partizans of Pompey, in the midſt of this wild and diſorderly ſtate of affairs, were buſy in renewing the cry which they had raiſed in the former interregnum, that he ſhould be named Dictator, for the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and the reſtoration of the public peace.

[39] Aſcon. Pædian. in Argument. Orat. pro Milone.

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Such an extraordinary power had never been at any time more wanted in the republic; but the times, in which it might be ſafely applied, were no more. The name of Dictator recalled the memory of Sylla's executions, and it appeared to be uncertain againſt whom they might now be directed. To avoid the title more than the power of Dictator, Bibulus moved in the Senate, that all the preſent candidates for the Conſulate ſhould be ſet aſide, and that the Interrex ſhould aſſemble the people for the election of Pompey ſole Conſul. Cato, to the ſurprize of every body, ſeconded this motion. He obſerved, that any magiſtracy was preferable to none, and that if the republic muſt be governed by a ſingle perſon, none was ſo fit for the charge as the perſon now propoſed. Pompey being preſent, thanked Cato for this declaration of his eſteem, and ſaid he would accept of the charge, in hopes of being aided by his council. Cato made anſwer, in terms, meant to be literally interpreted, but which, in other inſtances of the ſame kind, under an aſpect of ſullenneſs, have been intended to flatter, That he meant no favour to Pompey, and deſerved no thanks from him: that his intention was to ſerve the republic.

It was reſolved, in terms of this motion, that Pompey ſhould be preſented to the people as ſole candidate for the office of Conſul, and that after two months were elapſed, he might propoſe any other candidate to be joined in this office [31] with himſelf. The election was accordingly brought on by the Interrex Servius Sulpitius, on the twenty-fourth of February, and Pompey declared ſole Conſul [32], with a commiſſion from the Senate to arm, if neceſſary, the inhabitants of Italy, for the better eſtabliſhment of order in the city. Pompey ſole Conſul.

The firſt object of Pompey, in the high and unprecedented dignity which was now conferred upon him, appears to have been the fram-

[31] Plutarch. in Vit. Pomp. & Catonis, Dio. lib. xl.

[32] Aſcon. Pædian. in Argument. Orat. pro Milone.

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ing of ſome laws to reſtrain for the future ſuch diſorders as had lately prevailed, and to bring criminals to juſtice. For this purpoſe, he obtained an act to enforce the laws which already ſubſiſted againſt violence and corruption; and to regulate the form of proceeding in trials on ſuch criminal accuſations.

By the regulations now ſuggeſted by Pompey, every trial was to end in four days. The examination of evidence might occupy the three firſt; the hearing of parties, and the judgment, the fourth. The proſecutor was allowed two hours to ſupport his charge, and the defendant three hours to make his defence. The number of advocates was reſtricted, and the uſe of commendatory characters prohibited [33]. The Queſitor, or Judge Criminal, was to be choſen from among thoſe who had held the office of Conſul, and eighty judges or jurors were to be impannelled, and obliged to attend the trial. After the evidence and pleadings were heard, the parties were then allowed each to challenge or reject fifteen of the jury or judges, or five from each of the orders of which they were compoſed; and the court being thus reduced to fifty one, they were to be incloſed and to give judgment [34].

Corruption was become ſo frequent, and ſo much a neceſſary art in conducting elections, that it was difficult to find any one willing to proſecute this crime. To remedy this defect, a clauſe was enacted in the law of Pompey, by which any perſon formerly convicted of bribery, might obtain a remiſſion of the penalties he had incurred by convicting any one other perſon of a crime equal, or by convicting two perſons, though of a crime leſs heinous than his own. By theſe means, it was propoſed that one conviction ſhould produce ſtill more in ſucceſſion. That conviction, in every inſtance, ſhould be attended with infamy; but that the pains of law ſhould ultimately,

[33] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. c. 53.

[34] Aſcon. Pæd. ibid.

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reſt only on ſuch perſon as could not find another on whom to ſhift the burden from himſelf [35].

Theſe regulations were made with a particular view to the trial of Milo, now arraigned on the ſtatutes both of corruption, and of violence or aſſaſſination. The paſſing of theſe laws was oppoſed on this account by the friends of the accuſed, who alleged, that they were not acts of legiſlation, but acts of attainder, having a retroſpect to the caſe of a party concerned in a paſt tranſaction. Cælius the Tribune, and Cicero, maintained this argument. Pompey replied with impatience, That if he were hindered to proceed in a legal way, he ſhould employ force [36]. He appeared to entertain ſome animoſity againſt Milo, ſuch at leaſt as they who love to govern, have to others who appear not to be eaſily governed. He either had, or affected to have, apprehenſions of danger to his own perſon, confeſſed or affected this apprehenſion in the Senate, and retired, as for ſafety, to his own houſe in the ſuburbs: there he retained, for the guard of his perſon, a party of armed men; and there too, under the ſame affectation of withdrawing from violence, he cauſed the aſſemblies of the Senate to be held.

The Ariſtocratical or Senatorian party was much intereſted in the preſervation of Milo: they had been frequently aſſailed by the popular rioters, who ſet the laws at defiance; and as the laws had not always been of ſufficient force to protect their perſons, it was their intereſt to protect thoſe who, on occaſion, had ſet aſide the laws in their defence. The argument, in equity, indeed was ſtrong on the ſide of Milo. During the late ſuſpenſion of government, the factions were rather ſeparate parties at war, than ſubjects enjoying the protection, and amenable to the juriſdiction of any civil power whatever. They who procured or prolonged this ſtate of anarchy, were alone chargeable with the conſequences. In this conteſt, which could

[35] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. c. 52.

[36] Aſcon. Pædian, in Argument. Orat. pro Milone.

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not be maintained without force or violent meaſures, the friends of the republic and of the Senate were badly circumſtanced. They contended for laws, and a conſtitution which might be turned againſt the very irregularities which had been neceſſary to their own preſervation; while the oppoſite faction, if defeated, might claim the protection of forms, which they had endeavoured to ſubvert.

It would have been juſt, perhaps, to have cloſed the late ſcene of confuſion with a general indemnity, and to have taken precautions for the regular uninterrupted exerciſe of government in future. This, however, would not have calmed the reſentments of thoſe who were aggrieved, and Pompey determined to ſignalize his government by a more ſpecious appearance of juſtice. Domitius Ahenobarbus was choſen commiſſioner for the trial of Milo, on the charge of murder; and the other judges, taken from among the moſt reſpectable of each order in the commonwealth, were impannelled in terms of the late ſtatute. The criminal was cited to anſwer this charge on the fourth of April; and on the ſame day, to anſwer a charge of corruption brought againſt him in the ordinary court of the Prætor Manlius. Marcellus appeared for him at the bar of the Prætor, and procured a delay until the other trial ſhould be ended.

The court, it appears, was aſſembled in the Forum or open market place. There was a tribunal or bench railed in for the judges. The whole ſpace was crowded with multitudes of people. The proſecutors began with examining Caſſinius Schola, who had been in company with Clodius when he was killed. This witneſs gave direct evidence to the fact, and exaggerated the atrocity of the crime. Marcellus would have croſs-queſtioned him; but the populace, and many others who aſſembled in the crowd who favoured the proſecution, raiſed a menacing cry, which alarmed the accuſed and his counſel ſo much, that they claimed the protection of the court. They were accordingly received within the rails, and the judge ap-

plied to the Conſul, who had taken his ſtation near to the place of aſſembly, in order to reſtrain, by his preſence, any diſorders that might ariſe at the trial. Pompey, who was then attended only by his lictors, was himſelf likewiſe alarmed by that diſorderly ſhout, and ſaid, that, for the future, a proper force ſhould be provided to keep the peace. He accordingly, on the following day, filled every avenue, which led to the Forum, with men under arms; and, upon ſome tumult among the populace, gave an order that the place ſhould be cleared. In the execution of this order numbers were killed.

Under the impreſſion made by this vigorous exertion of power, the witneſſes continued to be examined for two days without any diſturbance. Among theſe the inhabitants of Bovillæ, the family and relations of Clodius, and his wife Fulvia, were examined on the ſeveral circumſtances that fell within their knowledge, and left no doubt remaining with reſpect to the fact. The minds of men every day became more intent on the iſſue: ſo that, on the fourth day, when the parties were to plead, all other buſineſs was ſuſpended in the city; the ſhops and offices were ſhut.

There appeared for the proſecutors Appius Claudius, M. Antonius, and Valerius Nepos. They began at eight, and ſpoke till ten. For the defender appeared Q. Hortenſius, M. Marcellus, M. Calidius, Fauſtus Sylla, M. Cato, and M. T. Cicero, of whom the laſt only attempted to ſpeak. Some were of opinion, that, as the fact was undeniable, it ought to be juſtified on the plea of neceſſity and public expedience. Cicero himſelf thought this too bold a plea, and therefore choſe that of ſelf-defence, alleging that Clodius was the aggreſſor, and intended to aſſaſſinate Milo. It is remarked of this celebrated orator, that he began all his orations under conſiderable ſolicitude and awe of his audience. On this occaſion, when he ſtood up to ſpeak, the partizans of Clodius, who were likewiſe inveterate ene-

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mies to himſelf, endeavoured to diſconcert him with clamours and menacing cries. The unuſual ſight of military guards, commanded by an officer, who was ſuppoſed to be prejudiced againſt his client, it is ſaid, ſo far overcame and ſunk his ſpirit, that he ſpoke feebly, and concluded abruptly; and that what he actually delivered was far ſhort of that maſterly oration which he compoſed, and afterwards publiſhed under the title of Milo's defence.

The accuſed however, even in this alarming ſcene, ſtood at the bar with an undaunted countenance; and while every one elſe, in imitation of the Senators, appeared in mourning, he alone appeared in an ordinary dreſs. When judgment was given, and the ballots inſpected, it appeared that, of the Senators, twelve condemned, and ſix, or perhaps rather five, acquitted; of the knights, thirteen condemned, and four acquitted; of the Tribuni Ærarii, or repreſentatives of the Plebeian order, thirteen condemned, and three or four acquitted. And Milo, upon the whole, was condemned by thirty-eight, againſt thirteen.

Before ſentence was pronounced, being ſtill at liberty to withdraw, he retired into exile, and fixed his reſidence at Marſeilles. Thither Cicero ſent him a copy of an oration in his defence, compoſed at leiſure, as an effort of his eloquence, and a ſpecimen of what could be urged in the cauſe. The packet containing this writing, it ſeems, was delivered or read to Milo while he ſat at dinner. "How lucky it "was," he ſaid, "that this oration was not actually ſpoken, I "ſhould not now have been eating theſe excellent fiſh at Marſeilles[17]." Theſe marks of indifference make a ſtriking contraſt to the figure which Cicero himſelf had exhibited in his exile. If he could have thus trifled with apparent or unmerited diſgrace, that ſingle addition of conſtancy and force to his character would have undoubtedly placed

[17] Aſconius Pædianus et Argument. et Notis in Orat. pro Mil. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. Plut. in Pompeio, Catone, &c.

him

him as high in the order of ſtateſmen, as, by the other parts of his character, he ſtands in the liſt of ingenious men and virtuous citizens. CHAP. II.

Milo was likewiſe ſoon after condemned, in abſence, by the Prætor, upon a charge of bribery and corruption. Some of his competitors, particularly Hypſæus and Scipio, were brought to trial for the ſame offence. The Tribune Munatius Plancus and Pompeius Rufus were, at the expiration of their office, tried and condemned for the ſhare they had in the fire which conſumed the Senate-houſe, and in the aſſault which was committed on the houſe of M. Lepidus the Interrex.

CHAP. III.

Character of Pompey in Capacity of ſole Conſul.——Privilege of Cæſar to be admitted as Candidute for the Office of Conſul, without reſigning his Province.——General Revolt of the Gauls.——Operations in that Country.——Blockade and Reduction of Aleſia.——Diſtribution of Cæſar's Army in Gaul.

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POMPEY, in his dignity of ſole Conſul, having joined a legal authority to the perſonal elevation which he always affected, poſſeſſed much of the influence and conſideration of a real monarch; and it would have been happy, perhaps, for the State, if he could have made ſuch a dignity hereditary, and a permanent part of the conſtitution, or given to the commonwealth that reaſonable mixture of kingly government, of which it appears to have ſtood ſo greatly in need. In his preſent elevation he roſe for a while above the partialities of a factious leader, and appeared to adopt that intereſt which the ſovereign ever has in the ſupport of juſtice. He even ſeems to have perſonated the character of a prince, or to have conſidered himſelf as above the rank of a citizen. Among other inſtances to this purpoſe, is mentioned his haughty ſaying to Hypſæus, late candidate for the Conſulate, now under proſecution for bribery, who, as Pompey paſſed from the bath to ſupper, put himſelf in his way to implore his protection, "Detain me not," he ſaid, "you only make "ſupper to cool for no purpoſe [t]." In the midſt of the ſolicitations of his courtiers and flatterers, he even ventured to diſpenſe with his own regulations. Contrary to the rule he himſelf had laid down for the

[t] Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 5.

direction

direction of criminal trials, he furniſhed Munatius Plancus, when brought to the bar, with a commendatory teſtimony, "I cannot prefer "this writing of Pompey," ſaid Cato, "to the law of which he "himſelf is the author." On account of this ſaying, Plancus, when the Judges came to be incloſed, thought proper to reject Cato: the accuſed was nevertheleſs condemned [2].

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Beſides the meaſures taken to puniſh paſt offences, it was thought neceſſary to deviſe ſome laws to prevent for the future, or to leſſen the temptation to the commiſſion of ſuch dangerous crimes. The principal ſource of the late diſorders appeared to be the avidity of candidates for thoſe offices of State, which led immediately to the government of lucrative provinces. To remove this temptation, it was ordained, at the ſuggeſtion of Pompey, that no man could be appointed to a province till five years after the expiration of that office, whether of Conſul, Prætor, or Quæſtor, in virtue of which he claimed a proportionate ſtation in the provinces.

Before the enacting of this law, however, Pompey had the addreſs to procure for himſelf a prolongation of his government in Spain for five years. This circumſtance, which continued to give him the command of an army abroad, while he likewiſe bore the higheſt civil office in the State at home, ſet a very dangerous precedent for the commonwealth.

Cæſar's command in Gaul was ſoon to expire; and, according to the laws then in force, he muſt even reſign it before he could aſpire to the Conſulate, or pretend to cope with his rival in civil preferments. It had been wiſely ordained by the laws, that the perſons offering themſelves as candidates for the office of Conſul, ſhould appear in perſon to ſue for it; and that no man, without reſigning his command and diſmiſſing his army, could enter the city, or even go beyond the limits of the province in which he had governed. By

[2] Plutarch. in Pompeio, p. 484.

this

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this regulation it was intended to prevent the conjunction of civil power in the State with the command of an army. Pompey, however, though veſted with ſuch a command in Spain, had contrived to be exempted from the obſervance of this law; and, under pretence that his office of general purveyor of corn for the Roman People did not confine him to any ſtation, and in reality extended to the whole empire, or had a particular reference to Italy, ſtill continued to reſide in the city of Rome.

Cæſar, to keep pace with his rival, openly aſpired to the ſame privilege with Pompey, and claimed, as a mere inſtance of equal treatment, what the other had obtained; but what, if beſtowed on himſelf, with his other advantages, muſt give him a great and immediate ſuperiority. The army he commanded was already in the moſt advantageous ſituation. The addition of Conſular power at Rome, to that of general in both the Gauls, was joining Italy itſelf to his provinces, and putting him at once in poſſeſſion of the empire. Any oppoſition made to his authority as Conſul would be conſtrued as rebellion againſt the State itſelf. Pompey would be driven at once from the helm of affairs to the command of a diſtant province, in which he, at moſt, could only defend himſelf; but not entertain any deſigns on the ſovereignty of Italy, which would be covered from his attempts by the Pyrennees and the Alps, and the great armies of Gaul.

With theſe objects in his view, Cæſar inſtructed his partizans among the Tribunes to move, That, being continually engaged in a hazardous war, which required his preſence, and being neceſſarily detained abroad in the ſervice of his country, he might be exempted from the law, which required the candidates for office to attend their canvaſs in perſon, and might therefore be elected into the Conſulate without preſenting himſelf to the People for that purpoſe.

This propoſition was ſufficiently underſtood by the leading men of the Senate, and by the few who joined with them in ſupport of the

commonwealth. It was known to be intended that Cæſar ſhould have a privilege of being elected Conſul, without reſigning his province, or diſmiſſing his army; and they withſtood the motion as of the moſt dangerous conſequence. But Pompey, who ought likewiſe, for his own ſake, to have been alarmed at the progreſs of Cæſar, and at the uncommon advantage at which he now aimed, was either lulled into ſecurity by the artifices of his rival, or thought himſelf ſufficiently raiſed above any danger from this or any other quarter. He had accepted, in his own perſon, many unprecedented honours, and was poſſibly unwilling to contend for forms which, at ſome future period, might limit his own pretenſions. Cato loudly renewed his ſuſpicion of Cæſar's deſigns. Cicero could not be neutral in any diſpute that ſhould ariſe between Cæſar and Pompey. He had been baniſhed by the one, and reſtored by the other. Beſides the perſonal conſideration he owed to Pompey on this occaſion, his natural bias was on the ſide of the Senate, and for the ſupport of the forms which were provided for the ſafety of the commonwealth. He nevertheleſs ſuffered himſelf to be dazzled with the court which Cæſar had paid to him for ſome time, with a view to this very queſtion; he condemned the indiſcreet zeal of Cato, who, in his opinion, was ruining the cauſe of the republic by ſetting both Cæſar and Pompey at defiance, while he himſelf, by temporiſing, and by managing the inclinations of theſe parties, had ſecured them both in its intereſts. He ſtated the danger of a quarrel with Cæſar at this time, ſupported as he was by a powerful army, and in the bowels of Italy; but did not conſider that he was then giving up, without a quarrel, all that any quarrel could extort.

The army of Cæſar was not then ſo well prepared to follow him againſt his country, nor he himſelf furniſhed with the ſame colours of juſtice, under which he afterwards made war on the commonwealth. If a civil war were to be dreaded, to temporiſe, in this inſtance, was to give a delay which proved favourable to the enemy, or rather, in

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effect, to deliver up the republic, without a conteſt to that fate which the prudent councils in queſtion were intended to remove. Under colour of this prudence, nevertheleſs, Cicero, as well as Pompey, ſupported the Tribunes in their motion, and obtained for the Proconſul of Gaul the diſpenſation he deſired, to retain his army, while he offered himſelf a candidate for the higheſt office of the ſtate at Rome.

Cæſar, immediately upon his arrival on that ſide of the Alps in the beginning of winter, obſerving the diſtractions which took place in the city upon the murder of Clodius, affected much zeal for the laws which had been ſo groſsly violated in that inſtance; and, under pretence of furniſhing himſelf with the means of ſupporting the ſtate againſt thoſe who were inclined to diſturb it, ordered new levies in every part of his provinces, and made a conſiderable addition to his army; but, contented for the preſent with the privilege he had obtained of ſuing for the Conſulate, without quitting his province, or reſigning his military power, he left the State, as before, apparently in the hands of Pompey; and, in the middle of winter, on the report of a general defection of all the Gauliſh nations, repaſſed the Alps.

Moſt of the nations that lay beyond the mountains of Auvergne, the original limits of the Roman province, rouſed by the ſenſe of their preſent condition, or by the cruel maſſacre lately executed in a part of their country, were actually in arms. They had ſubmitted to Cæſar, or were ſeparately gained by him, under the ſpecious pretence of alliance or protection againſt their enemies; and with the title of ally, ſuffered him to become their maſter. But the violence with which he had threatened the canton of the Carnutes [3], for abſenting themſelves from the convention which he had aſſembled on the Seine, and the mercileſs ſeverities executed by

[3] Now Chartres.

him againſt the unfortunate natives of the tract between the Rhine and the Meuſe[4], convinced all the nations of Gaul that they were reduced to the condition of ſlaves; and that every exertion they made for liberty was to be puniſhed as a crime. They ſaw the folly of their former diſſentions, and ſuſpended all their animoſities to enter into a general concert for their common ſafety. The occaſion, they ſaid, was favourable for the recovery of their country. The Romans were diſtracted at home, and Cæſar had ſufficient occupation in Italy. His army could not act in his abſence. The preſent time, they concluded, was the favourable opportunity to ſhut out the Romans for ever beyond the Cevennes, or even to force them to retire within the Alps.

All the nations on the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, quite round to the ſea-coaſt, received theſe repreſentations with joy. They held private meetings, and inſtead of exchanging hoſtages, which would have been too public a meaſure, and have led to a diſcovery of their deſigns, they plighted their faith by a more ſecret form, commonly practiſed among them on great occaſions, that of preſſing their banners together.

The people of the Carnutes[5] undertook to begin hoſtilities; and accordingly, on a day fixed, ſurpriſed the town of Genabum[6], where they put many Roman traders, together with the commiſſary general of the army, to death.

It was the cuſtom of the Gauls to convey intimation of ſuch events by means of a cry which they raiſed at the place of action, and repeated wherever the voice was heard, till paſſing almoſt with the velocity of ſound itſelf, it gave the ſpeedieſt information of what was done. In this manner intelligence of what had been tranſacted at Genabum at the riſing of the ſun, was, before night, propagated in

[4] Now chiefly Liege and Guelderland. [5] Chartres. [6] Orleans.

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every direction to the diſtance of a hundred and ſixty miles, and put all the nations within this compaſs in a ferment. Its firſt and principal effects, however, were produced in the country of the Arverni[7]. Here Vercingetorix, a youth of heroic ſpirit and great capacity, aſſembled his retainers, took poſſeſſion of Gergovia, now Clermont, the capital of his country, and from thence ſent meſſengers in every direction to urge the execution of the meaſures lately concerted for the general freedom of Gaul. He himſelf, in return for his zeal, being choſen the common head of the confederacy, in this capacity, fixed the quota of men and of arms to be furniſhed by each ſeparate canton, and took hoſtages for the regular obſervance of the conditions to which the ſeveral parties had agreed.

Vercingetorix having aſſembled a conſiderable army, ſent a part of his force to act on the Garonne, and to haraſs the frontiers of the Roman province, while he himſelf moved to the Loire, in order to rouſe the nations of that quarter, who appeared to be too ſecure; and he accordingly brought to his ſtandard all the warriors of thoſe cantons that lay on the left of that river. His party on the Garonne, at the ſame time, were joined by all the nations of Aquitania, and, in formidable numbers, threatened with immediate deſtruction the cities of Thoulouſe and Narbonne, or ſuch parts of their diſtricts at leaſt as were open to invaſion.

Thither Cæſar, with all the forces he could aſſemble upon his arrival from Italy, immediately repaired; and, having put the province of Narbonne in a condition not to be inſulted, proceeded to give the enemy an alarm in their own country. His object was, if poſſible, to put himſelf at the head of the legions which he had left on the northern frontiers of his new acquiſitions. He did not chuſe that thoſe legions ſhould move in his abſence ſo far as to expoſe

[7] Auvergne.

themſelves

themſelves to be cut off by the natives. Nor was it eaſy for him- CHAP. III.
ſelf, with the force under his command, to penetrate through ſo many enemies as lay in his way to join them. It was yet winter, and the mountains were deeply covered with ſnow. This circumſtance, which increaſed his difficulties, as it was likely to render the enemy ſecure, ſtill encouraged him to make his attempt. He accordingly paſſed the mountains[9] which lay in his way, at a time when the ſnow, in many places, being ſix feet deep, muſt be removed with ſhovels, and when that paſſage was ſuppoſed to be intirely impracticable. After he had ſurmounted this difficulty, his object being to draw the attention of the prince of the Arverni to his own country, he ſent his cavalry abroad in numerous parties to deſtroy with fire and ſword the people with their habitations and poſſeſſions. When he thought the alarm was ſufficiently ſpread, and muſt have reached the Gauliſh army on the Loire, he pretended, that his preſence was required in the province behind him, gave the command of the troops in Auvergne to Decimus Brutus, then a young man; giving him orders at the ſame time to keep his parties abroad, and to continue to haraſs the country as he himſelf had done.

Having taken theſe meaſures to fix the attention of the enemy in one quarter, Cæſar, with a few attendants, made haſte to paſs in a different direction to Vienna on the Rhône, where he was received by a party of horſe, which he had appointed at that place to wait his orders; and, under this eſcort, without halting by day or by night, he paſſed by Bibracte[10] and the country of the Lingones[11], to the neareſt quarter of his army on the Seine; and while he was yet ſuppoſed to be in Auvergne, had actually aſſembled his legions which had been diſtributed on the courſe of that river.

[9] The Cevennes.
[10] Afterwards Auguſtodunum, now Autun.
[11] Langres.

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Vercingetorix having notice that Cæſar, in this manner, had paſſed him, and that the Roman army on the Seine was in motion, perceived that the invaſion of his own country had been no more than a feint, and that the chief force of the enemy was to be expected from a different quarter, he reſumed the operations which he had intermitted on the Loire, and endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of a poſt in the territory of Bibracte, where the people ſtill profeſſed themſelves to be in the alliance of the Romans.

Cæſar, notwithſtanding the difficulty of procuring proviſions and forage ſo early in the ſeaſon, thought himſelf under a neceſſity of oppoſing the progreſs of the enemy. For this purpoſe he left his baggage, under the guard of two legions, at Agendicum [12]; and from thence, with the remainder of the army, proceeded to Genabum [13], leaving Trebonius by the way to take poſſeſſion of a town which the natives, after a little ſhow of reſiſtance, had ſurrendered.

Upon his arrival before Genabum, the Gauls, who were in arms at that place, reſolved to abandon the town; and ſhutting the gates againſt the Romans on one ſide, endeavoured to eſcape by the bridge of the Loire on the other. But Cæſar, having notice of their deſign, forced open their gates, and overtook them, while crowded together in the entrance of the bridge, and in the narrow ſtreets which led to it, put the greater part to the ſword, and, under pretence of revenging the maſſacre of the Roman traders, who had been cut off at this place, ordered that the town ſhould be deſtroyed. From thence he penetrated into the country of the Bituriges [14], on the left of the Loire; and, on his way towards Avaricum [15], the capital of that diſtrict, forced every place that oppoſed his paſſage.

Vercingetorix, obſerving the rapid progreſs of the Romans, and knowing that the Gauls, being without order or diſcipline, could not

[12] Sens. [13] Orleans. [14] Now Berri. [15] Bourges.

withſtand

withſtand them in battle, declined an engagement, but endeavoured to diſtreſs the enemy by delays and want of proviſions. He had authority enough with his own people to perſuade them to lay their country waſte every where within many miles of Cæſar's route. Twenty towns of the Bituriges were burnt in one day. Avaricum alone, contrary to the opinion of Vercingetorix, and at the earneſt requeſt of its inhabitants, who undertook to defend it to the laſt extremity, was ſpared.

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Thither, accordingly, Cæſar advanced as to the only prize that was left. He attacked the place, under great diſadvantages, in the midſt of a country that was intirely laid waſte, and truſting for the daily ſubſiſtence of his army to the Ædui beyond the Loire, who, notwithſtanding their profeſſions, were far from being hearty in his cauſe, or diligent in ſending their ſupplies of proviſions to his camp. Such as they ſent were intercepted by Vercingetorix, who had occupied a ſtrong poſt with his army, and infeſted the highways with his parties. In theſe circumſtances, Cæſar's army was ſometimes reduced to great diſtreſs; he himſelf, to pique the reſolution of his ſoldiers, affected a willingneſs to raiſe the ſiege, whenever they were pleaſed to intimate, that they could endure it no longer: "We are got "into a difficult ſituation," he uſed to obſerve; "if the troops are diſ- "couraged, I ſhall withdraw." To this affected tenderneſs for the ſufferings of his men, he was every where anſwered, with intreaties that he would not diſhonour them, by ſuppoſing that any hardſhips could oblige them to forfeit the character they had acquired by the labour of ſo many ſucceſsful compaigns. He accordingly continued the attack of Avaricum under all his diſcouragements.

The place was covered on two ſides by a river and a moraſs, and was acceſſible only on the third. The walls of the town were ingeniouſly conſtructed with double frames of wood, having compartments or pannels filled up with maſonry and large blocks of ſtone.

The

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The maſonry ſecured the timber from fire, and the frames preſerved the maſonry againſt the effects of the battering ram, which could act only on the ſtones contained within a ſingle pannel or diviſion of the frame, without ruining at once any conſiderable part of the wall, or effecting a breach. The Roman army approached to this wall by the moſt laborious and difficult methods which were practiſed. They began, in the ancient form of attack, at a proper diſtance, and on a breadth of eighty-three feet, to lay a ſloping mound [16], which riſing by degrees on the plain, formed, as it advanced, an eaſy aſcent to the level of the battlements. The earth on the ſides of this mound was ſupported by timbers, hurdles, and faggots, and the workmen in front were covered with mantlets and moveable pent-houſes. The beſieged, that they might ſtill overtop the beſiegers, raiſed their walls by additional frames of wood, which they covered with raw hides, as a ſecurity againſt the burning arrows and ſhafts which were darted againſt them.

In this conteſt the works on both ſides were raiſed about eighty feet, and the beſieged endeavoured to keep the advantage of ſuperior height, not only by raiſing their own walls, but likewiſe by undermining and ſinking the mound of the beſiegers. They made galleries under the foundation of their own wall to the bottom of the enemy's mound, by which they endeavoured to remove the earth and other materials from below, as faſt as they were accumulated above. They came from their ſally-ports on different ſides of the mound, and endeavoured to ſet fire to the wood by which the earth was ſupported. In all theſe particulars ſhowing that they poſſeſſed the arts of defence in common with antient nations [17]. Vercingetorix, in the mean time, continued to haraſs the Roman army from without, intercepted their ſupply of proviſions, and, by means of the

[16] The Agger.

[17] Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. vii. c. 22, &c. Vid. Thucidid. lib. ii. in the ſiege of Platæa.

river

river and the moraſs, maintained his communication with the town, and ſent in frequent relief.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, Cæſar by degrees brought forward and raiſed his mound of approach to the height of the battlements; ſo that by a ſingle aſſault he might determine the fate of the town. And while both parties were preparing for a laſt effort, he took the opportunity, as he frequently did, of a heavy rain to make his attack. The beſieged, as he ſuppoſed, had taken ſhelter from the weather, and were in that inſtant put off their guard. He got poſſeſſion of the battlements with little reſiſtance, and drove the parties who manned them before him from the walls. The inhabitants formed in the ſtreets, and the Romans who had entered, extending their line to right and left along the ramparts, were about to occupy the battlements over the whole circumference of the place, when the garriſon, obſerving their danger, began to eſcape by the gates. In the confuſion that followed, the town was ſacked, and could make no reſiſtance. Of forty thouſand perſons who had taken ſhelter in it, no more than eight hundred eſcaped. This maſſacre was joined to that lately performed at Genabum, under the pretence of completing the vengeance which was due for the murder of the Roman traders who were put to death at the breaking out of the preſent revolt.

The Gauls, as uſual on every calamitous event, were greatly diſheartened; and were about to deſpair of their cauſe, when their leader reminded them, that, contrary to his judgment, they had reſerved this place from the general devaſtation, and had themſelves undertaken to defend it; that what they ſuffered was the conſequence of a miſtake, and might be retrieved by abler conduct. His authority as uſual roſe on the ill ſucceſs of councils which he had not approved, and brought an acceſſion of numbers to his ſtandard.

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Cæſar, finding a conſiderable ſupply of ſtores and proviſions at Avaricum, remained ſome days to relieve and to refreſh his army. The country around him, however, being intirely laid waſte, or occupied by parties of the enemy, it became neceſſary for him to repaſs the Loire, and to open his communication with a country of which the inhabitants ſtill profeſſed to be in alliance with the Romans, and having had their poſſeſſions covered by the river from the incurſions of the enemy in their late devaſtations, were ſtill in condition to ſupply his camp. As in this movement he ſeemed to retire and to give up the ground he had diſputed with the prince of the Arverni, he pretended that he was called to ſettle a diſpute which had ariſen among the Ædui, relating to the ſucceſſion of the chief magiſtrate, or head of their canton. Having repaſſed to the right of the Loire without any loſs, he made a demand on his allies of that ſide for ten thouſand men on foot, and all the horſes they could furniſh.

He now had enemies on every quarter, and it was good policy to keep them divided, and to occupy them ſeparately. For this purpoſe he ſent four legions towards the Seine; while he himſelf took the route of Noviodunum [19], at the confluence of the Loire and Allier; and there leaving his money, ſpare horſes, and unneceſſary baggage, he continued his march on the banks of the Allier, with intention to paſs that river, and to invade the Arverni, from whom this revolt had originated, and whoſe chief was now at the head of it. This prince, knowing that the river Allier is never fordable till autumn, and till the melting of ſnows on the Cevennes begin to abate, ordered all the bridges upon it to be demoliſhed, and hoped to prevent the Romans from paſſing it during the greater part of ſummer. As ſoon as Cæſar marched from Noviodunum, he preſented himſelf on the oppoſite bank of the river, and regulated his motions by that of

[19] Nevers.

the enemy. The two armies commonly decamped, marched, and encamped again in ſight of each other; and Cæſar never affected to elude the vigilance of the Gauls, till he ſaw an opportunity to do ſo with advantage.

It happened that one of the bridges of the Allier had been but imperfectly deſtroyed; moſt of the piles were yet faſt in the ground, and appeared above water; ſo that a paſſage might be effected in a few hours. The country around was woody, and furniſhed cover, or a place of ambuſh, to any number of men. From theſe circumſtances Cæſar conceived the deſign to over-reacch the enemy. He put his army in motion as uſual, but himſelf remained with a ſufficient detachment in the neighbourhood of the ruined bridge, which he meant to repair. In order that the Gauls might not be led to ſuſpect that any part of his army was left behind, he ordered that thoſe who were to move ſhould divide, and preſent the ſame number of ſeparate bodies; the ſame diſtinction of colours and ſtandards, which they were accuſtomed to ſhow on a march of the whole army; at the ſame time, as he knew that the Gauls would endeavour to keep pace with his people, in order to haſten and increaſe their diſtance, he ordered them to make a quicker and a longer march than uſual. When he ſuppoſed that this feint or ſtratagem had taken its full effect, he began to work on the piles which were left in the river, and in a few hours repaired the bridge ſo effectually, that he paſſed with the diviſion of the army he had reſerved for this purpoſe, and inſtantly fortified a poſt to cover them on the oppoſite bank. From thence he ſent orders to recall the main body; and before the enemy were appriſed of his deſign, had reunited all his forces on the left of the river.

Vercingetorix, as ſoon as he had intelligence that the Romans had paſſed the Allier, fell back to Gergovia [20], the capital of his own

[20] Now ſuppoſed to be the neighbourhood of Clermont.

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principality, in order to take meaſures for the ſafety of that place. It being ſituated on a height, having an aſcent of above a mile from the plain, and ſurrounded by other hills, which made part of the ſame ridge, he ordered a ſtone wall to be built ſix feet high about half way up the aſcent to the town, and encamped as many as the ſpace could contain within the circuit of this wall. He occupied the other hills at the ſame time with ſeparate bodies, having communications with each other and with the town. By this diſpoſition Cæſar found all the approaches of the place commanded, and no poſſibility of inveſting the whole by lines of circumvallation, or by any chain of poſts. He pitched his camp at ſome diſtance from the foot of the hill, and from thence in a few days got poſſeſſion of a height in his way to the town, on which he poſted two legions, with a lane of communication, fortified on both its flanks, leading from this advanced ſtation to his main encampment.

In this poſture Cæſar foreſaw, that all the heights in his neighbourhood being in poſſeſſion of the enemy, while he preſſed upon the town, he himſelf might be hemmed in, and cut off from all the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſupport of his army. To preſerve his communication, therefore, with the Allier and the Loire, he ordered his allies from the oppoſite ſide of theſe rivers to advance with the forces he had formerly required of them, to occupy the country in his rear, and to cover his convoys. They accordingly took the field; but their leaders having been for ſome time inclined to favour the general cauſe of the Gauls, they thought this a favourable opportunity to declare their intentions. Being arrived within thirty miles of Cæſar's army, they halted; and, upon a report which was induſtriouſly ſpread amongſt them, that he had murdered ſome of their countrymen who were already in his camp, they put all the Romans in their company to death, and took meaſures to join their countrymen who were aſſembled for the defence of Gergovia. They had

not

not yet moved to execute this reſolution, when Cæſar had notice of what was intended, and with his uſual diligence arrived, after a march of thirty miles, with four legions and all his cavalry, in time to prevent its effects. He preſented himſelf as a friend; and thinking it ſafeſt for the preſent to diſguiſe his reſentment, he produced into public view all the perſons who were ſaid to have been killed by his orders, convinced ſuch as had been deceived of their error, and brought them, with the ſeeming cordiality of allies, to his camp.

Cæſar made a merit with the Ædui of this act of clemency towards their people; but found that the ſpirit of defection was not confined to theſe detachments; that it had pervaded the nation; that the violence committed in the camp was an effect of the reſolutions adopted by the whole people; that, in purſuance of the ſame meaſures, his purveyors and commiſſaries had been aſſaulted and pillaged even where they thought themſelves ſecure, as in a friend's country; and that he could no longer rely on the affections of any nation in Gaul.

The leaders of the Ædui, however, on hearing of the lenity that was ſhown to ſuch of their people as were in the power of Cæſar, pretended to return to their duty; and Cæſar, not to break at once with the only ſuppoſed ally which remained to him beyond the Cevennes, affected to conſider the late diſorders as the effect of a mere popular tumult, and declared himſelf willing to rely on the wiſdom of the State itſelf for the reparation of wrongs which a few ill-adviſed perſons of their country had committed.

This able commander appears, on many occaſions, to have truſted greatly to the ſuperiority of the Roman ſoldiers, as well as to that of his own reputation and conduct as a general. His confidence in both was required in the higheſt degree to ſupport him in continuing, or even in attempting, a ſiege under his preſent difficulties, beſet by

numerous

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numerous enemies, who were in appearance ably conducted; while he himſelf was deſerted by thoſe who were reputed his friends.

In his laſt march to repreſs the defection of his allies, he had left his camp expoſed to the attacks of the enemy, and defended only by two legions againſt the whole force of ſo many nations as were aſſembled for the defence of Gergovia. Theſe ſeized their opportunity in his abſence, made a vigorous attack, and muſt have prevailed, if he had not returned with the utmoſt celerity to relieve his camp.

With the ſame confidence in the ſuperiority of his men, Cæſar ſoon afterwards made an attempt to force the wall, which, as has been mentioned, the Gauls had built on the aſcent of the hill which led to the town; and having made a feint on the oppoſite ſide with part of his horſe, joined by the followers of the army mounted on horſeback, who ſhowed themſelves at a diſtance to appear like cavalry, he drew the enemy from the place he meant to attack, actually paſſed the wall, and made himſelf maſter of part of their camp. A few of his men penetrated even into the town; but not being ſupported, were ſurrounded and ſlain; even thoſe who had ſucceeded at firſt under favour of the feint by which he had drawn off the enemy, were, upon the return of the Gauls to the defence of their camp, repulſed with conſiderable loſs. In conſequence of this defeat, it was no longer doubtful that Cæſar would be under the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege.

In order to begin his retreat without any appearance of fear, he formed his army two days ſucceſſively on the plain before his entrenchment, and offered the enemy battle. On the third day he decamped; and, with the credit he derived from this ſpecies of defiance or challenge, in three days he arrived at the Allier, repaired his bridge, and repaſſed undiſturbed by the enemy. His paſſage of the ſame river, a ſhort time before, was eſteemed as a victory, and his return,

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return, without having gained any advantage, and merely for the ſafety of his army, was undoubtedly conſidered as a defeat. The low ſtate of his fortunes, checked and baffled by a Gauliſh leader, yet a youth, and unexperienced, encouraged the nations on the right of the Loire, even while he was advancing towards them, to declare for the liberties of Gaul; and as a commencement of hoſtility, they carried off or rifled the treaſure he kept for the pay of his army, and ſeized all the ſpare horſes and baggage which he had left at Noviodunum [21], as at a place of ſecurity at the confluence of the Allier and the Loire.

He himſelf was yet incloſed between theſe two rivers, having enemies on every ſide, and no magazines or ſtores for the ſupply of his army. He deliberated whether he ſhould not fall back on the province of Narbonne; but the danger to which he muſt expoſe Labienus, commanding a diviſion of the Roman army on the Seine, the difficulty of paſſing the mountains of Auvergne, then occupied by his enemies, and the diſcredit which his arms muſt incur from ſuch a retreat, prevented him. He determined therefore to advance; paſſed the Loire by a ford above its confluence with the Allier; found a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions and forage in the country of the Ædui, and continued his march from thence to the Seine.

Labienus, with the troops he commanded in that quarter, had beſieged Lutetia, the original germ from which the city of Paris has grown, then confined to a ſmall iſland in the Seine, and had made ſome progreſs in the ſiege, when he heard of Cæſar's retreat from Gergovia, of the defection of the Ædui, and of preparations which were making by the nations on his right againſt himſelf. In theſe circumſtances, he laid aſide his deſign on Lutetia, and aſcended by the left of the Seine to the country of the Senones, through which Cæſar was now advancing to meet him. In paſſing the river at Melodunum [22],

[21] Nevers.

[22] Now Melun.

he

BOOK V. he was attacked by the enemy, but obtained a conſiderable victory; and, with the credit of this event in his favour, continued his march to a place which is now called Sens, near to which he was ſoon afterwards joined by Cæſar.

While the Romans were thus reuniting their forces on the Seine, Vercingetorix had paſſed the Loire, and held a general convention of the Gauliſh nations at Bibracté. He was attended by deputies of all the cantons from the Moſelle to the Loire, except the Treviri, Remi, and Lingones[21]. The firſt ſtood in awe of the Germans, who kept them in continual alarm. The two laſt profeſſed an attachment to the Romans, who were ſtill maſters of the field in their neighbourhood.

The leader of the Gauliſh confederacy being at this meeting confirmed in his command, made a requiſition for an augmentation of force, chiefly of cavalry, and accordingly increaſed this part of his army to fifteen thouſand. To the end that he might give the Romans ſufficient occupation in their own defence, he projected two ſeparate invaſions of the province of Narbonne: one to be executed by the nations which lay between the Rhône and Garonne, towards Toulouſe; the other, from the Soane and the upper parts of the Loire, towards Geneva and the left of the Rhône. He himſelf, though ſtill determined to avoid any general action, was to haraſs the enemy in their movements, and to cut off their ſupplies of proviſions.

Cæſar, on his part, wiſhed to open his communication with the Roman province, that he might have acceſs to cover it againſt the deſigns of the enemy, and to avail himſelf of its reſources for the ſubſiſtence of his army. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary for him to return, by the Soane and the Rhône, through a level country which was in poſſeſſion of the enemy, to whom he was greatly in-

[21] Now Trevcs, Rheims, and Langre.

ſerior in cavalry. He ſent into Germany for a reinforcement of horſe; and the natives of that part of the continent being already ſenſible, that wherever they were admitted to act as ſoldiers of fortune, they were qualifying themſelves to act as maſters, without ſcruple beſtowed their ſervices for or againſt any cauſe; two thouſand of them joined Cæſar, but ſo ill mounted that he was obliged to ſupply them with horſes, by borrowing ſuch as belonged to his officers of infantry, and as many as could be ſpared from his cavalry. To compenſate their defect in horſes, the men were brave, and, in many of the operations which followed, turned the event of battles, and determined the fate of the war.

The Roman army being thus reinforced, Cæſar began his march to the ſouthward; and having paſſed the heights at the ſources of the Seine, found the Gauls already poſted in three ſeparate diviſions, contiguous to the different routes he might take, with numerous flying bodies of horſe, ready to haraſs him in any movement he ſhould make in their preſence. By continuing his march, he ſoon gave their leader an opportunity to try his fortune in a ſharp encounter, in which the whole cavalry of both armies came to be engaged. The Gauls were routed chiefly by the valour and addreſs of the Germans, to whom Cæſar imputed his victory. This event was deciſive in reſpect to the cavalry, that part of both armies on which it was ſuppoſed that the fate of the war muſt turn. And Vercingetorix, not to expoſe his infantry to the neceſſity of a general action, inſtantly retired to the heights from which the Seine, and a number of other rivers which mix with it before its confluence with the Marne, have their ſource. Cæſar, no longer apprehenſive of the enemy's horſe, reſumed the confidence with which he always purſued his advantages, and followed his flying enemy into this retreat.

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Vercingetorix, with his very numerous army, took poſt at Aleſia, a place raiſed on a hill at the confluence of two rivers; the point on which it ſtood being the termination of a ridge which ſeparated the channels by which theſe rivers deſcended to the plain. The fields on one ſide were level, on the other mountainous. The Gauls were crowded together on the declivity of the hill of Aleſia, under the walls of the town, and in that poſition thought themſelves ſecure from any attack. But not aware of the reſources, enterprize, and genius of their enemy, while they endeavoured to render themſelves inacceſſible, they had got into a place in which they might be cooped up; and Cæſar immediately began to ſurround them, making a proper diſtribution of his army, and employing working parties at once on a chain of twenty-three poſts and redoubts.

Vercingetorix, though too late, perceiving the enemy's deſign, ſent his cavalry to collect what proviſions could be found in the neighbouring country; but theſe troops, in conſequence of their late defeat, not being able to keep the field againſt the Roman and German horſe, he propoſed to diminiſh the conſumption within his lines by diſmiſſing them altogether, giving them inſtructions to make the beſt of their way to their ſeveral cantons, and there to repreſent the ſituation in which they had left the army, and the neceſſity of making a great and ſpeedy effort from every quarter to relieve it. He had eighty thouſand men under his command, and might be able to ſubſiſt them for thirty days, and no longer.

Cæſar, from the enemy's having ſent away their cavalry, concluded that they meant to act on the defenſive, and to remain in their preſent ſituation until they ſhould be relieved. With little apprehenſion of diſturbance, therefore, from within his lines, he proceeded to execute amazing works; at once to ſecure his prey and to cover himſelf againſt any attempts which might be made to reſcue them. This great commander owed many of his diſtinguiſhed ſucceſſes to

the ſurpriſing works which he executed; ſo far exceeding the fears or apprehenſions of his enemy, that they found themſelves unexpectedly forced into difficulties with which they were not prepared to contend.

The Roman armies in general, and thoſe which ſerved under Cæſar in particular, had learned to make war with the pick-ax and the ſhovel, no leſs than with the javeline and the ſword, and were inured to prodigies of labour as well as of valour. In the preſent caſe they were made to execute lines of circumvallation and countervallation over an extent of twelve or fourteen miles. They began with digging, quite round the foot of the hill, a ditch twenty feet wide, with perpendicular ſides, in order to prevent any ſurpriſe from the town. At the diſtance of four hundred feet from this ditch, and beyond the reach of the enemy's miſſiles, was drawn the line of countervallation, conſiſting of a ditch fifteen feet wide, and a rampart twelve feet high, furniſhed, as uſual, with a paliſade. At a proper diſtance from this firſt line which fronted the town, ſo as to leave a proper interval for the lodgement and forming of his army, he drew another line, conſiſting of the ſame parts and dimenſions, fronting the field. From the nature of the ground, part of theſe works were upon the hills, and part in the hollows or valleys; and the ditches, wherever the level permitted, or could not carry off the water, were allowed to be filled.

As he had reaſon, at leaſt after the diſtreſs of a blockade began to be felt, to expect from a garriſon, which exceeded his own army in numbers, the moſt vigorous ſallies from within; and, by the united exertions of all the Gauliſh nations in behalf of their friends, every effort that could be made from without; and as his own army, conſiſting of no more than ſixty thouſand men, could not equally man, in every place, works of ſuch extent, he thought it neceſſary to cover

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his lines with every ſpecies of outwork then practiſed in the art of attack or defence, the *Cippi*, *Liliæ*, and the *Stimuli*.

The firſt were forked ſtakes, or large branches of trees planted in rows in the bottom of a ditch five feet wide, bound together to prevent their being pulled up ſeparately, and cut ſhort and pointed to wound the enemy who ſhould attempt to paſs them.

The ſecond, or liliæ, conſiſted of ſingle ſtakes ſharpened and made hard in the fire, planted in the bottom, of tapering or conical holes, of which there were many rows placed in quincunx; ſo that a perſon who had paſſed in the interval of any two muſt neceſſarily fall into a third. This device was commonly maſked or concealed with ſlender bruſhwood covered with earth.

The laſt, or the ſtimuli, were wooden ſhafts ſet in the ground and ſtuck thick with barbed hooks, to faſten or tear the fleſh of thoſe who attempted to paſs them in the night, or without the neceſſary precautions.

All theſe ſeveral works, it appears, the Roman army completed, conſiderably within the thirty days for which Vercingetorix had computed that his proviſions might laſt. Both parties concerned in this blockade, without any attempt to haſten the event, ſeemed to wait for the ſeveral circumſtances on which they relied for the iſſue. Cæſar truſted to the effects of famine, and the Gauls to the aſſiſtance of their friends, who were in reality aſſembling in great numbers from every quarter to effect their relief. They are ſaid to have muſtered at Bibracte [25] no leſs than two hundred and forty thouſand foot, with eight thouſand horſe. But if theſe numbers are not exaggerated, they may be conſidered as a proof how far thoſe nations were ignorant of the circumſtances on which the fortunes of armies really

[25] Autun.

really turn. The ſupreme command of this multitude was given to Comius, a chieftain of one of the northern cantons, who having ſome time made war in conjunction with the Romans, owed the rank which he held in his own country to the favour of Cæſar, but could not reſiſt the contagion of that general ardour with which his countrymen now roſe to recover their freedom.

While this great hoſt was aſſembling, the unhappy garriſon of Aleſia received no tidings of relief. Their proviſions being near exhauſted, they began to deſpair of ſuccour. A council was held to deliberate on their conduct, and to form ſome plan of eſcape. Some were of opinion that they ought to ſurrender themſelves, and to implore the victor's mercy. Others, that they ſhould make a general ſally, endeavour to cut their way through the enemy, and eſcape or periſh with ſwords in their hands. Critognatus, a warrior of rank from the canton of the Arverni [26], treated the opinion of thoſe who propoſed to ſurrender as mean and daſtardly; that of the ſecond, as brave rather in appearance than in reality. "Bravery," he ſaid, "does not conſiſt in ſudden efforts of impatience and deſpair, but in "firmly enduring for any length of time what the circumſtances of "war may require. Shall we think merely, becauſe we have no "communication with our friends, that they have deſerted us, and "do not intend to make any effort to ſave us? Againſt whom do "you think Cæſar hath conſtructed ſo many works in his rear? "Againſt whom does he man them in your ſight with ſo much "care? He has intelligence, although you have not, that a power"ful army is preparing to relieve you. Take courage, and wait "the coming of your friends. Even if your proviſions ſhould "fail, the example of former times will point out a reſource. Your "anceſtors, being ſurrounded by the armies of the Cimbri and the

[26] Auvergne.

Teutones,

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" Teutones, rather than ſurrender themſelves, fed on the bodies of
" thoſe who were unſerviceable in the war; and by this expedient
" held out till the enemy was obliged to retire. And yet, on that
" occaſion, our anceſtors had leſs cauſe than we have to make every
" effort of conſtancy and fortitude. *Their* enemies were paſſing,
" and meant only to plunder a country which they were ſoon to
" abandon; *our* enemies come to bind us in perpetual chains, and to
" eſtabliſh a dominion at which human nature revolts."

The Gauls kept their reſolution to hold out, but rejected the means that were propoſed to ſupply their neceſſities, or reſerved them for a time of greater extremity. The propoſition of Critognatus is, by Cæſar, who was himſelf the unprovoked author of ſo much diſtreſs, and who continued, without remorſe, to gratify his ambition at the expence of ſo much blood, mentioned with horror as an act of nefarious cruelty [27]. So much are men affected with appearances which ſhock the imagination more than with the real meaſure of what is hurtful to mankind. What followed, however, was probably no leſs cruel on the part of the Gauliſh army than it was on the part of Cæſar; the firſt, to leſſen the conſumption of food, turned out the women, children, and unarmed inhabitants of the town to the mercy of the enemy; and Cæſar, in order to accumulate the ſufferings of the beſieged, would neither relieve nor ſuffer them to paſs. From theſe circumſtances we may preſume, although it is not mentioned, that they muſt have periſhed a ſpectacle of extreme anguiſh and ſuffering in the preſence of both armies.

In the midſt of theſe extremities, Comius, with the united force of the Gauliſh nations, at laſt appeared for the relief of Aleſia, and with their multitudes covered the neighbouring hills. Being favoured by the nature of the ground, they were enabled to advance within five

[27] Nec prætereunda videtur oratio Critognati propter ejus ſingularem ac nefariam crudelitatem. De Bell. Gall. lib. vii. c. 76.

hundred

hundred paces, or leſs than half a mile, of Cæſar's lines. On the following day the cavalry on both ſides began to act. The Gauliſh horſe, truſting to their ſuperiority in numbers, or to the defenſive plan which the Romans were likely to follow on the preſent occaſion, drew forth on the plain below the town, and propoſed to encourage their friends by braving the enemy. Cæſar thought it neceſſary to repel this ſpecies of inſult, and ſent his cavalry to accept the challenge. An action began about noon, and laſted till the ſetting of the ſun, when the Gauliſh horſe, who till then had maintained the fight with great obſtinacy and valour, being taken in flank by the Germans in Cæſar's ſervice, were obliged to give way. Both ſides, on this occaſion, had mixed parties of infantry with their horſe; and the Gauliſh foot, who were engaged in this action, being now abandoned to the ſwords of the enemy, fled in the utmoſt confuſion to the rear of their own army.

After this action nothing paſſed for a day and a night; but it appeared that, during this time, the Gauliſh army in the field were collecting faggots and hurdles to fill up the trenches of Cæſar, and preparing graplings to tear down the paliſade and the parapet; and that they only waited till theſe preparations ſhould be finiſhed to make a vigorous attempt to raiſe the ſiege. They accordingly came down in the middle of the night, and, with a great ſhout, the only ſignal they ſuppoſed could be underſtood by their friends in the town, gave a general aſſault on Cæſar's line of circumvallation, as far as their numbers could embrace it, and without any choice of place.

Cæſar had aſſigned to every legion and ſeparate body of men their ſtation, and had repeatedly, to render them familiar with his diſpoſition, given the alarm, and taught them to repair to their poſts; he had placed Mark Antony and Trebonius, with a body of reſerve, to ſuccour any part of the lines that might be in danger of being forced. So prepared, he now received, without any ſurpriſe, the general aſſault

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assault of the Gauls. His men suffered considerably from the first shower of missiles that came from so numerous an enemy; but as soon as the assailants advanced to the outworks, and felt themselves entangled in the snares which had been laid for them, and against which they had taken no precaution, they were sensible that they fought at a great disadvantage, and desisted at once from this rash and inconsiderate attempt.

The besieged, in anxious expectation of what was to pass in the field, hearing the shout that was raised by their friends, returned it to make known their intention, to co-operate in every attack, and instantly begun to employ the preparations which they likewise had made to fill up the trenches, or force the lines. They continued, during the greater part of the night, to cast such materials as they could throw into the broad ditch at the foot of the hill; but, when day appeared, seeing that their friends had retired, without making any impression on the exterior line, they too, not to expose themselves in an attempt in which they were not to be seconded, withdrew to their station on the hill.

From this disappointment the Gauls, both within and without the blockade, were sensible of their error in having made an attack before they had examined the enemy's works. To correct this mistake, they visited the whole circumference of Cæsar's lines. They observed, in a particular place, that the exterior line was interrupted by a hill which it could not embrace without making a great circuit. That Cæsar, to avoid so great an addition to his labour, and so much outline to defend, had encamped two legions in that place with their usual entrenchment, which formed a kind of fortress on the summit of the hill, trusting to this camp as a redoubt that would connect his defences on that side.

This place was chosen by the Gauls for a second and better concerted attempt than the first; and they determined, instead of the night to make their attack at noon-day, when the enemy were most likely

likely to be off their guard. Five-and-fifty thouſand men were ſelected for this ſervice; and they began their march early in the night, arrived at their ground before break of day, and lay concealed under a ridge of hills till noon. At this time they came forward, furniſhed not only with grappling irons to tear down the paliſade, which was formed on the parapet, but with hurdles and faggots to fill up the ditch, and to ſmother the ſtimuli from which they had ſuffered ſo much in their former attacks.

Cæſar, though not thrown off his guard, either by the time of the day, or by his former ſucceſs, was ſenſible, that he was now attacked in his weakeſt place. He ordered Labienus inſtantly, with ſix cohorts, to ſupport the legions that were poſted in that ſtation; and as he had reaſon to expect, at the ſame time, a general aſſault, both from within and from without his lines, to favour this principal attack, he ordered every ſeparate body to its poſt of alarm; and he himſelf, with a conſiderable reſerve, took a ſtation from which he could beſt obſerve the whole, and be ready to ſuſtain any part that was preſſed. He had given Labienus inſtructions, in caſe he found that the lines could not be defended, to ſally forth, and bring the action to an iſſue, in which the Romans were generally found to have an advantage by mixing with the enemy ſword in hand.

The Gauls, who were ſhut up on the heights of Aleſia, only waiting to ſecond the attempts of their friends in the field, began the action on their part nearly about the ſame time; and the Romans, being alarmed with hoſtile cries and ſhouts, at once both in their front and in their rear, were in danger of being ſeized with a panic, from which the beſt troops, on occaſion, are not exempted.

Labienus was ſo much preſſed where the Gauls made their principal effort, that Cæſar detached two ſeveral parties from his reſerve to ſuſtain him. Firſt, a body of ſix cohorts under Decimus Brutus, and afterwards a body of ſeven cohorts under Fabius. At length, upon

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receiving information that Labienus had not been able to prevent the enemy from paſſing the intrenchment, but that he meant, with all the troops who had joined him from different ſtations, amounting to nine-and-thirty cohorts, to make a general ſally according to his inſtructions, and to mix with the enemy ſword in hand; he himſelf inſtantly moved to ſupport him.

Cæſar had, by this time, obſerved, that the enemy, by a groſs miſconduct, had made no feint or no attempt on any other part of the lines to favour their principal attack; and he therefore, with thoſe he ſtill retained as a body of reſerve, not only left the poſt of obſervation he had taken in the beginning of the action, but ventured even to unfurniſh ſome other parts of the line as he paſſed, and advanced with great rapidity to join in the ſally which Labienus was about to attempt. In his coming he was known from afar by the conſpicuous dreſs which he generally wore in time of battle; and his arrival, on this occaſion, with the reinforcement which he brought, greatly animated that part of his army which had begun to deſpair of the event. He had, in this critical moment, with his uſual genius and preſence of mind, ordered his cavalry to get out of the lines; and, while the foot were engaged in front, to take the enemy in flank or in the rear. If the event had been otherwiſe doubtful, this movement alone, it is probable, muſt have ſecured it in his favour. The Gauls, although in the attack they had acted with ardour, yet loſt courage when puſhed to defend themſelves; and, upon the appearance of Cæſar's cavalry in their rear, took to flight, and were purſued with great ſlaughter.

This flight at once decided the fate of both attacks; of the Gauls, who were ſhut up in Aleſia, and of their countrymen, who had come to their relief. During the night, thoſe in the field, diſcomfited by their repulſe, were ſeparating, leaving their chieftains, and diſperſing in different directions. Many fell a prey to the parties who

who were ſent in purſuit of them. Thoſe from within the lines, who had ſuffered ſo long a blockade, now ſeeing all their hopes of relief at an end, were no longer diſpoſed to contend with their fate. Vercingetorix, having aſſembled the leaders together, told them, That, as he had undertaken this war, not from motives of private ambition, but from an earneſt deſire to recover, if he could, the freedom of his country, ſo he was now ready to become a ſacrifice to the ſafety of his countrymen, and in any manner they thought proper to diſpoſe of him, whether dead or alive, was willing to be made the means of appeaſing the victor's revenge. CHAP. III.

At this conſultation it was determined to ſurrender; and Vercingetorix ſuffered himſelf to be delivered up. With reſpect to the treatment he received, Cæſar is ſilent; but it is probable, that, like other captive chiefs, on ſuch occaſions, he was deſtined to grace the future triumph of his conqueror; though, upon a fair review of the parts they had ſeverally acted, likely to furniſh a compariſon not altogether to his advantage, and in ſome reſpects fit to obſcure his glory.

The other priſoners alſo, except thoſe who belonged to the cantons of the Ædui and Arverni, underwent the ordinary fate of captives; and, in this capacity, were expoſed to ſale, or divided as plunder among the troops. Cæſar reſerved the priſoners of the Ædui and Arverni, on this occaſion, to ſerve him as hoſtages in ſecuring the ſubmiſſion of their reſpective cantons, and in obtaining from thence an immediate ſupply of proviſions.

CHAP. IV.

Cæſar remains in Gaul.——Pompey aſſumes Piſo into the Office of Conſul.——Succeſſion of Servius Sulpicius and M. Claudius Marcellus.——Arrangement for the Provinces.——Motion to recall Cæſar.——Continued Debates in the Senate.——Operations of Cæſar in Gaul.——Intrigues in the City.——Affairs in the other Provinces.——Campaign of Cicero.——Succeſſion of Conſuls.——State of Parties in the City and in the Senate.——Arrival of Cæſar in Italy in the Spring.——Return to Gaul.——Parts with two Legions to Pompey and the Senate.——Alarm of Cæſar's March.——The Conſul Marcellus commits his Sword to Pompey.

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THE ſeventh and the moſt difficult campaign of the war in Gaul being now at an end, Cæſar ſent Labienus, with two legions beyond the Soane[1]; Caius Fabius, with two more, to the heads of the Marne and the Meuſe; other officers with ſeparate bodies, amounting in all to three legions, into different ſtations beyond the Loire and towards the Garonne; Quintus Tullius Cicero, with ſome other officers, to a ſtation allotted them on the Soane, to ſuperintend the formation of magazines and the ſupply of proviſions, which were chiefly tranſported by the navigation of that river.

Cæſar himſelf having now no other object of equal importance with that of ſecuring the poſſeſſion of a country ſo populous and of ſo great extent, from which he might draw ſuch reſources of men and of revenue, as muſt put him on the foot of a great monarch, determined to paſs the winter on this ſide of the Alps. He had ob-

[1] The Arar.

tained

tained a diſpenſation from the law which excluded him from the Conſulate, ſo long as he retained his army; but as it was not yet time to avail himſelf of his privilege, he reſolved, by remaining at a diſtance, as much as poſſible to ſhun the notice of ſuch parties at Rome as were known to obſerve his proceedings, and to ſtate them as matter of general alarm. He nevertheleſs did not ſuffer any thing of moment to paſs in the city without taking ſome part by means of his agents and partizans, and was continually employed in gaining to his intereſts all thoſe who were likely to come into office, or who, by their perſonal conſideration, were of any importance in the State, and ever ſtrove to exclude from office ſuch as were diſinclined to himſelf, or who could not be gained.

Pompey had now, for ſome months, exerciſed the office of ſole Conſul. In that time he had, in ſome meaſure, reſtored the authority of government, and had exerciſed it with moderation. He had ſhown himſelf qualified to act the part of an excellent prince, though ill qualified to endure the equality which is claimed by the citizens of a commonwealth. His continual deſire of unprecedented honours was one of the evils that diſtreſſed the republic. This evil, however, was partly mitigated by the facility with which he parted with power. Having enjoyed his preſent dignity from the firſt of March to the beginning of Auguſt, he took for colleague his father-in-law Metellus Scipio, ſuſpending the proſecution under which he then lay, for bribery, in ſoliciting votes at a preceding election.

The newly elected colleague of Pompey, deſirous to ſignalize his adminiſtration by ſome act of reformation, moved and obtained the repeal of the act in which Clodius had ſo greatly circumſcribed the power of the Cenſors; and he attempted to revive the authority of this magiſtracy, but in vain. Few citizens, now in public view, could bear the rigorous inſpection of this once awful Tribunal, as few had the courage to undertake or to exerciſe its truſt. The inſtitution accordingly

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ingly had fallen into diſuſe, becauſe it was not fitted to the times. And there being few of the People that were fit either to cenſure, or that could bear to be cenſured, it was not in the power of laws to revive what the general ſenſe and manners of the age had aboliſhed.

Diſorders ariſing from the weakneſs of government had come to that extreme at which ſtates muſt either correct themſelves, or undergo ſome fatal change. The example of puniſhments inflicted, and of proſecutions ſtill carried on againſt perſons lately in office, for the illegal methods employed at elections, deterred many from offering themſelves for any of the offices of State; and the late law, excluding Conſuls, Prætors, and other magiſtrates from any provincial appointments for five years after the expiration of their term, removed one powerful motive by which citizens were induced to ſeek for ſuch honours.

At the elections for the enſuing year only three candidates appeared; M. Marcellus, Servius Sulpicius, and M. Cato: all of them ſuppoſed to be of the Senatorian party; but very differently conſidered by thoſe who now endeavoured to rule the State. Marcellus had, in fact, recommended himſelf to Pompey; and Sulpicius, as afterwards appeared, had been gained by Cæſar; and both were warmly eſpouſed by theſe powerful patrons in the preſent conteſt in oppoſition to Cato, whoſe ſucceſs might have proved a conſiderable obſtruction to Cæſar's deſigns.

It is obſerved of this competition, that it was carried on without bribery or tumult. As the competitors were ſuppoſed to be all of the Senatorian party; the Senators thought their intereſt ſecure whichever of the candidates ſhould prevail. And as the Senatorian party divided upon the occaſion, the influence of Cæſar and Pompey eaſily caſt the balance on the ſide of Sulpicius and Marcellus. Cato, during the competition, continued in the ſame habits of friendſhip as uſual with both; and when the choice was decided in their favour, inſtead

inſtead of withdrawing from public view, as was common under ſuch diſappointments, he went to the field of Mars as uſual from the aſſemblies of the People, ſtript and went to exerciſe, and continued from thence forward to frequent the Forum in his common undreſs. To thoſe who condoled with him, or preſſed him to continue his ſuit for another year, as he had done when firſt diſappointed of the Prætorſhip, he made anſwer, That he thought it was the part of a good man to undertake the public ſervice, whenever he was intruſted with it, and to make his willingneſs known, but not to court the public for employments as a favour to himſelf. "The people," he ſaid, "at the time that they refuſed me the Prætorſhip, were under "actual violence: in this caſe, they have made a free choice, and it "appears that I muſt either violate my own mind, or renounce their "good-will. My own mind is of more conſequence to me than "their favour; but, if I retain my character, I ſhall not be ſo un-"reaſonable as to expect conſideration from perſons to whom it is "not agreeable [a]."

When the new Conſuls were received into office, their immediate predeceſſors being by the late act precluded for five years from holding any provincial government, it became neceſſary to fill ſtations of this ſort with thoſe who had formerly been in office, and who hitherto had not been appointed to any command in the Provinces. Accordingly Bibulus, who had been the colleague of Cæſar in his Conſulate, was appointed to the government of Syria, vacant by the death of Craſſus. Cicero was named to ſucceed Appius Claudius in Cilicia and Cyprus, Atius Varus was appointed Prætor in Africa, and P. Cornelius Spinther in Achaia. Pompey, who had hitherto enjoyed a diſpenſation from the law, in continuing to hold by his lieutenants the government and command of the army in Spain, while he filled

U. C. 702. Serv. Sulpicius, M Claud. Marcellus, Coſſ.

[a] Plutarch. in Caton. p. 268.

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the office of Conſul in the city, now profeſſed an intention to take poſſeſſion of his province in perſon, and he actually ſet out from Rome for this purpoſe; but was induced to ſuſpend his journey by a motion, which was made in the Senate by Marcellus, ſoon after his acceſſion to the office of Conſul.

Cæſar was now in poſſeſſion of a very important privilege, which entitled him to ſue for the Conſulate, without reſigning the command of his army. His view in coveting this privilege; his continual augmentation of the troops in his province; his addreſs in attaching the army to himſelf; his inſinuation; his liberality; his aſſiduity to gain every perſon that could be won, and to preclude from power every one likely to oppoſe himſelf: the whole tendency of his conduct, and the enormous power he had acquired, began to be obſerved, and gave a general alarm. What Cato had ſo often repreſented to no purpoſe, began to be generally perceived; and perſons, formerly the leaſt attentive to the warnings they received, would now have been glad to remove Cæſar from the poſt of advantage they had given him.

The greater part of the Senate had become remiſs in their attendance, and regardleſs even of their own political intereſts. The few who exerted themſelves, were diſtracted with perſonal jealouſies and diſtruſt of each other. Cicero in particular, who before his baniſhment had been ſtrenuous on the ſide of the ariſtocracy, now grown timorous from the ſufferings he had incurred, was chiefly attentive to his own ſafety, which he ſtudied by paying his court to the prevailing powers. There was no bar in Cæſar's way, beſide the great conſideration and the jealouſy of Pompey, who had aſſiſted him in procuring his privilege to ſtand for the Conſulate in abſence; but now ſaw its tendency, and wiſhed to recall it. It was probably, therefore, with the approbation of Pompey, though after his departure from Rome, that the Conſul Marcellus, while the Senate was deliberating

berating on the other removes and appointments in the provincial governments, propoſed that, the war in Gaul being finiſhed, Cæſar ſhould be recalled; or, if his friends inſiſted on his being continued in his command, that he ſhould not be admitted on the liſt of candidates for the Conſulate, until he preſented himſelf perſonally for this purpoſe.

This motion gave riſe in the Senate to warm debates, which were frequently adjourned, and as often reſumed. The Conſul Sulpicius, ſupported by numbers of the Tribunes who were in the intereſt of Cæſar, oppoſed the proceeding. Pompey himſelf, under pretence that he waited the iſſue of theſe debates, ſtopped ſhort in his journey to Spain, paſſed ſome time at Ariminum in reviewing the new levies which were deſtined to reinforce the troops of his province; and at laſt, being ſummoned to attend the Senate on the fifteenth of Auguſt, to conſider of the provincial arrangements[3], he returned to Rome.

On this day, Pompey affected to cenſure the violence with which it had been propoſed to recall, before the expiration of his term, an officer legally appointed. He acknowledged his opinion, that Cæſar ought not to unite the government of a province, and the command of an army, with the dignity of Conſul; but diſſuaded the Senate from taking an immediate reſolution on that head. The debate was adjourned to the firſt of September[4]. Then no meeting of the Senate could be formed; but as ſoon as the ſubject was again reſumed, the late Conſul Cornelius Scipio, the father-in-law to Pompey, propoſed, that on the firſt of March, when the perſons deſtined to ſucceed the preſent Conſuls muſt have entered on office, a day ſhould be fixed to conſider of the province of Gaul, and moved that this queſ-

[3] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 4. Dio. Caſſ. lib. iv. c. 58, 59.

[4] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 9.

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tion ſhould be reſumed in preference to every other buſineſs [5]. Marcellus accordingly prepared, and laid before the Senate, a decree for this purpoſe on the laſt of September. By the firſt clauſe of this decree, the Conſuls elected for the following year were required, on the firſt of March, to move in the Senate the conſideration of the conſular provinces, to admit no other buſineſs to precede or to be joined with this, and to ſuffer no interruption in the meetings of the Senate, even on account of the aſſemblies of the people. By the ſame clauſe, it was reſolved, That the three hundred Senators, appointed judges for the year, might be called off from their ſittings in the courts to attend the Senate on this buſineſs; and if it ſhould be neceſſary to make any motion on this ſubject in the aſſemblies of the People at large, or of the Plebeians [6] ſeparately, that the Conſuls Sulpicius and Marcellus, the Prætors, the Tribunes, or ſuch of them as ſhall be agreed upon, ſhould move the people accordingly.

To this clauſe were prefixed, in the uſual form, the names of twelve Senators, as the authors or movers of it.

By a ſecond clauſe, bearing the ſame names, a caution was entered againſt any obſtruction to be given in this buſineſs by perſons empowered to controul the Senate's proceedings; and it was reſolved, That whoever ſhould put a negative on this decree, ſhould be declared an enemy to his country; and that the Senate, notwithſtanding any ſuch negative, ſhould perſiſt in recording its own decree, and in carrying its purpoſe into execution. In the face of this reſolution, the Tribunes C. Cælius, L. Venicius, P. Cornelius, C. Vibius Panſa, interpoſed their negatives.

By another clauſe, the Senate reſolved, That on the ſame day, the caſe of the armies of the republic ſhould be taken into conſideration, and all who claimed their diſmiſſion, either on account of the

[5] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 9.

[6] Ad Populum Plebemve ferrent. Ibid.

length

length of ſervice, or any other conſideration, ſhould be heard; and that this likewiſe ſhould be entered as a decree of the Senate, notwithſtanding any negative interpoſed to the contrary. Here the Tribunes C. Cælius and C. Panſa, again forbad the decree. The laſt clauſe related to the mode of carrying into execution the purpoſe of the Pompeian law, with reſpect to the nomination of Pro-prætors to the province of Cilicia, and the other eight Prætorian provinces; and on this clauſe likewiſe, the two laſt mentioned Tribunes entered their negative[r].

Thus the reſolutions of the Senate, though preſerved in their own records, were, by the continual interpoſition of the Tribunes, prevented from having any real effect. And Cæſar, from the diſputes which had ariſen on his account, had ſufficient warning, if this had been neceſſary, to prepare himſelf for an approaching conflict. It is indeed likely, that though in action the principal characters of his mind were deciſion and rapidity, yet no man ever laid his deſigns more deep, looked forward to conſequences more remote, or waited with more patience the proper time for the execution of his purpoſe. He had now, by the unremitted application of eight years, acquired the advantage, for the ſake of which he had coveted the command in Gaul; he was at the head of a numerous army, which he had gradually augmented from two or three legions, the eſtabliſhment of his province, to twelve, well inured to ſervice, and attached to his perſon. He was in poſſeſſion of a privilege to ſtand for the Conſulate, without diſbanding his army; and when he ſhould unite the firſt civil and political authority in the ſtate, with an army at the gates of the capital, there is no doubt that he might be conſidered as ſovereign of the empire. His apparent right to the advantages he had gained was ſuch, that the reſolutions of the Senate againſt him, however

[r] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 8.

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neceſſary to the preſervation of the commonwealth, might have the ſemblance of injuſtice, and were likely to engage both his own army and the populace of Rome in his quarrel. He himſelf prepared for the iſſue, by removing every cauſe of embarraſſment in his province, and by paying freſh court to the legions under his command with gratifications and bounties.

He had diſperſed or deſtroyed all the great armies, which the utmoſt efforts of the Gauliſh nations, in the preceding campaign, had been able to aſſemble againſt him; but he had not reconciled the ſpirits of that people, nor inured them to his government. He had a plauſible ground, therefore, from which to refute the allegations of the Senate, who proceeded in their reſolutions againſt him, on a ſuppoſition, that the war in his province was ended; and at the ſame time, had a fair pretence to gratify his army with the ſpoils of the country. For theſe purpoſes, ſoon after he had placed his army in winter quarters, he had intelligence, or affected to believe, that the war was likely to break out afreſh in different cantons; and under this pretence, took occaſion to carry his legions ſucceſſively into action. Leaving M. Antony to command at Bibracté [a] on the right of the Loire, he himſelf, with the eleventh and twelfth legions, paſſed that river, took the canton of the Bituriges by ſurprize, plundered their habitations, carried many of the people into captivity, and continued to lay waſte the country, until they and all the neighbouring cantons on the left of the Loire, to avert theſe calamities, ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion.

From this expedition, in which he ſpent forty days, he returned to his quarters, and ordered the two legions, which had been thus employed, a gratuity of two hundred ſeſtertii, or about thirty ſhillings a man to the private ſoldiers; and of about two thouſand ſeſ-

[a] Afterwards Auguſtodunum, now Autun.

tertii,

tertii, or ſixteen pounds, to the Centurions. This money, it is obſerved by the hiſtorian [9], was not immediately paid; but was retained by Cæſar as a pledge in his own hands, or remained as a debt due to the army, giving to every individual a ſpecial intereſt in the ſafety and ſucceſs of his general.

About eighteen days after this firſt diviſion of the army was brought back to its quarters, other two legions were employed on a like expedition between the Loire and the Seine [10]. The inhabitants of this tract were to ſuffer military execution, upon a complaint that they infeſted the newly acquired ſubjects of Cæſar beyond the Loire. He accordingly marched to protect his new allies; and being arrived in the country, from whence they were ſaid to be invaded, found the ſuppoſed enemy, by the devaſtations of the preceding campaign which had ruined their towns and villages, reduced to live in temporary huts, in which they withſtood with difficulty the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and were rather objects of pity than of hoſtile reſentment. On the approach of the Romans, they fled to the woods, where they periſhed in great numbers, from the effects of famine and cold. To force them to an immediate ſurrender, or to cut off all hopes of advantage from delay, Cæſar made a diſpoſition to prevent their having any reſpite from their preſent ſufferings. He ordered the ruins of Genabum [11] to be repaired as a place of arms, quartered his legions there, and kept the horſe and light infantry in the field to purſue the natives, to ſeize their perſons, and to multiply the evils to which they were expoſed. In this ſervice too, it was likely that the army was rewarded by the diſtribution of captives, the only ſpoils of ſuch an enemy, and came to have a demand on Cæſar for gratuities equal to thoſe which had been granted to the eleventh and twelfth legions.

[9] Hirt. de Bell. Gallico.

[10] To the country of the Carnutes.

[11] Now Orleans.

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Theſe operations led on to the ſpring, when a more real ſervice took place on the frontiers of the low countries. From that quarter, the people of the Remi [a] had given information, that the Bellovaci, or inhabitants of what is now called the Beauvais, with other cantons on the right of the Oiſe, were actually arming, and meant to make war on the Romans and their allies.

On this intimation, Cæſar thought proper again to call forth the eleventh legion into ſervice; and it is remarkable that this legion, though now in its eighth campaign, is expreſsly ſaid to have been thus employed out of its turn, in order to improve a diſcipline, in which, when compared to the other legions, they were deemed to be ſtill defective. The eighth and ninth legions, the one from the ſtation of Fabius, and the other from that of Labienus, were ordered to join them in the country of the Sueſones [b], near the confluence of the Oiſe and the Aiſne. With this force Cæſar paſſed the Oiſe; but arrived too late to ſurprize his enemy. The Bellovaci [c], with ſome of their neighbours, apprehending, from the fate of the nations on the Loire, that they could not rely for ſafety on their innocence, nor on the care which they had taken to avoid giving offence to the Romans, had taken arms for their own ſecurity, and had retired with all their effects to a ſtrong poſt. They had a hill in their front, beyond which there lay a moraſs, and in that ſituation they thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecure without any artificial work.

Cæſar poſted himſelf in their neighbourhood; and ſuppoſing that the ſuperiority of their numbers would inſpire them with confidence, took meaſures to augment their preſumption, and to derive ſome advantage from the errors they were likely to commit, under the effects of this diſpoſition. He affected unuſual caution, fortified his camp with uncommon care, ſcarcely ventured abroad to cover

[a] Rheims. [b] The Soiſſons. [c] The Beauvois.

his foragers, and ſeemed to be entirely occupied in ſecuring himſelf.

The enemy however continued to avoid any general action, and were ſatisfied with the ſucceſsful war they were ſuffered to make on the foraging parties which were ſent from the Roman camp. Being joined by five hundred German horſe, they attacked and deſtroyed the cavalry, which had come to the aſſiſtance of Cæſar from the cantons of the Remi and Lingones [14], and on which he chiefly relied for covering the avenues to his camp. By this loſs he might have been in a little time reduced to great diſtreſs, or even forced to retire, if he had not procured a ſpeedy reinforcement, by ordering Trebonius, with the two legions lately ſtationed at Genabum [15], and a third from Avaricum [16], to join him without delay.

The Gauls, on hearing of this great acceſſion of ſtrength to their enemy, and recollecting the fatal blockade and ruin of their countrymen at Aleſia, determined to change their ground. They began to execute this reſolution in the night, by removing their ſick, wounded, and baggage; but had made ſo little progreſs at break of day, that their intention was diſcovered, and Cæſar, before they began their march, had time to paſs the moraſs, and to take poſſeſſion of the riſing ground in their front. This he did with the greateſt diſpatch; and though he did not think it expedient to attack them in their preſent poſition, he had it in his power to take advantage of any movement they ſhould make, and continued to awe them and to keep them in ſuſpence.

The Gauls therefore, inſtead of being able to depart as they expected before day-light, were obliged to continue to front the enemy, in order to cover the retreat of their baggage. They ſtill flattered themſelves, that Cæſar before night would be obliged to

[14] Rheims and Langres. [15] Orleans. [16] Bourges.

retire

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retire to his camp; but obſerving, that while the greater part of his army continued in readineſs for action, he began to entrench himſelf where he ſtood, they bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem to elude his deſign. They brought forward the wood and ſtraw, which remained, as uſual, on the ground of their late encampment, laid them in a continued train along the front, and having ſet them on fire, produced ſuch a line of ſmoke, as darkened the whole fields between the two armies. Under this cover they began their retreat, and before Cæſar could venture to penetrate the cloud of ſmoke in purſuit of them, had gained a conſiderable diſtance. On the firſt ſight of this uncommon appearance, he ſuſpected their deſign, and began to advance; but the precautions, which he was obliged to take, in order to guard againſt an ambuſcade or ſurprize, gave the Gauls the time they wanted to effect the firſt part of their retreat undiſturbed.

Before night they halted again, about ten miles from their former ſtation, and recurred to the ſame means they had hitherto employed to diſtreſs the Roman army. They ſucceeded in moſt of their attempts on the parties that were ſent abroad by Cæſar to procure him proviſions; and having reduced him to the neceſſity of depending intirely for the ſubſiſtence of his army on what a particular diſtrict could ſupply, they formed a deſign, with the choice of their army, to ſurround and cut off the parties, which they expected he muſt employ on that ſervice. Cæſar had intelligence of their deſign, and prepared, in his turn, to counteract them. He placed his army in a proper poſition to ſurpriſe the great detachment they had made; and having thus taken or deſtroyed the flower of their army, obliged the remainder, who were thrown into deſpair by ſo great a loſs, to ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion; in conſequence of this ſurrender, he got poſſeſſion of all the cantons in that neighbourhood.

The

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The Belgic nations being thus finally ſubdued, and Cæſar having no longer any enemy to oppoſe him in the field, except a few deſperate bands from different parts of the country, who, either from fear of his ſeverity, or averſion to his government, had deſerted their ſettlements, he determined to act againſt them in different quarters at once, and to cut off the retreats, which, in caſe of diſtreſs, this remnant of the nations who lately oppoſed him mutually gave to each other. He ſent C. Fabius, with twenty-five cohorts, to act on the left of the Loire; the twelfth legion, towards the ſources of the Garonne with orders to cover the approaches to Narbonne from the incurſions of any ſtragglers, whom his intended ſeverities might force upon deſperate attempts on that ſide. He himſelf, with Labienus and Mark Antony, proceeded to the Meuſe, where the territories of the late unfortunate Ambiorix [17], beginning to be re-peopled, and the nation reinſtated under its former leader, were become again the object of his vengeance. To convince this unhappy people, that they were not to enjoy peace under the government of a Prince who had preſumed to circumvent and to deſtroy a part of the Roman army, he renewed his military execution againſt them, iſſuing his orders, as in the former inſtance, to ſpare neither ſex nor age.

While Cæſar himſelf was employed in this manner, C. Fabius being arrived at the place of his deſtination, between the lower parts of the Loire and the Garonne, found a conſiderable force in arms againſt Caninius Rebilus, the Roman officer, who was ſtationed in that quarter. The natives had laid ſiege to a fortreſs that was in poſſeſſion of the Romans; but alarmed by the approach of Fabius, they withdrew, and endeavoured to paſs the Loire to the northward. In this attempt, being intercepted in their march, and obliged to fight the Roman detachment, they were defeated with great ſlaughter. After this calamity,

[17] Now Liege, Juliers, and Guelderland.

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about five hundred, who eſcaped from the field under Drapes, a prince of that country, formerly diſtinguiſhed in the war againſt the Romans, took their flight in the oppoſite direction, and propoſed to attack the Roman province of Narbonne, in order to compenſate their loſſes with its ſpoils.

Fabius, in conſequence of his victory, received the ſubmiſſion of all the nations from the Loire to the Seine, and quite down to the ſea coaſt. And having taken meaſures to ſecure his conqueſt, followed Drapes to the ſouthward, overtook him beyond the Garonne, and obliged him, being no longer in condition to make any attempt on the Roman province, to take refuge at Uxellodunum [11], a place of ſtrength, ſituated on a ſteep rock, at the confluence of ſome of thoſe ſtreams, which, falling from the Cevennes, form the Garonne by their junction.

Here Caninius and Fabius having joined their forces together, made diſpoſitions to inveſt their enemy; but before their works were completed, Drapes, while he had yet acceſs to the fields, willing to ſpare the magazines which he had made up in the town, ventured abroad with a detachment, at the head of which he was ſurpriſed and taken. The natives, however, who remained in the place, being ſupplied for a conſiderable time with proviſions, reſolved on a vigorous defence; and, by keeping the Roman army for ſome time at bay, began to raiſe up anew the hopes and expectations of the nations around them. Cæſar thought the reduction of this place an object that required his own preſence. Having therefore ſent Labienus to the Moſelle, and having left M. Antony to command in the low countries, he himſelf, with his uſual diſpatch, croſſed great part of Gaul, and appeared on the Garonne, equally unexpected

[11] Suppoſed to be Cadenau.

by

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by his own people, and by the enemy who were beſieged in the town of Uxellodunum.

The place being ſtrong by nature, and in no want of proviſions, could be forced only by cutting off its acceſs to water. For this purpoſe Cæſar lined the banks of the river with archers and ſlingers, and effectually prevented the beſieged from ſupplying themſelves from thence. He proceeded next to exclude them from the uſe of a ſpring which burſt from the rock in the approach to their town; for having got the command of the ground, he puſhed a mine to the ſource from which the water came, diverted it from its former direction, and, by depriving the beſiegers of this laſt reſource, obliged them to lay down their arms and truſt to his mercy. In this, however, they experienced what the author [19], from whom theſe accounts are taken, conſidered as more than the uſual ſeverity of antient war. Cæſar, according to this hiſtorian, having given proof of his clemency, bethought himſelf now of an example of juſtice; and for this purpoſe ordered ſuch as had carried arms in defence of Uxellodunum to have their hands ſtruck off [20]. And this refined act of cruelty being joined to the many barbarous executions with which the conqueſt of that country had been atchieved, thus ended the war in Gaul.

The uſual time of putting the troops into winter quarters not being arrived, Cæſar thought proper to viſit the nations upon the Adour, or what is now called Gaſcony [21]; the only part of his new conqueſts in the acquiſition of which he had not acted in perſon. He marched through this country at the head of two legions, and was every where received with the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion. From thence he repaired to Narbonne, the capital of his

[19] Hiſt. de Bell. Gall. lib. viii. c. 44.

[20] Cæſar quum ſuam lenitatem cognitam omnibus ſciret.——Omnibus qui arma tulerant manus precidit. Vitam conceſſit quo teſtatior eſſet pœna improborum. De Bell. Gall. lib. viii. c. 44.

[21] Acquitania.

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original province, held the uſual meetings for the diſpatch of civil affairs, and made a diſpoſition for the quarters of his army during the winter. By this diſpoſition two legions were ſtationed in the high country, from which ſpring the Garonne and the Loire, or in the territories of the Limovaci and Arverni [22]: two at Bibracté between the Soane and the Loire; two between the Loire and the Seine [23]; and the remaining four under the command of Trebonius, Vatinius, and Quintus Tullius Cicero, in different parts of the low countries. To this extremity of his new conqueſts he himſelf repaired, and fixed his quarters at Nemetocenna [24], in the centre of his northern ſtations.

By this diſtribution of his army, Cæſar formed a kind of chain from the frontier of his original province, quite through the heart of his new acquiſitions to the Meuſe and the Scheld. And by his ſeeming anxiety for the ſafety of the northern extremities of his province, and ſtill more by his own diſtance from Italy, he probably lulled for a while the vigilance or jealouſy of his principal opponents at Rome. His own attention, however, to the ſtate of politics was never leſs remitted.

Mark Antony, a perſon profligate and diſſipated; but when the occaſion required exertion, daring and eloquent, deſtined to be frequently mentioned in the ſequel of this hiſtory, now began to be employed by Cæſar in the affairs of the city; and, under pretence of ſtanding for the prieſthood, was ſent from Gaul, where he had recently ſerved in the army, to bear a principal part among the agents and emiſſaries of his general. Theſe agents were continually buſied in magnifying his ſervices, and in gaining to his intereſt every perſon of conſideration who could in any degree advance or obſtruct his deſigns. In the conqueſt of Gaul, they alleged that he added

[22] Limoges and Auvergne. [23] At Tours & Chartres. [24] Suppoſed to be Arras.

to

to the patrimony of the Roman People a territory of no leſs than three thouſand miles in circumference, and a revenue of forty millions Roman money [25]. They took care at the ſame time, in his name and by his directions, under the pious pretence of celebrating the memory of his daughter, the late wife of Pompey, to cajole the people with public entertainments and feaſts; and proceeded to execute, at a great expence, the ſplendid works which Cæſar had formerly ordered.

He himſelf, at the ſame time, was careful to ſecure the affections of the army; doubled their pay, and was laviſh in all the other articles which were derived from his bounty. Beſides his occaſional liberality to the legions in time of the war, he gave, or engaged himſelf to pay, to each particular ſoldier, what to perſons of that condition was a conſiderable object. In the city he even entered into the ſecrets of every family, and, as has been mentioned, gained the maſter by courting the miſtreſs or favourite ſlave. His purſe was ever open to gratify the covetous with preſents, to relieve the neceſſitous, and to ſilence the creditors of thoſe who were oppreſſed with debt. He encouraged the prodigal to ſquander their patrimonies, and freely lent them the aids which their extravagance rendered neceſſary to them. He kept a correſpondence at the ſame time with dependant and foreign princes; and took upon him the protection of provincial towns, in order to ſecure their affection and their confidence [26].

While Cæſar was thus extending his influence in the empire, he had amuſed Pompey by aſſigning to him, in all their arrangements, what was apparently the place of honour and of importance at the head of affairs at Rome; as he had gratified Craſſus likewiſe by leaving him to chooſe the moſt lucrative government, while he himſelf ſubmitted to be employed as a mere provincial officer, to explore a barbarous country, and to make war with its natives. But by thus

[25] Plutarch. in Vit. Catonis, p. 268. Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 25. Between about three and four hundred thouſand pounds.

[26] Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 26, 27, 28.

yielding

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yielding the ſuppoſed preference of ſtation to his rivals, he actually employed them as the willing tools and miniſters of his own ambition. The former, with all his diſpoſition to emulation and jealouſy, and perhaps for ſome time the dupe of theſe artifices, imagined that Cæſar advanced by his permiſſion, and that the preſent ſtate of parties was the fruit of his own addreſs. As he himſelf, for the moſt part, endeavoured to obtain his ends by means indirect and artificial, he was the more eaſily duped by thoſe who affected to be deceived by him, and who were able to over-reach him. Although it was impoſſible for him now to remain any longer inſenſible to the ſuperiority which Cæſar had acquired, or to thoſe ſtill more important objects at which he was aiming, yet he had not hitherto taken his part openly nor directly againſt him, but contented himſelf with employing others in ill-concerted and ineffectual attacks, which he ſometimes diſowned, and always feebly ſupported. At laſt, and in the proſecution of the meaſures of which we have obſerved the beginning in the Senate, he hazarded the whole authority of that body againſt Cæſar, without having provided any military power to enforce their commands.

Pompey himſelf, while moſt under the influence of ambition, and when he had it moſt in his power to trample on the civil conſtitution of his country, had ſhewn a reſpect for the commonwealth, which kept him within bounds that were conſiſtent with this ſpecies of government; and he imagined that no man could preſume to ſurpaſs himſelf in pretenſions to riſe above the ordinary level. In the courſe of debates relating to the preſent ſtate of affairs, he generally ſpoke ambiguouſly, or affected to diſbelieve the deſigns that were imputed to Cæſar; but finding, on the laſt motion which was made to recall him from Gaul, that the eyes of the whole Senate were turned upon himſelf, he was forced to break ſilence; and, with ſome degree of embarraſſment, ſaid, that although it was his opinion, that the proconſul of Gaul could not, in conſiſtence with juſtice, be inſtantly recalled, yet

that

that after the firſt of March he ſhould have no difficulties on the ſubject. "But," ſays one of the Senators, "What if this motion "ſhould then have a negative put upon it?" "I ſhall make no diſ- "tinction," replied Pompey, "between Cæſar's refuſing to obey the "order of the Senate, and his procuring ſome one here to forbid that "order." "But what if he perſiſt in demanding the Conſulate while "he retains his province and his army?" What," replied Pompey, "if my own child ſhould offer me violence [27]?"

After the attempt which had been made to fix the queſtion of Cæſar's recall for the firſt of March, Pompey being at Naples, was taken ill, and ſuppoſed to be in danger. His recovery gave a general ſatisfaction, of which he had afterwards very flattering proofs in his progreſs through Italy. He was every where met by proceſſions, found the ways ſtrowed before him with flowers, and was received by multitudes, who appeared to be frantic with joy for the return of his health.

Whatever part Pompey himſelf or his emiſſaries may have had in procuring theſe demonſtrations of reſpect and affection, it is probable he was highly flattered with them, and either miſtook them himſelf, or hoped that others ſhould miſtake them, as the proofs of a conſideration and power which no attempt of his rival could overſet or impair.

The principal attention of all parties, during this ſummer and autumn, as has been mentioned, had been turned to the affairs of Cæſar, and the dangerous tendency of the courſe he purſued: and they were but for a little while diverted from this object by an alarm on the ſide of Syria. The Parthians, encouraged by their late ſucceſs againſt Craſſus, paſſed the Euphrates with a great army, commanded by Pacorus, ſon to Orodes, under the direction of Oſaces, a veteran

[27] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Familiares, lib. viii. ep. 8.

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and experienced leader. They had, during the preceding winter, made an alliance with the king of Armenia, and were to be joined by his forces in this invaſion. The diſaſter of Craſſus had rendered the Parthian name terrible at Rome; and this intelligence ſtruck a momentary panic in the city, as if an enemy were already at the gates. Some propoſed to give Pompey the command in Syria; ſome to ſend Cæſar thither; and others, to ſend both the preſent Conſuls to the army with a proper reinforcement [23].

But before theſe meaſures could be determined, or before any reinforcement could be ready to join the army in Syria, the people were relieved of their fears by Caius Caſſius, the general then commanding in that province, who had obliged the Parthians to withdraw from Antioch; in their retreat attacked them, and made great ſlaughter. Oſaces in that action received ſome wounds, of which, in a few days afterwards, he died, and the Parthian army continued in their retreat during the following year beyond the Euphrates; ſenſible, in their turn, that a war carried over the waſtes of that deſolated frontier might be ruinous to any power by which it was attempted.

Bibulus, the preſent Proconſul of Syria, ſoon after the retreat of the Parthians, arrived in his province, and, according to the eſtabliſhed practice of the Romans, laid his pretenſions to a triumph for the victory which, under his auſpices, though before his arrival, had been obtained by his lieutenant.

This invaſion of Syria, as well as ſome diſturbances in his own province, furniſhed Cicero, at the ſame time, with the occaſion of ſome military operations, of which we have a particular account, in his letters, and which, though not material to the military hiſtory of the times, are not unworthy of notice, as the relate to this eminent perſonage. He had taken poſſeſſion of his command in Cilicia, and

[23] Cicer. ad Familiares, lib. viii. ep. 10.

however better fitted by his habits for the Forum and the political assemblies at Rome than for the field, poſſeſſed abilities to qualify him for any ſtation, put himſelf at the head of an army, and prepared for the defence of his province. He had ſet out from Rome in May; and having had a conference with Pompey at Tarentum, arrived at Brundiſium on the twenty-firſt of that month [29].

The military eſtabliſhment of Cilicia being no more than twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, Cicero applied for an augmentation of it, and on the fourth of June was ſtill at Brundiſium, waiting for an anſwer to this application. But finding that his requeſt, having been oppoſed by the Conſul Sulpicius [30], was unſucceſsful, he ſet ſail from that place, arrived at Actium on the fifteenth of that month, and, paſſing through Athens, reached his province on the laſt of July. Here he found the troops, in conſequence of a mutiny which had recently broke out among them, ſeparated from their officers, diſperſed in places of their own chooſing, the men of entire cohorts abſent from their colours, and conſidering themſelves as exempt from any authority or government whatever. Truſting to the reſpect that was due to the name and commiſſion of Proconſul, he ordered M. Annius, one of his lieutenants, to aſſemble as many as he could of the mutinous troops, and to encamp at Iconium in Licaonia. There he joined them on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt; and, having intelligence of the Parthian invaſion, took meaſures for the ſecurity of his province; marched, without loſs of time, to Cybiſtra, on the frontier of Cappadocia; took under his protection the king Ariobarzanes, who was then threatened by a powerful faction in his own kingdom, and by receiving him as a prince in alliance with the Romans, diſpelled the ſtorm that had been gathering againſt him. He accepted, at the ſame time, of the offers that were made by De-

[29] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. iii. ep. 3. [30] Ibid.

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jotarus to join him with all his forces; and being in this ſituation when he received accounts that the Parthians had preſented themſelves before Antioch, he ſuppoſed that his preſence might be wanted to cover his own frontier on the ſide of Syria. He accordingly moved to that quarter, in order to ſecure the paſſes of the mountains. Here however he learnt, that the ſtorm had blown over; that the enemy had retired, and had ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in their retreat; and that Bibulus was then at Antioch. This intelligence he communicated to Dejotarus, intimating, at the ſame time, that his aſſiſtance was no longer neceſſary.

The province of Cilicia had been for ſome years ſubject to the Romans; but the inhabitants of the mountainous parts had never acknowledged their authority, nor even that of their own national ſovereigns. Cicero, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of their country, finding that the people had retired to their ſtrong holds, and were ſtill determined to oppoſe his authority, formed a deſign to ſurpriſe them; and, for the better execution of his project, made a feint to withdraw to Epiphania, where he halted for a day, as if to refreſh his troops. On the day following, which was the eleventh of October, in the evening, he put his army again in motion towards the mountains, and before morning arrived in the midſt of his enemies, who by this time had returned to their uſual habitations; cut them off ſeparately, purſued ſuch as fled, forced their ſtrong holds, and in about ſixty days reduced ſome towns and a conſiderable tract of country, which had never before acknowledged the Roman government.

The troops, on this occaſion, ſaluted Cicero with the title of Imperator; which being uſually given to victorious leaders[31], was commonly underſtood as the ſuffrage of the army for obtaining a triumph. He himſelf, accordingly, on this circumſtance, together

[31] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xv. ep. 4.

with

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with the ſervice which gave occaſion to it, afterwards grounded his claim of that honour. This claim he ſcarcely ſeems to have ſeriouſly entertained; he even treats it as a jeſt in ſome of his letters: yet the triumph being in theſe latter times conſidered rather as the means of acquiring a certain rank in the commonwealth, than as the juſt reward of military merit, he ſubmitted his claim to the Senate, and urged his friends to ſupport it. His conduct as governor of a province, at a time when this ſtation was ſuppoſed to give a licence to every ſpecies of rapine and oppreſſion, did honour to his own diſpoſition, and to thoſe literary ſtudies in which he was taught to chooſe the objects of his ambition and his habits of life. In this character he declined, both for himſelf and for his attendants, all thoſe preſents, contributions, and even ſupplies of proviſions, of which cuſtom or law had authoriſed the Roman governors, in paſſing through the provinces, to avail themſelves. In his command he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his humanity, condeſcenſion, and diſintereſtedneſs; was eaſy of acceſs and hoſpitable; open, in particular to all perſons of literary merit and ingenuity, whom he entertained without oſtentation. In ſuch ſituations other Roman generals, though of great merit, indulged themſelves in what was the cuſtom of their times; they drained the provinces to accumulate their own fortunes, or placed their money there at extravagant intereſt. He was governed by different maxims, and wiſhed to riſe above his contemporaries by the fame of his diſintereſtedneſs, as well as of his ingenuity and civil accompliſhments. Other citizens might poſſeſs greater ſteadineſs, and force or elevation of mind; but his fine genius, his talents and fair diſpoſition, of which his weakneſs indeed often prevented the full effect, ſtill rendered him an important acquiſition to either of the parties in the commonwealth. And as they endeavoured to gain, ſo they even ſeemed to acquire, his ſupport in their turns.

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Whilſt the affairs of the reſpective provinces were thus adminiſtered by the commanders to whom they were intruſted, the uſual time of elections at Rome being arrived, L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Claudius Marcellus were elected to ſucceed to the Conſulate for the following year. Soon after theſe elections attempts were made, though without effect, to carry into execution ſome of the regulations deviſed by Pompey, in his late adminiſtration, to check the corruption of the times. Calidius had been engaged in the laſt competition, and immediately upon his diſappointment was brought to trial for illegal means employed in his canvaſs. He was acquitted; and, in reſentment, retorted the charge on Marcellus, in order, if poſſible, to annul his election; but failed in the attempt.

Of thoſe who were now elected Conſuls, Caius Marcellus, as well as his relation and immediate predeceſſor Marcus Marcellus, was underſtood to be in the intereſt of Pompey. Æmilius Paulus, a Senator of rank, and of courſe intereſted in the preſervation of the republic, the honours of which he was ſo well intitled to ſhare, was expected to ſupport the meaſures of the Senate, and adhere to the eſtabliſhed forms. Together with internal tranquillity, the government ſeemed to recover its antient ſeverity. Appius Claudius, late Proconſul of Cilicia, and Calpurnius Piſo were choſen Cenſors, and appeared to have authority enough to carry into execution the powers lately reſtored to this office by the ordinance of Scipio. It was expected that theſe Cenſors would hold an even balance between the factions. Appius favoured Pompey, and Piſo, from his relation of father-in-law to Cæſar, was neceſſarily diſpoſed to check the partiality of his colleague. The hopes of the Senate were likewiſe conſiderably raiſed by the unexpected nomination of Caius Scribonius Curio to be one of the Tribunes. Servius Pola, after being elected into this office, had been convicted of bribery, the election was ſet aſide, and Curio ſubſtituted in his place. This young man was of an honourable family; and

and poſſeſſing talents which qualified him for the higheſt preferments, naturally ſet out on a foot of independence, and joined thoſe who were for maintaining the freedom of the commonwealth, and their own equal pretenſions to honour and power. Being active and bold, as well as eloquent, the Senators were fond of a partizan who was likely to take upon himſelf much of that fatigue and danger which many of them were willing, even where their own eſtates and dignities were concerned, to devolve upon others.

U. C. 703. L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Claudius Marcellus.

The new magiſtrates accordingly entered on office with high expectations that the dangerous pretenſions of ambitious citizens, particularly thoſe of Cæſar, would be effectually checked. The Conſuls were poſſeſſed of a reſolution of the Senate, requiring them to proceed to the buſineſs of Cæſar's province by the firſt of March. This reſolution wanted only the conſent of the Tribunes to render it a formal act of the executive power, of which this branch was by the conſtitution lodged in the Senate. But one of the Tribunes having forbid the decree, M. Marcellus, late Conſul, moved that application might be made to this officer to withdraw the negative, which prevented the effect of what the Senate had reſolved. But the motion was rejected by a majority [32] of the Senate itſelf; and many other ſymptoms of Cæſar's great influence, even over this order of men, ſoon after appeared.

This able politician, probably that he might not ſeem to have any views upon Italy, had fixed his quarters, and that of his army, in the low countries, and at the extremity of his recent conqueſts. But, inſtead of ſeizing every pretence, as formerly, for making war on the natives of Gaul, he endeavoured to quiet their fears, and to conciliate their affections [33]; and while he kept the whole province in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, collected money, provided

[32] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 13.

[33] Hirt. de Bell. Gall. lib. viii. c. 49.

arms,

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arms, and completed his legions, as if preparing for a dangerous and important war. His diſtance from Italy lulled the jealouſy of his opponents, and enabled him to carry on his operations unobſerved. He ſpared no expence in gaining acceſſions to his intereſt; and when promiſes were accepted, ſeemed to make them with unbounded confidence in the means on which he relied for the performance of them. In this he acted as on the eve of a great revolution, the event of which was to raiſe him above the want of reſources, or above the neceſſity of a ſcrupulous faith with private perſons. He actually remitted at this time great ſums of money to Rome; and no leſs than fifteen hundred talents, or about £289,500, to the management of the Conſul Æmilius alone, who was ſuppoſed to expend this money in erecting public buildings for the uſe of the city. But not being ſuperior to corruption, at leaſt not to that which was addreſſed to his vanity, in being made agent and truſtee for ſo popular a leader as Cæſar, he diſappointed the hopes of his friends, and in all the conteſts which aroſe during his Conſulate[34], became an active partizan for the perſon who had honoured him with ſo flattering a truſt.

It was likewiſe very early obſerved in theſe debates, that the zeal of Curio, who ſet out with violent invectives againſt Cæſar, began to abate; that he for a while endeavoured to divert the attention of the public to other objects[35]; and at laſt fairly withdrew himſelf from the ſupport of the Senate, and eſpouſed the intereſt of Cæſar in every queſtion.

This intereſt was now likewiſe ſtrengthened by the acceſſions brought to it in conſequence of the diſputes of the Cenſors. Theſe magiſtrates concurred in expunging from the Rolls of the Senate ſuch as were of ſervile extraction, and many even of noble family, on account

[34] Appian. Plutarch.

[35] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 6.

of ſome infamy or blemiſh in their character. But Appius, having carried his affectation of zeal beyond what the age could bear, and being ſuſpected of partiality to Pompey's friends, gave offence to Piſo, who, by protecting many citizens who were ſtigmatized by his colleague, gained them to the intereſt of Cæſar. From theſe ſeveral cauſes this party became very numerous even in the Senate, and continued to ſuſpend any decrees that were propoſed to deprive Cæſar of his command, or to recall the extraordinary privilege which had formerly been granted to him.

It was afterwards diſcovered, in the ſequel of theſe tranſactions, that Curio, ſome time before he openly declared himſelf for Cæſar, had been actually gained by him. This young man, like the youth of that age in general, had diſſipated his fortune, and contracted immenſe debts. His popularity was the effect of his profuſion; and the load of his debts made him a very uncertain friend to government, and to laws which ſupported the juſt claims of his creditors againſt him. He readily liſtened to Cæſar, who offered to relieve him of this burden, and actually paid his debts to a great amount[36]; according to ſome reports, to the amount of ten millions Roman money[37]; according to others, of ſix times that ſum[38].

Curio, after he took his reſolution to join Cæſar, continued to ſpeak the language of his former party, and to act in concert with them, until he ſhould find a plauſible excuſe for breaking with them. Such a pretence[39] he ſought by ſtartting many ſubjects of debate without conſulting them, and by making propoſals in which he knew that the leading men of the Senate would not concur. To this effect he deviſed a project for the reparation of the high-ways, offering himſelf to have the inſpection of the work for five

[36] Plutarch. Dio. Sueton. Appias.

[37] Velleius, lib. ii. c. 48.—80,729 l. See Arbuthnot's Tables.

[38] Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. c. 1.

[39] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. c. 61. Appian. de Bello Civile.

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years. And when much time had been ſpent in fruitleſs debates on this ſubject, he inſiſted, that a conſiderable intercalation ſhould be made to lengthen the year, to give him ſufficient time to ripen his projects. Being oppoſed in this by the college of Augurs [49], he employed his Tribunitian power to obſtruct all other buſineſs, and ſeparated himſelf intirely from his friends in the Senate.

Curio, having in this manner withdrawn himſelf from his former party, did not at once openly join their opponents; but, with profeſſions of independence, affected to oppoſe the errors of both; and, by this artful conduct, ſeemed to have received the inſtructions, or to have imitated the policy of his leader. When the great queſtion of Cæſar's recall was revived, he inveighed, as formerly, againſt the exorbitant powers which had been committed to this general, and urged the neceſſity of having them revoked; but ſubjoined, that the powers granted to Pompey were equally dangerous, and propoſed, that both ſhould be ordered to diſband their armies, and return to a private ſtation. The partizans of Pompey inſiſted, that the term of his commiſſion was not yet expired; nor that of Cæſar's, replied Curio. If either is to be diſarmed, it is proper that both ſhould be ſo; if only one army be diſbanded, we are certainly the ſlaves of that which remains.

There were probably now three parties in the State; one devoted to Cæſar, another to Pompey, and a third that meant to ſupport the republic againſt the intrigues or violence of either. The latter muſt have been few, and could not hope to be of much conſequence, except by joining ſuch of the other two, as appeared by the character of its leader leaſt dangerous to the commonwealth. Cæſar had ſhown himſelf in his political courſe a dangerous ſubject, and an arbitrary magiſtrate. In the capacity of a ſubject, he had ſupported every

[49] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. viii. ep. 6.

party that was inclined to commit diſorder in the State, or to weaken the hands of government. In that of a magiſtrate he ſpurned every legal reſtraint, acted the part of a demagogue, ſupporting himſelf by popular tumults, and the credit of a faction, againſt the laws of his country; and it was the general opinion of conſiderate perſons, that his thirſt of power and emolument was not to be ſatiated without a total ſubverſion of government: that if, in the conteſt which ſeemed to impend, his ſword ſhould prevail, a ſcene of bloodſhed and rapine would enſue, far exceeding what had yet been exhibited in any calamity that had ever befallen the republic. The deſcription of his adherents [41], and the character of perſons that crowded to his ſtandard, juſtified the general fear and diſtruſt which was entertained of his deſigns. All who had fallen under ſentence of the law, all who dreaded this fate, all who had ſuffered any diſgrace, or were conſcious they deſerved it; young men who were impatient of government; the populace who had an averſion to order; the bankrupt, to whom law and property itſelf were enemies; all theſe looked for his approach with impatience, and joined in every cry that was raiſed in his favour.

Pompey, the leader of the oppoſite party, had never ceaſed to embroil the State with his intrigues, and even invaded the laws by his impatience for extraordinary and unprecedented honours; yet, when poſſeſſed of power, he had employed it with moderation, and ſeemed to delight in receiving theſe ſingular truſts by the free choice of his country; not in extorting them, not in making any illegal uſe of them, nor in retaining them beyond the terms preſcribed by his commiſſion. It appeared, that in nothing he had ever injured the commonwealth ſo deeply, as in caballing with Cæſar while he roſe

[41] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. vii. ep. 7.

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to his preſent elevation, from which he was not likely to deſcend, without ſome ſignal convulſion in the State [42].

This compariſon of the parties which were now to contend for power at the hazard of the republic, made it eaſy for good citizens to chooſe their ſide. But they nevertheleſs naturally wiſhed to prevent the conteſt from coming to extremities; as in the event of the war, which they dreaded, it was ſcarcely poſſible to avoid a military government. They conſidered the propoſal of Curio as a mere pretence to juſtify Cæſar in keeping poſſeſſion of his army: but they ſaw that there was no force in the republic ſufficient to reſiſt him. They wiſhed to arm Pompey for this purpoſe; but were prevented, either by the confidence which he ſtill gave them of his own ſuperiority, or by their fear of precipitating the State into a civil war, by ſeeming to take any precautions againſt it.

Cæſar would have conſidered every attempt to arm the republic as a declaration againſt himſelf; and was ready to commence hoſtilities before any ſuch meaſure could be carried into execution. The propoſal for diſarming at once both Cæſar and Pompey, in the mean time, was extremely acceptable to the popular party, who perpetually ſounded the cry of liberty againſt the Senate, and lately too againſt Pompey himſelf, who, on account of the ſpirit of his adminiſtration when laſt in office, and the ſeverity of his proſecutions againſt bribery and other offences, which are not odious to the vulgar, was become in a conſiderable degree unpopular, and ſuppoſed to aim at a tyranny. With ſuch powers as Pompey already poſſeſſed, it was reckoned an effort of courage to oppoſe him. And Curio, in coming from the Senate, with the luſtre of having acted ſo bold a part, was received by the populace with ſhouts and acclamations, was conducted to his houſe over ways ſtrewed with flowers, and, like a victor in the circus, pre-

[42] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. vii. ep. 3.

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ſented with chaplets and garlands, in reward of his courageous, patriotic and impartial conduct. This happened about the time that Pompey, as has been obſerved, was making a ſhew of his great popularity in the country towns, where he was received with feaſts, proceſſions, and acclamations, on occaſion of his recovery from a ſuppoſed dangerous illneſs. Cæſar too had a like reception in the towns of the Ciſalpine Gaul; but it is likely, that of theſe three pretenders to popularity, Pompey was moſt elated with his ſhare of the public favour, and the moſt likely to miſtake theſe appearances of conſideration for the ſtable foundations of power. Under this miſtake probably it was, that when one of his friends aſked him, with what force he was to oppoſe Cæſar if he ſhould march into Italy with his army? "In Italy," he anſwered, "I can raiſe forces with "a ſtamp of my foot." He was, however, greatly alarmed by the motion which had been made by Curio, and by the reception it met, both in the approbation of the Senators, and in the acclamations of the People. He wrote a letter, on this occaſion, to the Senate, in which he acknowledged the ſervices of Cæſar, and mentioned his own. "His late Conſulate," he ſaid, "was not of his ſeeking; "it was preſſed upon him to ſave the republic in the midſt of "great dangers; the command he then bore had devolved upon "him in conſequence of his having been Conſul, and was given for "a term of years, yet far from being expired; but he was ready, "nevertheleſs, without waiting for the expiration of his term, to "reſign with alacrity what he had accepted with reluctance." He continued, on every occaſion, to repeat the ſame profeſſions, adding, "That he made no doubt, his relation and his friend Cæſar would "cheerfully make a like ſacrifice to the fears and apprehenſions of "his fellow-citizens; and that, after many years of hard ſtruggle "with warlike enemies, he would now haſten to retire in peace, "and to ſolace himſelf in the midſt of domeſtic repoſe."

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Pompey, for the moſt part, choſe to diſſemble his ſentiments, and advanced to his purpoſe by indirect means; he was therefore like moſt artful men, eaſily over-reached by perſons who perceived his deſigns; and probably, on the preſent occaſion, was the only dupe of his own artifices, or of thoſe that were employed againſt him. Curio, in the Senate, openly attacked this part of his character, inſiſting that actions, and not profeſſions, were now to be regarded: that the army of Cæſar was, to the republic, a neceſſary defence againſt that of Pompey; that nevertheleſs, both ſhould be ordered to diſband, under pain of being declared, in caſe of diſobedience, enemies to their country; and that an army ſhould be inſtantly levied to enforce theſe orders. "Now," ſaid he, "is the time to reduce this "aſſuming and arrogant man, while you have a perſon who can "diſpute his pretenſions, and who can wreſt thoſe arms out of his "hands, which he never would have willingly dropped."

The friends of Cæſar, in the Senate, offered to compromiſe the diſpute; and provided Pompey retired to his province, and Cæſar were allowed to retain the Ciſalpine Gaul with two legions, they propoſed, in his name, to diſband the remainder of his army, and to reſign the other part of his provinces. "Obſerve the dutiful citi-"zen and good ſubject," ſaid Cato, "how ready he is to quit the "northern parts of Gaul, if you only put him in poſſeſſion of Italy "and of the city; and how ready to accept of your voluntary ſub-"miſſion, rather than employ your own army againſt you to en-"force it[43]."

In the reſult of theſe debates, the Senate, upon the motion of the Conſul Marcellus, came to a vote on the following queſtions, which were ſeparately ſtated, relating to the appointments both of Cæſar and of Pompey. On the firſt queſtion, Whether Cæſar ſhould diſband his army? the *Ayes* were general throughout the houſe. On

[43] Plutarch. in Catone.

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the ſecond, relating to Pompey, the *Noes* greatly prevailed. Curio and M. Antony inſiſted, that the queſtions were not fairly put; and that they did not collect the ſenſe of the Senate; that the majority might be of opinion, that both ſhould diſband; and that both, therefore, ſhould be included in the ſame queſtion. To this purpoſe, accordingly, a third queſtion was put; and the Senate having divided, a majority of three hundred and ſeventy *Ayes* appeared againſt twenty-two *Noes* [44], Whether theſe proceedings of the Senate were annulled by any informality, or were deprived of effect by any other circumſtance, does not appear? The only immediate conſequence they ſeem to have produced, was an order to Pompey and Cæſar, requiring each of them to march a legion to reinforce the army in Syria, where the Parthians, though repulſed from Antioch in the preceding year, had wintered in the Cyrrheſtica, a diſtrict of that province, and threatened to repeat their invaſion in the preſent ſpring and ſummer; and this appears to have been no more than a feeble attempt to ſtrip Cæſar of two legions, of which, when it came to be executed, he well knew how to diſappoint the effect.

While the ſubject of Cæſar's appointments occupied all parties at Rome, he himſelf, with his army, paſſed a quiet winter in Gaul; and at the end of it, or early in the ſpring, ſet out for Italy. He employed, as a pretence for this journey, the election to a vacant place in the college of Augurs, which was faſt approaching; and for which his friend Mark Antony was a candidate. Many votes were to be procured in the colonies and free cities bordering on that part of his province which was beyond the Alps; and he made his journey with uncommon ſpeed to ſecure them: but being informed, on the road, that the election of Augurs was paſt, and that his friend Antony had prevailed, he nevertheleſs continued his journey, and

[44] Appian. de Bello Civ. lib. ii. Plutarch. in Cæſar. p. 134.

with

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with the ſame diligence as before he received this information, ſaying, It was proper he ſhould thank his friends for their good offices, and requeſt the continuance of their favour in his own competition for the Conſulate, which he propoſed to declare on the following year. He alleged, as a reaſon for his early application, that his enemies, in order to oppreſs him, or to withſtand his juſt pretenſions, had placed C. Marcellus and P. Lentulus in the magiſtracy of the preſent year, and had rejected the pretenſions of Galba, though much better founded.

He was met in all the provincial towns and colonies of Ciſalpine Gaul with more than a kingly reception, with ſacrifices and proceſſions every where made by innumerable crowds, which were aſſembled to ſee and admire him. Having made the circuit of this province, and ſounded the diſpoſitions of the People, he returned with great diſpatch to his quarters at Nemetocenna [45], in the Low Countries, where he likewiſe wiſhed to know the diſpoſition as well as the ſtate of his army; and, for this purpoſe, ordered the whole to aſſemble on the Moſelle. He foreſaw, that the Senate might poſſibly paſs a decree to ſuperſede him; and that he muſt then depend upon the attachment of his legions, and make war, or ſubmit as he found them inclined; in this, however, it is probable he was in a great meaſure reſolved, or had no doubt of their willingneſs to become his partners in a military adventure for the ſovereignty of the empire.

In this ſtate of affairs he aſſigned to Labienus his ſtation within the Alps; and ſeeming to have conceived a ſuſpicion of this officer, or rather knowing that he was not diſpoſed to follow him, in caſe his commiſſion ſhould be withdrawn by the Senate, nor to co-operate in any act of hoſtility againſt the republic, he wiſhed to prevent the diſputes which might ariſe on ſuch an occaſion, and

[45] Arras.

to

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to avoid the difficult taſk of determining how he ſhould deal with a citizen, who being an offender againſt himſelf, was nevertheleſs in his duty to the State, and who either, by his impunity or by his ſufferings, might ſtart dangerous queſtions, and divide the opinions and affections of the ſoldiers. He diſmiſſed him, therefore, from the army in the northern Gaul, to command on the Po, a ſtation from which he could eaſily quit the province, and join the forces of the republic; and by this means rid him at once of a perſon on whom he could not rely, and whom he would ſcarcely dare to puniſh for defection. But in whatever manner we underſtand this ſeparation, it is noticed, that while Cæſar himſelf remained with the army upon the Moſelle, and made frequent movements merely to exerciſe the troops and to preſerve their health, a rumour prevailed, that his enemies were ſoliciting Labienus to deſert him, and to carry off the troops that were under his command. At the ſame time it was reported, that the Senate was preparing a decree to diveſt Cæſar of his government, and to diſband his army. Theſe inſinuations he affected to treat as groundleſs; obſerving, that he could not believe ſuch an officer as Labienus would betray his truſt; and that for himſelf, he was at all times ready to ſubmit his cauſe to a free Senate. The propoſals of Curio, and his other friends, he ſaid, had been ſo reaſonable, that the Senate would have long ago accepted of them, if that body had not been under the improper influence of his enemies.

About the ſame time, Cæſar received the famous order of the Senate to detach a legion from his army to be tranſported into Syria, and employed in the Parthian war; and likewiſe to reſtore that legion which he had borrowed from Pompey. It is probable, that he had deſired the laſt might be ſent to him merely to take off a part of his rival's force; and though he now, with ſeeming cheerfulneſs, complied with the requiſition to reſtore them, yet he afterwards complained of this meaſure reſpecting the two legions in queſtion, as a

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mere artifice to turn his own forces againſt him. In compliance with the Senate's order, he ſent the fifteenth legion, then upon the Po, and relieved it by one from his preſent camp. In diſmiſſing the ſoldiers of Pompey, he was, under pretence of gratitude for paſt ſervices, moſt laviſh of his careſſes and thanks; and as an earneſt of future favour, ordered each private man a gratuity of two hundred and fifty denarii [46]. By this artful conduct, while he parted with the men, he took care to retain their affections, and ſent them, together with his own legion, as at beſt but an uncertain and dubious acceſſion of ſtrength to his enemies [47].

The officers, who were ſent to make theſe demands, and to conduct the troops into Italy, brought to their employers a very flattering report of the ſtate and diſpoſitions of Cæſar's army: that they longed to change their commander; had a high opinion of Pompey; and, if marched into Italy, would ſurely deſert to him: that Cæſar was become odious on account of the hard ſervice in which he had ſo long employed them, without any adequate reward, and on account of the ſuſpicion that he aimed at the monarchy [48]. It is in the higheſt degree probable, that their crafty leader employed proper perſons to hold this language to the commiſſioners of the Senate, and to the officers of Pompey; and to utter complaints of their commander, and of the ſervice, on purpoſe that they might be repeated in Italy. His own preparations were not of more importance to him than the ſupine ſecurity into which he endeavoured, by this and every other meaſure, to lull his enemies.

On the approach of winter he conducted his army back to their quarters in the Low Countries, and the interior parts of Gaul. Trebonius was ſtationed with four legions on the Scheld and the Meuſe, and Fabius, with other four between the Soane and the Loire, in the

[46] About 5 l.

[47] Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. ii. Plutarch. in Vita Pompeii, p. 435.

[48] Plutarch. in Vita Cæſaris, p. 133. et in vita Pompeii, p. 486.

canton of Bibracté, now Autun. This diſpoſition, like that of the former winter, was calculated to avoid giving any alarm to his opponents in Italy. He himſelf intended to winter within the Alps, but had no troops on that ſide of the mountains that could occaſion any ſuſpicion; only one veteran legion is mentioned, the thirteenth, which he had ſent to replace the fifteenth; that, upon pretence of the Parthian war, had been called away from his province. Upon his arrival in Italy he affected ſurpriſe upon hearing that the two legions lately demanded from him had not been ſent into Aſia, but were kept in Italy, and put under the command of Pompey. He complained, that he was betrayed; that his enemies meant to diſarm and circumvent him. "But while the republic is ſafe, and matters can be made "up on amicable terms, I will bear," he ſaid, "with any indignities, "rather than involve the State in a civil war [47]."

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While the factions that were likely to divide the empire were in this ſituation, C. Marcellus, now third of this name in the ſucceſſion of Conſuls, together with Publius Lentulus, were choſen for the following year. Before they entered on office a rumour aroſe, that Cæſar, with his whole army, was actually in motion to paſs the Alps. Marcellus, Conſul of the preſent year, aſſembled the Senate; laid before them this report, and moved, that the troops then in Italy ſhould be prepared to act, and new levies ſhould be ordered. A debate enſued, in which Curio contradicted the report, and, by his Tribunitian authority, forbade the Senate to proceed in any reſolution upon this ſubject.

On this interpoſition of the Tribune, the Conſul diſmiſſed the aſſembly, uſing, together with other expreſſions of impatience, the words following: That if he were not ſupported by the Senate, in the meaſures which were neceſſary for the preſervation of the common-

[47] Hirtus de Bello Gallico, lib. viii. c. 46.

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wealth, he ſhould put the exerciſe of his power into hands more likely to make the State be reſpected: then, together with Lentulus, one of the Conſuls elected for the enſuing year, he repaired to the gardens where Pompey reſided; this officer being obliged, on account of his military command, to remain without the city; and preſenting his ſword, bid him employ it for the defence of his country, and with it to aſſume the command of the forces then in Italy. To this addreſs, Pompey, with an air of modeſty, made anſwer, "If no-"thing better can be deviſed for the commonwealth."

CHAP. V.

Return of different Officers from their Provinces.——Decree of the Senate to ſuperſede Cæſar.——Forbidden by the Tribunes.——Commiſſion to the Conſuls and to Pompey.——Their Reſolutions.——Flight of the Tribunes Antony and Quintus Caſſius.——Speech of Cæſar to the Legion at Ravenna.——Surpriſe of Ariminum.——March of Cæſar.——Flight of Pompey and the Senate, &c.——Approach of Cæſar.——Embarkation and Departure of Pompey from Brundiſium.——Return of Cæſar to Rome.——Paſſes by Marſeilles into Spain.——Campaign on the Segra.——Legions of Pompey in Spain conducted to the Var.

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IN this poſture of affairs, the officers, who had been ſent in the preceding year to the command of provinces, were returned to Rome, and ſome of them remained with their enſigns of magiſtracy in the ſuburbs, to ſolicit the military honours to which they thought themſelves entitled by their ſervices. Bibulus, though not preſent in the action in which Caſſius defeated the Parthians, yet being then governor of the province, and the advantage gained, with the number of the enemy ſlain, coming up to the legal deſcription of thoſe ſervices for which the triumph was obtained, he entered his claim; and was accordingly, upon the motion of Cato, who probably wiſhed him this conſolation for the mortifications he had received in his Conſulate, found to be entitled to this honour. It had been long appropriated as the ſpecific reward of victories, obtained by the ſlaughter of a certain number of enemies, and would have been prepoſterous in the caſe of any other merit: Cicero, nevertheleſs, now likewiſe applied for a triumph, partly in emulation

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to Bibulus, of whom he expreſſes ſome jealouſy; and partly, that he might have a pretence for his ſtay in the ſuburbs, and for abſenting himſelf from the Senate, and from the aſſemblies of the people, being very much perplexed how to ſteer between the parties of Cæſar and Pompey, who had both applied to him by letters to join them in the preſent diſpute [1]. He had, ſome time before his departure from Cilicia on his return to Rome, ſent an account of his military operations to Cato, and to ſome others of his friends, with an earneſt requeſt, that a thankſgiving might be appointed for the victory he had obtained. Such an appointment was reckoned one of the greateſt honours which a Roman officer could receive in abſence, and might lead to a triumph. Cato replied in terms that were polite; but carrying ſome degree of indirect reproof for the improper ambition which Cicero betrayed in this requeſt, intimating that his merit was not ſo much that of a general, as of a humane, upright, and able magiſtrate; that he had moved the Senate to paſs a decree to this purpoſe in his favour, as thinking it more honourable than a thankſgiving, which always had a reference to ſome event, depending on chance or the valour of an army; but that, ſince Cicero had choſen to put his ſervices on the laſt footing, he had a double ſatisfaction, that of having done what he thought incumbent on himſelf, and that of finding that the deſire of his friend was gratified [2].

Cicero at firſt received this declaration of Cato as a proper expreſſion of friendſhip, and in the higheſt degree honourable to himſelf [3]; but on hearing of the military honours which were decreed to Bibulus upon Cato's motion, he was greatly provoked, and conſidered this conduct as partial to his rival, and invidious to himſelf [4]. He was inſtigated or confirmed in theſe ſentiments by Cæſar, who gladly

[1] Cicero ad Att. lib. vii. ep. 1.
[2] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xv. ep. 5.
[3] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xv. ep. 6.
[4] Cicero ad Att. lib. vii. ep. 2.

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ſeized the opportunity to incite him againſt Cato. "Obſerve," he ſaid, in one of his letters, which is quoted by Cicero on this ſubject, "the malice of the man, he affects to give you the commendations "of clemency and integrity, which you did not deſire, and with-"holds a piece of common reſpect, which you had aſked. This "conduct," continues Cicero to Atticus, "beſpeaks the envy from "which it proceeds. It is not ſufferable, nor will I endure it. "Cæſar, in his letter to me, has not miſſed the proper remarks." Such were the concerns that diſtracted the mind of this ingenious but weak man, even while he himſelf foreſaw a conflict, in which the republic itſelf, and all the honours it could beſtow, were probably ſoon to periſh.

In the preſent ſituation of affairs, every reſolution which the friends of the republic could take was fraught with danger, and every day increaſed their perplexity. To leave Cæſar in poſſeſſion of his army, and to admit him with ſuch a force to the head of the commonwealth, was to ſubmit, without a ſtruggle, to the dominion he meant to aſſume. To perſiſt in confining him to one or other of theſe advantages, was to furniſh him with a pretence to make war on the republic. The powers which were neceſſary to enable Pompey to reſiſt Cæſar, might be equally dangerous to the republic in the poſſeſſion of the one, as they were in that of the other. This perſon, on whom the State was now to rely, even while his own conſideration, with that of every other Senator, was at ſtake, did not ſeem diſpoſed to act, until all the powers that were wanting to gratify his ambition ſhould be put into his hands. With an appearance of eaſe and negligence, he went upon parties of pleaſure through Italy, while every one elſe apprehended that Rome itſelf, as well as Italy, muſt ſoon become a ſcene of blood. At an interview with Cicero, whom, on his way to the city, he met near Naples, he himſelf ſpoke of a civil war as unavoidable.

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avoidable [5]. Upon his return to Rome, on the twenty-ſixth of December, he even ſeemed averſe to any accommodation. He declared his mind openly, that if Cæſar ſhould obtain the Conſulate, even upon laying down his arms, the ſtate muſt be undone; that in his opinion, whenever a vigorous oppoſition appeared, Cæſar would chooſe to retain his army, and drop his pretenſions to the Conſulate; but, continued he, if Cæſar ſhould proceed headlong, and bring matters to the deciſion of the ſword, how contemptible muſt he appear, a mere private adventurer againſt the authority of the ſtate, ſupported by a regular army under my command.

To juſtify this ſecurity, or preſumption on the part of Pompey, it muſt be remembered that while Cæſar was forming an army in Gaul, Pompey, by means of his lieutenants, likewiſe formed a great army of ſix complete legions, and many auxiliaries, in Spain; and that if Cæſar ſhould make any attempt upon Italy, it is probable he intended that his army ſhould paſs the Pyrennees as faſt as that of Cæſar paſt the Alps, occupy his province, cut off his reſources, and while Pompey himſelf received him with the forces of Italy, that the Spaniſh army ſhould preſs upon his rear, and place him at once between two attacks. It ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that although few troops were then actually formed in Italy, yet this was the great nurſery of ſoldiers for the whole empire, and multitudes could, on any ſudden emergency, be embodied in every part of that country [6].

Pompey, with theſe ſecurities in his hands for the final ſucceſs of his views againſt Cæſar, ſuffered this rival to run his career, leaving the Senate expoſed to the dangers which threatened them; and under the influence of apprehenſions, which he expected would render them more tractable, and more ready in every thing to comply with his own deſires, than he had generally found them in times of greater ſecurity.

[5] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. vii. ep. 8.

[6] Cic. ad Familiar. lib. xvi. ep. 12.

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In the ſame ſtrain of policy, Pompey had frequently ventured to foment or to connive at the growing troubles of the republic, in order to render himſelf the more neceſſary, and to draw from the Senate and the People offers of extraordinary truſt and power. By the addreſs of Cato, and of other active men in the Senate, he had been obliged on a late occaſion, when he aimed at the powers of Dictator, to be content with thoſe of ſole Conſul. It is probable, that he had entertained the ſame views on the preſent occaſion, and permitted the evils to accumulate, until the remedy he wiſhed for ſhould appear to be neceſſary. He continued accordingly with votes and reſolutions of the Senate to combat Cæſar, who was at the head of a numerous army, ready on the firſt plauſible pretence to fall upon Italy, to ſeize the ſeats of government, and avail himſelf of that name and authority of the republic, on which Pompey himſelf ſo greatly relied.

U. C. 704. C. Claudius Marcellus & L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Mean time, the new year commenced, and C. Claudius Marcellus with L. Cornelius Lentulus, entered on their office as Conſuls. Both parties were prepared for a deciſive reſolution on the ſubject of Cæſar's claims. He himſelf for ſome years had wintered near to the northern extremity of his provinces. He was now at Ravenna, the neareſt ſtation of his army to Rome; but without any troops, beſides what appear to have been the uſual eſtabliſhment of the Ciſalpine province; that is, the thirteenth legion, which had been ſent thither to ſupply the place of a legion, with which he had been required to reinforce the army in Syria, and three hundred horſe, making in all between five and ſix thouſand men [7]. Soon after his arrival at Ravenna, he had been viſited by Curio, who, at the expiration of his Tribunate, made this journey to receive his directions in reſpect to the future operations of the party; and after their conference, returned to Rome with a letter from Cæſar, addreſſed:

[7] Appian. de Bello Civil. lib. ii. p. 447. Plut. in Cæſare.

to

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to the Senate, which was preſented on the firſt of January, at the admiſſion of the new Conſuls into office [5].

The Conſul Lentulus moved, that prior to any other buſineſs, the ſtate of the republic, and that of the provinces, ſhould be taken under conſideration; and alluding to the reſolutions which were already on record, relating to Cæſar's province, ſaid, that if the Senate ſtood firm on this occaſion to their former decrees, his ſervices ſhould not be wanting to the commonwealth. He was ſeconded by Scipio, and was applauded by the general voice of the Senate; but Cæſar had procured the admiſſion of Mark Antony and of Quintus Caſſius, two of his moſt noted and determined partizans, into the college of Tribunes. Theſe could make riots, or furniſh the pretence of violence in the city, whenever the military deſigns of their patron were ripe for execution: they were to be the executors of what had been concerted with Curio, or whatever elſe ſhould be thought proper to promote Cæſar's deſigns. They began with threatening to ſtop all proceedings of the Senate, until Cæſar's letter was read; and prevailed on this meeting to begin with that paper. It was expreſſed, according to Cicero, in terms menacing and harſh [6], and contained in ſubſtance a repetition of the propoſals, which Cæſar had been all along making through Curio, and his other adherents at Rome, "That "he ſhould be allowed to retain the honours, which the Roman "People had beſtowed upon him; that he ſhould be left upon a foot "of equality with other officers, who were allowed to join civil of- "fice at Rome with military eſtabliſhments in the provinces; and that "he ſhould not be ſingled out as the ſole object of their diſtruſt and "ſeverity" [7].

This letter was conſidered as an attempt to preſcribe to the Senate, and unbecoming the reſpect due to their authority. It was

[5] Dio. Caſſius, lib. xli. c. 1.
[6] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xvi. ep. 12.
[7] Suetonius in Cæſare, c. 29.

by

by many treated as an actual declaration of war. The debates were renewed on this ſubject for ſome days ſucceſſively, from the firſt to the ſeventh of January. On the laſt of theſe days, a reſolution was framed, ordering Cæſar to diſmiſs his army, and by a certain day to retire from his provinces, or in caſe of diſobedience, declaring him an enemy to his country. The Tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Caſſius, interpoſed with their negative.

The hands of the Senate being thus tied up by the prohibition or interdict of the Tribunes, it was moved that the members ſhould put on mourning, in order to impreſs the People with a deeper ſenſe of the calamity which was likely to enſue from the contumacy of theſe factious officers. This likewiſe the Tribunes forbad; but the Senate being adjourned, all the members, as of their own accord, returned to their next meeting in habits of mourning, and proceeded to conſider in what manner they might remove the difficulty which aroſe from this factious interpoſition of the Tribunes. In the concluſion of this deliberation, it was determined to give to the Conſuls and other magiſtrates, together with Pompey, in the character of Proconſul, the charge uſual in the moſt dangerous conjunctures; *to preſerve the commonwealth by ſuch means as to their diſcretion ſhould appear to be neceſſary.*

This charge ſuggeſted to the minds of the People, what had paſſed in the times of the Gracchi of Saturninus and of Cataline. The Tribunes, who had occaſioned the meaſure, either apprehended, or affected to apprehend, immediate danger to their own perſons: they diſguiſed themſelves in the habit of ſlaves, and, together with Curio, in the night fled from Rome in hired carriages [11]. The Conſuls repaired to Pompey in the ſuburbs; and, agreeably to the order of the Senate, claimed his aſſiſtance in diſcharging the important duties

[11] Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xli. c. 3. Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xvi. ep. 12.

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with which they were jointly intruſted. It was agreed, in concert with him, that they ſhould ſupport the authority of the Senate with a proper military force, that they ſhould proceed to make new levies with the greateſt diſpatch; and in order to give effect to theſe preparations, that Pompey ſhould have the ſupreme command over the treaſury, and all the forces of the republic, in every quarter of the world.

Winter was now ſet in, or faſt approaching. The ſeaſon, although nominally in the month of January, being only about fifty days paſt the autumnal equinox, or about the twelfth of November, Cæſar had few troops on the ſide of Italy; the force of his army was yet beyond the Alps, and the officers now entruſted with the ſafety of the commonwealth, flattered themſelves that much time might be found to put the republic in a ſtate of defence, before his army at this ſeaſon could paſs thoſe mountains, even if he ſhould be ſo deſperate as to make war on the commonwealth; which Pompey did not even, in this ſtate of affairs, appear to have believed.

When Cæſar received accounts of the Senate's reſolution, he drew forth the troops then at Ravenna, and in a harangue enumerated the wrongs which for ſome years he alleged had been done to himſelf; complained that his enemies had now found means to excite againſt him even Pompey, a perſon whoſe honour he had always promoted with the warmeſt affection; that the interpoſition of the Tribunes, in behalf of the army and of himſelf, had been defeated by means of threats and of actual force; that their ſacred perſons had been violated, in order to oppreſs him; that reſolutions, which had never been taken but in the moſt dangerous and threatening conjunctures, to prevent ruinous laws from being carried by inſurrection and violence, were now formed againſt peaceable magiſtrates, and in times of profound tranquillity; he therefore exhorted the army to maintain the honour of an officer, under whom they had now, for nine years, faithfully ſerved the republic; under whom they had gained

gained many victories in Gaul and in Germany, and reduced a moſt warlike province into a ſtate of abſolute ſubmiſſion. He was anſwered with a ſhout of applauſe, and a general acclamation from the ranks, that they were ready to avenge the injuries done to their general, and to the Tribunes of the People.

On receiving theſe aſſurances from the troops then preſent, Cæſar immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the quarters of the twelfth legion, which, from the time at which it afterwards joined him, appears to have been already within the Alps with orders to march. The remainder of his army being ſuppoſed in the low countries, or in the heart of Gaul, it would not have appeared to an ordinary capacity, that even in caſe of hoſtilities any deciſive operation could take place before the ſpring. At that ſeaſon, indeed, the meaſures now taken by both parties ſeemed to threaten a dangerous convulſion; but it is not to be doubted that Cæſar had foreſeen, or prepared, many of the moſt important circumſtances of the preſent conjuncture; that he had brought his affairs into that poſture, at which he intended hoſtilities ſhould commence; and that the ſeeming neglect with which he ſuffered himſelf to be taken with ſo ſmall a force on the ſide of Italy, was probably the beſt concerted preparation he could have made for the war. While he brought no alarming force towards Rome, his antagoniſts continued ſecure, and made no effectual proviſion to reſiſt him. He apprehended more danger from the legions which Pompey had formed in Spain, than from any force then ſubſiſting in Italy, and he made his diſpoſition againſt thoſe legions, by placing the ſtrength of his army between the Pyrennees and the Alps. There the army formed in Gaul, ſerved him ſufficiently in his deſign againſt Italy, by ſecuring him from any interruption on that quarter. When the war broke out, being well aware that the effects of ſurpriſe are often greater than thoſe of force, even if

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he had wiſhed for more troops in Italy, it is probable that he would not have awaited their coming.

On the very day that he delivered the harangue juſt mentioned to the legion that was quartered at Ravenna, he ordered a choſen body of men, in the manner of ſtragglers roving for pleaſure through the country, and armed only with ſwords, to take the road ſeparately, and without any appearance of concert, to Ariminum, the firſt fortified place of Italy beyond the Rubicon, which was the limit of his province; there to remain, and at a certain time of the night to ſeize upon one of the gates. He likewiſe ordered a party of horſe to parade at ſome diſtance from Ravenna, and there to wait for an officer who was to deliver them orders. He himſelf paſſed the day, as uſual, in forming combats of gladiators, and in attending the exerciſes of the legion; at night he went to ſupper at the uſual hour, and after he had taken his place, pretending buſineſs, or ſome ſlight indiſpoſition, which called him away from the company, he mounted a carriage that waited for him, drove through a gate oppoſite to that of Ariminum, and having travelled for a little time in that direction, turned into the road on which he had poſted the party of horſe; and having joined them, marched about thirty miles before break of day, entered Ariminum by a gate which the party he had ſent before him kept open; and thus without any reſiſtance took poſſeſſion of the place.

It was of importance, that the firſt report of hoſtilities at Rome ſhould carry an account of his ſucceſs; not merely of his having made an attempt. This circumſtance may juſtify the meaſures which he took to ſurpriſe a place which, without ſo many precautions, might have been eaſily reduced, though at the hazard perhaps of delay for a few days. He himſelf indeed, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of any ſuch meaſures, nor of the doubts and heſitations under which he is ſaid to have halted on the banks of the Rubicon,

Rubicon, by the paſſing of which he entered into a ſtate of war with the commonwealth. CHAP. V.

At Ariminum his little army, on the following day, arrived from Ravenna, and the Tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Caſſius joined him from Rome. He preſented them to the army in the diſguiſe in which they affected to have eſcaped from the violence of a tyranny then eſtabliſhed in the city. "Obſerve," he ſaid, "to what extremities perſons of noble birth, veſted with the ſacred character of "Tribunes are reduced, for having ſupported their friends, and for "having pleaded the cauſe of an injured army [12]." The occaſion was ſuited to popular eloquence; and this eminent maſter of every art did not neglect the opportunity. He is ſaid to have acted his part with great vehemence; to have torn open his veſt from his breaſt, and to have ſhed tears; frequently held up to view the hand on which he wore his ring, the common enſign of noble birth among the Romans, and declared, that he would ſacrifice all the honours of his rank to reward thoſe who were willing to ſupport the public cauſe, and who adhered to himſelf on the preſent occaſion. From theſe ſigns, where he was not diſtinctly heard, it was ſuppoſed that he promiſed the honours of nobility, and a large ſum of money to every ſoldier in his army [13].

Lucius Cæſar and the Prætor Roſcius, who, while the decree againſt Caius Cæſar was depending in the Senate, made offer of their good offices to treat with him, and bring matters to an amicable accommodation, were now come without any public commiſſion, probably to hinder their friend from taking any deſperate reſolution. They brought, at the ſame time, a private meſſage from Pompey, with ſome expreſſions of civility, and an apology, taken from the neceſſity of the public ſervice, for the hardſhip which he ſuppoſed himſelf

[12] Appian. de Bell. Civile, lib. ii.

[13] Sueton. in Cæſ. c. 33.

to

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to have put upon Cæſar. Pompey, in this meſſage, proteſted, "That "he had always preferred the public to private conſiderations;" and ſubjoined, "That he hoped Cæſar would not ſuffer any paſſion to "carry him into meaſures hurtful to the State, nor, in avenging "himſelf of his private enemies, ſtretch forth his hand againſt the "republic."

Such profeſſions had little credit with Cæſar; but if they were to be of any weight with the public he was not likely, in his turn, to fail in the uſe of them. He deſired thoſe perſons, by whom Pompey had favoured him with this meſſage, to carry for anſwer, "That the "republic had always been to him dearer than his fortune or his "life; but that he could not ſuffer the honours which the Roman "People had beſtowed upon him in public, to be contemptuouſly "torn away by his private enemies. His commiſſion, he ſaid, "would have expired in ſix months; his enemies, in their eagerneſs "to degrade him, could not bear even with this delay, but muſt "recall him immediately. The Roman People had diſpenſed with "his attendance at the elections, yet he muſt be dragged to town at "that time to gratify private malice. Theſe perſonal inſults he had "patiently borne for the ſake of the public; and being reſolved to "diſarm, requeſted the Senate only that others ſhould diſarm as well "as himſelf; that even this was refuſed, and new levies were or-"dered throughout Italy; that two legions which had been called "off from his own army, under pretence of the Parthian war, were "now retained againſt him; that the whole State was in arms; "for what purpoſe but for his deſtruction? that, nevertheleſs, he "would ſuffer any thing for the good of the commonwealth. Let "Pompey repair to his province; let all parties diſband, and no "army whatever be aſſembled in Italy; let no one pretend to over-"awe the city; let the aſſemblies of the People and of the Senate be "free; and, in order the more ſpeedily to terminate theſe diſputes, let

" the parties meet and confer together; let Pompey ſay where he will
" be waited on, or let him name a proper place of meeting; at a
" friendly conference every difficulty will be ſoon removed [14]."

From this time forward Cæſar affected, on every occaſion, to have no object in view but to prevail on his enemies, by ſome reaſonable accommodation, to ſave the republic from a ruinous war, and to ſtop the effuſion of innocent blood [15]. He continually repeated his propoſals of peace, while he urged his military operations with uncommon rapidity. He ordered new levies at Ariminum, and ſent Antony to occupy Arretium [16], a paſs in one of the branches of the Flaminian Way through the Apennines; and as faſt as troops could march he ſeized Piſaurum [17], Faunum, Auximum, with the town of Ancona, and all the places neceſſary to give him the command of that diſtrict, or to open his way to Rome.

A general conſternation ſpread over all the country before him; the people fled from their habitations, and communicated the alarm, with every ſort of exaggeration, to the city. Pompey had relied much on the name and authority of the commonwealth, and no leſs on his own. Others thought themſelves ſecure while this renowned and experienced commander gave them aſſurances of ſafety. Now, like a perſon awake from a dream, he ſeemed to perceive the whole was illuſion. Cæſar paid no regard to the authority of the Senate, nor ſtood in awe of the State. He was at hand, with the reputation of a general equal to Pompey, at the head of troops freſh from ſervice, and inured to blood. The republic was but a name; and they who compoſed it, though reſpectable at a diſtance, were, on the approach of an enemy, irreſolute, diſunited, and incapable of the exertions which ſuch an occaſion required. Orders had gone forth

[14] Cæſar de Bell. Civil. lib. i.
[15] Cæſar. Appian. in lib. viii. Ad Atticum, poſt ep. 13.
[16] Arrego.
[17] Piſaro, Feno, and Oſimo.

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to raiſe troops in every part of Italy; but no great progreſs in ſo ſhort a time could yet have been made in that ſervice. Beſides the two legions which had ſerved ſo long under Cæſar himſelf, there were not any forces embodied in the country. Theſe were juſtly ſuſpected of inclining to their former general; and, inſtead of enabling Pompey to meet the danger which threatened the commonwealth, furniſhed him, at the head of ſuch troops, with particular reaſons for his keeping at a diſtance from the enemy. In a letter to Domitius Ahenobarbus, "I ſent you word," he writes, "that with theſe two legions "I did not chooſe to be near Cæſar[18]". If I ſhould retreat, therefore, "at his approach, be not ſurpriſed[19]."

Domitius had been appointed to ſucceed Cæſar in the government of Gaul; and, with ſome other officers in the Picenum[20], had made ſome progreſs in raiſing troops. Their numbers, perhaps, ſurpaſſed thoſe of Cæſar. If Pompey, therefore, had thought it poſſible to defend the city, he muſt have haſtened to that quarter, and have put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops. But he was timorous in hazarding his own reputation, a weakneſs from which Cæſar was altogether exempt, and which was unworthy of the great military talents of either. Pompey ſeldom committed his fame where the proſpect was unfavourable, or events extremely uncertain. Cæſar, on ſuch occaſions, never choſe to truſt his affairs in any other hands than his own.

Pompey, acting under theſe motives, aſſembled the Senate, and informed them that it was neceſſary to abandon Rome; that he would meet them again at Capua, where he propoſed to aſſemble his forces; that he ſhould conſider all thoſe who remained in the capital

[18] Meaning probably that he did not chooſe to give them an opportunity to deſert.

[19] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. viii. ep. 2. Ad Domitium.

[20] March of Anconia.

to countenance or to witneſs the violences of Cæſar as equally guilty with thoſe who ſhould be found in his camp. CHAP. V.

It being unlawful for the officers of the republic to abſent themſelves from the city, the Senate paſſed an act to diſpenſe with their attendance at Rome, and to enable them to exerciſe the powers of magiſtracy wherever the neceſſities of the State might require their preſence. Theſe preparations for diſlodging the government, together with the actual flight of Pompey, damped all the courage that remained in any order or claſs of the People. It made Cæſar appear at once more odious and more terrible [21]. It was generally expected [22] that he would exceed either Cinna or Sylla in rapacity and cruelty [23]; and that the city, if he ſhould ſurpriſe his opponents there, would become a ſcene of blood. The Conſuls, and moſt of the other officers of State, ſet out with their enſigns of power. All night the gates were crowded with Senators and other perſons of rank who fled on this occaſion; ſome with their families and moſt valuable effects, others alone, and diſtracted by the general panic, without knowing whither they were to retire, or to what fate they were leaving their families.

Cæſar, in the mean time, making a rapid march through Umbria, or what is now the dutchy of Urbino [24], and the Picenum, or March of Ancona [25], not only took poſſeſſion of every place as he paſſed, but gained daily acceſſions of ſtrength by the junction of the new levies that had been raiſed to oppoſe him. Soldiers are averſe to the loſing ſide; and Pompey's flight put an end to his military power in Italy. The Prætor Thermus had, with five cohorts, amounting, if complete, to twenty-five hundred men, taken poſt at Iguvium [26], among the Apennines, on the Flaminian Way. Obſerving that Pompey's party in general was retreating, and that Curio was advancing

[21] Cicero ad Att. lib. vii. ep. 11.
[22] Ibid. ep. 12. 22.
[23] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. vii. ep. 7.
[24] Umbria.
[25] Picenum.
[26] Gubio.

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towards him with a part of Cæſar's forces, he reſolved to abandon his poſt; but as ſoon as he began to execute this purpoſe, and was on the road to Rome, the troops deſerted him on the march, returned to the poſt from which he had removed them, and declared for Cæſar.

The diſpoſitions of the towns of which Cæſar had got poſſeſſion, made it unneceſſary for him to leave any garriſon behind him, and permitted him to advance with all his forces. Auximum [27] declared for him before his arrival, and obliged Atius Varus, who held that poſt for the republic, to abandon it. This officer was overtaken by Cæſar's advanced parties, and, like Thermus, was deſerted by his People.

At Cingulum, in the Picenum, Cæſar was joined by the twelfth legion, to which, on his firſt motion from Ravenna, he had ſent orders to march. With this acceſſion of force, he advanced to Aſculum [28] on the Fronto; and having diſlodged from thence Lentulus Spinther, who commanded ten cohorts, the greater part of theſe troops deſerted to him. The remainder put themſelves under the command of Vibullius, who was juſt arrived from Pompey to ſupport the hopes of the cauſe in that quarter.

As Cæſar made his principal puſh on the Adriatic ſide of the Apennines, the troops that were ſuddenly raiſed for the republic were, without any well-concerted plan, drawn together upon that coaſt. And Pompey himſelf had not yet openly laid aſide the deſign of making head againſt Cæſar in thoſe parts. Vibullius having aſſembled in all about fourteen cohorts, fell back to the Aternus, now called the Piſcara, and joined L. Domitius Ahenobarbus at Corfinium, a paſs in the Apennines that commanded the Valerian way to Rome. This officer having aſſembled twenty-five cohorts, meant to have joined Pompey wherever he ſhould be found, and had ordered Thermus to follow with five cohorts more [29]; but imagining probably that Pom-

[27] Oſimo. [28] Oſcale. [29] Pomp. ad Cicer. in lib. ad Att. poſt ep. 11.

pey ſtill intended to cover Rome from the incurſions of Cæſar, and that Corfinium was an important poſt for this purpoſe, he determined to obſerve the motions of the enemy from that place.

Pompey by this time had moved from Capua to Luceria, and ſeemed to have taken the reſolution not only of abandoning the poſts that covered the acceſs to Rome, but even all Italy, to Cæſar. The Conſuls, the greater part of the magiſtracy, and the Senate, had followed him to Capua. Here was received the meſſage which Cæſar had given to Roſcius and to L. Cæſar. It contained ſeveral reflections and inſinuations in the higheſt degree provoking to Pompey; and to this circumſtance Cæſar probably truſted, that he ſhould not be bound by any of the offers he had made, and that the odium of rejecting the peace would fall upon his enemies. But the friends of the commonwealth, deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of their own affairs, gladly liſtened to any terms of accommodation. They objected indeed to the propoſed interview between Pompey and Cæſar, remembering the dangerous concerts which at their meetings had been formerly entered into againſt the commonwealth.

Pompey himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the diſadvantage at which he was taken, that he diſſembled his reſentment of the perſonal reflections caſt on himſelf, and conſented to conditions which he had hitherto rejected with diſdain. It was agreed accordingly that he ſhould repair to Spain, and that, his province being in profound peace, he ſhould reduce his military eſtabliſhment. Cæſar, on his part, beſides the conditions he himſelf had offered, was required to evacuate all the towns which he had lately ſeized in Italy; and it was propoſed that the Conſuls, Magiſtrates, and Senators ſhould return to the city, and from the uſual ſeat of government give all the ſanction of public authority to theſe arrangements. From ſuch appearances it was not doubted that an accommodation muſt follow. And in this belief Cato, though appointed to command in Sicily,

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choſe to abide by the Senate while the treaty remained in dependance. And Cicero thought the agreement almoſt concluded. "The one," he wrote to his friend Atticus, "begins to repent of his precipitation, and the other is ſenſible he has not a force ſufficient to "ſupport ſuch a war [39]."

Cæſar therefore was likely to be caught in the ſnare he laid for his enemies, or obliged to lay aſide the diſguiſe which he had aſſumed in affecting ſuch earneſt deſires for peace. To avoid either of theſe inconveniences, he objected to ſome of the conditions which the oppoſite party had ſubjoined to his propoſals, and complained of the ſilence which they kept on others, as proceeding from a deliberate purpoſe to circumvent and betray him. "Pompey will repair to "Spain," he ſaid, "but when? I am required to evacuate all the "towns of Italy, while Pompey and the whole State continue in "arms againſt me, and while my enemies not only make new levies, "but employ for my deſtruction legions which they have actually "taken away from my own army. If Pompey be ſincere in de"ſiring a peace, why does he decline the perſonal interview which "has been propoſed for that purpoſe?"

Cæſar had, by this time, advanced with haſty marches to Corfinium, drove in a detachment from the garriſon, which he found breaking down a bridge about three miles from the town, ſat down under the walls, and employed three days in fortifying his camp, and in filling the magazines with corn from the neighbouring country. Being joined by the eighth legion and twenty-two cohorts of the new levies from Gaul, with three hundred auxiliary horſe, he ordered proper poſts to be ſeized on every ſide of the town, and effectually ſhut up thoſe who were within from any relief, or from any communication with their friends. When his works began to appear

[39] Ad Att. lib. viii. ep. 14.

againſt

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againſt the place, Domitius publiſhed a reward to any one who ſhould carry letters to Pompey. Different meſſengers were diſpatched for this purpoſe, and brought for anſwer, that Pompey diſapproved of his having allowed himſelf to be inveſted by Cæſar, had foretold him the bad conſequences of this meaſure, and now earneſtly exhorted him, if poſſible, to extricate himſelf; for that it was not in his power with theſe doubtful legions, which had been ſo lately drawn from Cæſar's army, or with new levies, to force the hardy and veteran troops of the enemy [31].

This anſwer Domitius endeavoured to conceal from his army; encouraged them with hopes of a ſpeedy relief from Pompey, and ſeemed intent on the defence of the place, while he was actually taking meaſures to get off in perſon, without any hopes of preſerving the forces he had aſſembled for the commonwealth. This deſign being ſuſpected, the troops ſurrounded his quarters in the night, took him priſoner, and to pay their court, while they delivered up their general and ſurrendered the town, made offer of their own ſervices to Cæſar.

Upon this ſurrender, Cæſar took poſſeſſion of the gates, manned the walls, and gave orders that no perſon whatever from his army ſhould enter the place before it was day. He knew, that beſides Domitius and Vibullius, there were many Senators and Roman knights now ſhut up in the town. Theſe he ordered in the morning to be brought before him, expoſtulated with them on the ſubject of their enmity to himſelf, and their precipitation in hurrying the State into this unnatural war. He then diſmiſſed them with the reſpect that was due to Roman citizens of their rank; and being told that a conſiderable ſum of money, amaſſed at Corfinium for the ſupport of the troops, had been ſeized by his people, to complete this ſcene of

[31] Pompeius ad Domitium, lib. viii. Et ad Atticum, poſt ep. 12. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ.

unexpected

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unexpected moderation, by an exhibition of diſintereſtedneſs as well as of clemency, he ordered this money to be reſtored to Domitius. The fame of this wonderful mildneſs and generoſity, as he expected, was every where diffuſed; and though, by over-acting his part in abſtaining from the public money, he furniſhed every thinking perſon with a ſufficient comment on the other parts of his conduct; yet many were happy to underſtand, that, in this alarming conteſt, their lives and properties were, from any motives whatever, to be ſpared.

Rome was now open to Cæſar; but he thought the poſſeſſion of it of no moment, until he had ſuppreſſed the military arrangements that were making in the country, and had decided who was to have the poſſeſſion of Italy. He therefore, on the very day on which he became maſter of Corfinium, detached to Sicily, under the command of Curio, the troops that deſerted to him in making this conqueſt [32]. He himſelf ſet out for Apulia, and, before ſunſet, accompliſhed a conſiderable march; but while he thus urged the war with the greateſt rapidity, ſent meſſengers before him to the leaders of the oppoſite party, with profeſſions of friendſhip and overtures of peace.

Immediately after the reduction of Corfinium, Balbus, an officer in Cæſar's army, was diſpatched with a meſſage to the Conſul Lentulus, containing earneſt intreaties, that this magiſtrate would return to Rome, and prevent the diſorders that were likely to ariſe from the ſuſpenſion of government. To induce him to comply with this requeſt, Balbus had ſecret inſtructions to aſſure the Conſul of a proper appointment in the provinces at the expiration of his year in office. The bearer of this meſſage declared, that Cæſar deſired nothing ſo much as to join Pompey, and to make peace with him on any equitable terms. And the father of this young man, one of Cæſar's retinue, wrote, at the ſame time, to Cicero, that Cæſar had no object

[32] Cæſar de Bello Civ. lib. i. c. 25.

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According to Act of Parliament, by W. Strahan and T. Cadell, in the Strand, Feb.y 1st 1782

CHAP. V.

but to enjoy peace and ſecurity under Pompey [33]. But while the fame of his clemency at Corfinium, and of this wonderful diſpoſition to peace was ſpread throughout Italy, and reconciled the minds of many to whom he had been till then an object of terror [34]. While he hoped to amuſe his enemies, and to relax the diligence of their military preparations, he advanced with ſo much rapidity, that, in order to avoid him, they had no more than the time that was neceſſary to croſs the mountains from Capua to Luceria, to fall back from thence to Canuſium, and from this laſt place, without a halt, to Brundiſium.

Pompey, while he moved in this direction, having ſent Metellus Scipio, and his own ſon Cnæus into Syria, to provide and aſſemble the neceſſary ſhipping to embark his army [35]; his intention to abandon Italy began to be ſuſpected, and ſhook the great authority which he ſtill derived from his military reputation. His officers were every where deſerted on the march by the new levies, who returned to offer their ſervices to Cæſar. His own preſence kept the other parts of the army together, and brought them ſafe to the port from which it was ſuſpected they were to take their departure from Italy. Soon after his arrival at this port he effectually verified theſe ſuſpicions, embarking a great part of his army with the Conſuls, while he himſelf, not having ſufficient ſhipping to tranſport the whole, remained with a ſecond diviſion to wait for the return of his ſhips.

Such was the poſture of Pompey, when Cæſar, with ſix legions, four of veteran troops, and two newly raiſed or completed from thoſe who came over to him on the march, arrived at the gates of Brundiſium. Even here, he never dropt the project of amuſing his enemy with propoſals of peace. Cn. Magius, an officer in the ſervice

[33] Cicer. ad Att. lib. viii. ep. 9.

[34] Ibid. ep. 13. Si mehercule neminem occidet, nec cuiquam quicquam ademerit, ab his qui eum maxime timuerant, maxime diligetur.

[35] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

of

BOOK IV.

of the commonwealth, having been taken on the march, was diſmiſſed with great courteſy, and a meſſage to Pompey, containing a requeſt, that he would admit Cæſar to an interview; and obſerving, that differences are ſoon made up at a conference, which otherwiſe might occaſion many journies and meſſages to no purpoſe.

This pacific meſſage, as in other inſtances, only conſtituted a part in the military plan of Cæſar, and was accompanied with effectual preparations for a blockade and a ſiege. It did not as yet appear, whether Pompey meant to tranſport all his troops, and to abandon Brundiſium, or to keep poſſeſſion of this poſt, in order to retain a paſſage into Italy, and to command both ſides of the gulf. Cæſar, to try his intentions, and either to ſhut him up, or to haſten his departure, obſerving, that the entrance of the harbour was narrow, and might be ſhut up, began an alarming work for this purpoſe. He employed numerous parties to throw ſtones, earth, and other heavy materials into the paſſage between the two moles, and expected, in a little time, to be able to join them, and thus effectually to exclude all communication with the ſea.

In this work the beſiegers advanced, for ſome time, with great rapidity; but being come into deeper water, where the materials they threw in were abſorbed or unſettled, and diſplaced by the motion of the ſea, they found it neceſſary to change their plan, and endeavoured to ſhut up the harbour by means of floating rafts and hulks firmly anchored in the paſſage. In executing this project they were diſturbed by a continual diſcharge of arrows, ſtones, and other miſſile weapons from veſſels in the mouth of the harbour, on which proper engines were mounted for this purpoſe.

While the parties were thus, without intermiſſion, engaged at the entrance of the port, Cæſar again made a ſhew of propoſing a treaty. As he had received no anſwer to his former meſſage by Magius, he affected to deſpair of making any progreſs by direct ap-

plications to Pompey, and ſent into the town Caninius Rebilus, one of his lieutenants, who, being in great intimacy with Scribonius Libo, had directions to make application to him, and, in Cæſar's name, to intreat his good offices in bringing on a negotiation; particularly, if poſſible, in procuring an interview between Pompey and himſelf. Repreſenting to Libo, that if an interview were obtained, ſome way might be diſcovered to ſtop the iſſues of blood, a bleſſing which, in that caſe, would for ever be mentioned as the effect of ſo eſſential a ſervice performed by Scribonius Libo to his country.

Pompey, upon receiving theſe propoſals, which, though addreſſed to Libo, were carried directly to himſelf, made anſwer, That, in the abſence of the Conſuls, he could not treat. In this inſtance, he perceived, no doubt, the inſincerity of Cæſar's pacific declarations, and was not tempted to remit the vigilance of his defence, or the ardour with which he now at laſt prepared for the conteſt: yet he could not altogether prevent one advantage which Cæſar meant to reap from theſe repeated profeſſions of moderation and deſire of peace, that of appearing in the eyes of the People, not the author of the war, but a perſon forced to theſe extremities by the violence and obſtinacy of his enemies.

After the works at the mouth of the harbour of Brundiſium had been continued three days, and had made conſiderable progreſs, the tranſports which had carried the firſt diviſion of Pompey's army returned from Dyrrachium, and, as the paſſage at the mouth of the harbour was ſtill open, he prepared to embark with the remainder of his forces. The inhabitants of the town, being diſaffected to him, were likely to give intelligence to Cæſar of all his motions; and he made no doubt that as ſoon as he ſhould withdraw his guards, they would throw open their gates, and expoſe him to be attacked in his rear, and poſſibly to loſe ſuch part of his army as might be overtaken on ſhore. To provide againſt this event, and to retard Cæſar's entry into the

BOOK IV.

town, he built up the gates with ſolid mortar and ſtone, and traverſed the ſtreets with walls and large ditches repleniſhed with ſharp ſtakes, which were maſked or hid with a ſlight covering of bruſh-wood and earth.

When the legions began to move towards the harbour, the rear guard ſtill endeavoured to preſent the uſual appearances on the ramparts, by occupying every poſt with archers, ſlingers, and other light troops. Theſe being to remain in their poſt while the main body was embarking, had orders, at a ſignal given, to abandon the walls, and to repair on board the tranſports which were ready to receive them.

The troops in Brundiſium thus began to embark in the night, and Cæſar, having immediate intelligence of it from the town, brought forward his ſcaling ladders, and, as ſoon as the ramparts appeared to be deſerted, began to aſcend them in ſeveral places at once, and effected one part of his purpoſe, by gaining the battlements without oppoſition; but when he was about to deſcend from thence into the ſtreets, having notice of the ſnares and obſtructions which were placed in his way, he was obliged to halt, or to advance with ſo much precaution, that the enemy had time to put off from the mole, and get under ſail. Only two tranſports, that ſtruck and were aground on the banks which had been formed or begun at the mouth of the harbour, fell into his hands. The remainder, with the greater part of the Senate, attended by the officers of State and the enſigns of magiſtracy, proceeded in their paſſage to Epirus; thus leaving Cæſar in poſſeſſion of Italy and of the ſeats of government; from which the world could ſcarcely disjoin, in their idea, the right to command.

Cæſar having, in this manner, ſurpriſed the republic, and in ſixty days obliged all his opponents to evacuate Italy, and to leave him ſole maſter of the forces which began to be muſtered againſt him, it is probable, notwithſtanding the queſtion he ſtates relating to the expedience

pedience of following his enemy into Epirus, that he had already taken his reſolution to conſider the reduction of Spain as the next object of conſequence to that of Italy. In that province, which was full of reſources, a regular army of ſeven or eight legions had been for ſome time formed, with an evident purpoſe to keep him in awe. He was threatened therefore with the moſt immediate danger from thence. Some arrangements too were yet wanting for the ſecurity of Italy. The profeſſions which he had made of pacific diſpoſitions, and of zeal for the republic, were to be confirmed by ſhowing a proper reſpect to the forms of the conſtitution, and by endeavouring to reſtore a government which he had actually overthrown.

For theſe reaſons, Cæſar contented himſelf, for the preſent, with having ordered ſhipping to be provided at the port of Brundiſium, that he might amuſe the enemy with appearances of his intending to continue the war on that ſide, or that he might be actually ready to do ſo, when he had elſewhere accompliſhed the purpoſe on which he was bent. Notwithſtanding his pacific declarations, and his oſtentation of clemency on every occaſion, the People ſtill trembled when they ſaw almoſt every citizen of reputation and honour obliged to fly from the ſeats of government, and, in their place, collected from different quarters of Italy, every bankrupt, every outlaw, and every perſon of infamous character[36]. Theſe being at variance with the laws of their country, had flocked to Cæſar, and were received by him under the denomination of the injured and the oppreſſed citizens, whoſe wrongs he was come to redreſs.

With this company, ſtill multiplying around him, having given orders to ſecure Brundiſium from the ſea, and poſted there, and

[36] Cicer. ad Att. lib. ix. ep. 19. Cave autem putis quemquam hominem in Italiam turpem eſſe, qui hinc abſit. Vidi ipſe Formiis univerſos, &c.; et Cicer. ad Att. lib. ix. ep. 1. qui hic poteſt ſe gerere non perditi vita mores ante facta ratio ſuſcepti negotii, ſocii, &c.

BOOK IV.

at Sipontum and Tarentum, each a legion; and having ordered ſhips from every part of the coaſts of Italy and Gaul, he ſet out for Spain, intending, while the troops, with whom he had over-run Italy, took ſome repoſe in quarters, and while thoſe who were deſtined for the ſervice in Spain were on the march, that he himſelf ſhould viſit Rome, and obſerve the aſpect of his party. His father-in-law, Calpurnius Piſo, although, by his relation to Cæſar, hindered from following Pompey, yet would not countenance his ſon-in-law ſo far as to remain in the city to receive him. Marcus Lepidus, then Prætor, was the officer of higheſt rank who continued in his place; and beſide the Tribunes who had been the inſtruments in kindling this war, was the only magiſtrate who reſigned himſelf intirely to the victor's diſpoſal. Among the Tribunes, Cæcilius Metellus, though diſpoſed to have followed the Senate, being detained in the city by the ſacred duties of his function, had taken his reſolution to employ the negative with which he was intruſted, in reſtraining the violations of law and government, which were to be expected in ſuch a ſcene as was now to be opened at Rome.

Cicero, upon the commencement of hoſtilities, having ſtill the enſigns of Proconſul, was appointed to inſpect the levies and other affairs of the republic on the coaſts of Campania and Latium. Upon Pompey's retreat, he remained in this ſtation with a mind overwhelmed with perplexity and irreſolution. He affected reſpect and gratitude to Pompey, though he ſurely owed him no obligation, bore him no real affection, and blamed him highly for his flight from Italy; but in the laſt perhaps he only meant to juſtify himſelf for not having immediately joined him in his retreat, and for not having embarked with more deciſion in the cauſe. He ſincerely lamented the ſtate of the republic, of which he now certaintly deſpaired, and only wiſhed to ſteer a courſe, the ſafeſt he could for his own reputation and his perſon.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar, in the beginning of this conteſt, had contributed much to perplex the reſolution of Cicero, who generally ſaw ſo many objects in every queſtion of State, that it was difficult for him to decide between them. He had been kept undetermined by means of a flattering correſpondence, in which Cæſar made repeated applications for his good offices towards preventing the preſent troubles. Being now in the way of Cæſar from Brundiſium to Rome, he was honoured with a perſonal interview; at which, ſays Cicero to his friend Atticus, I ſhall ſtudy rather to appear an object of his reſpect than of his liking. He accordingly, on that occaſion, reſiſted his flattery, and withſtood his intreaties to attend a meeting of the Senate, which Cæſar had ordered to be aſſembled by a meſſenger diſpatched from Formiæ. Cæſar appeared to be piqued at this refuſal: "It will be ſuppoſed "you condemn me," he ſaid, "and others will be led by your ex-"ample." Cicero replied, "That his caſe was different from that of "others who had leſs connection with Pompey." "Come, then," continued Cæſar, "and treat of an accommodation with Pompey." "Shall I be at liberty to do ſo in my own way?" "Who will reſtrain "you?" "Shall I move the Senate then, that the war ſhall not be "carried into Spain, nor into Greece? Shall I lament the treatment "which Pompey has received?" "That indeed," ſaid Cæſar, "I "ſhall not like to have ſaid." "I thought ſo," replied the other, "and choſe to abſent myſelf." At parting, Cæſar deſired him to conſider of the matter. "If you deſert me," he ſaid, "I muſt have "recourſe to other counſels, and know not what I may be forced to "do [37]."

Upon the arrival of Cæſar in the ſuburbs of Rome, ſuch of the Senators as were in the city, or in the neighbourhood, aſſembled at his ſummons. He opened the meeting by enumerating the wrongs

[37] Cicer. ad Atticum. lib. ix. ep. 18.

he

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he had received, and by loading his opponents with the guilt of the preſent war. " He never had aſpired," he ſaid, " to unprecedented " honours. The office of Conſul was now again open to him by " the laws of the commonwealth; and the Roman People had diſ- " penſed with his perſonal attendance in ſuing for it. An act to " this purpoſe," he ſaid, " had been obtained in the faireſt and moſt " conſtitutional manner. Ten Tribunes had concurred in propoſing " it. His enemies, particularly Cato himſelf, had been heard at full " length againſt it, and had practiſed his uſual artifice for diſappoint- " ing the Senate or the People, by prolonging the debates. Pompey " himſelf was Conſul when this act was paſſed. If he diſapproved of " the act, why did he not oppoſe it then? If he approved of it, why " rob him now of the privilege it beſtowed? He reminded this meet- " ing of the moderation with which he himſelf had offered to reſign " his command, while others were ſo tenacious of theirs; or while " they impoſed conditions on him, to which they themſelves would " not ſubmit, and choſe to throw the State into confuſion, rather than " abate the leaſt of their own pretenſions. He obſerved, that his " enemies had made uſe of a falſe pretence to call off two legions " from his army; that they had violated the ſacred character of the " Tribunes, who were guilty of no offence, but that of protecting " him againſt the oppreſſion of his enemies; that they had rejected " all offers of an accommodation, or even of a conference.

" He now exhorted the Senate not to deſert the commonwealth, " nor to oppoſe ſuch as, in concert with him, might endeavour to " reſtore the government; but if they ſhould ſhrink in this arduous " taſk, he ſhould not preſs it upon them. He knew how to act for " himſelf. If his opinion were followed, deputies ſhould be now " ſent from the Senate to Pompey, with intreaties, that he would ſpare " the republic. He knew, that Pompey had formerly objected to " to his having any ſuch deputation ſent to himſelf, conſidering ſuch

" advances as a conceſſion of right in him to whom they were made,
" or of fear in thoſe who made them. Theſe, he ſaid, were the
" reflections of a narrow mind; for his own part, as he wiſhed to
" overcome his enemies in the field, ſo he wiſhed to excel them in
" acts of generoſity and candour."

Such were the colours in which this artful man endeavoured to diſguiſe his cauſe; and while he took effectual meaſures to maintain it by force, employed likewiſe an inſinuation, and an eloquence not leſs dangerous than his ſword. The propoſals of a treaty were received in this meeting with joy; but no man was willing, after having aſſiſted at ſuch a meeting of the Senate, to hazard his perſon in Pompey's camp.

While Cæſar, to reconcile all men to his cauſe, affected clemency even to thoſe who were taken in arms againſt him, Pompey, ſuppoſing himſelf entruſted with the powers and ſeverities of the law, had threatened to employ thoſe powers and ſeverities to the utmoſt extent againſt every perſon who ſtaid behind him at Rome. *Proſcription* and *maſſacre* of thoſe who abandoned the commonwealth were the ordinary language at his quarters [38]. He propoſed to operate in this caſe by fear alone, and had forgotten, that legal government itſelf, on certain occaſions, with all its authorities and powers, ſtands in need of inſinuation and of popular arts.

Cæſar, in taking the oppoſite tone, and in affecting to commit his affairs to the iſſue of a fair negotiation and treaty, relied on the difficulties that were likely to occur in the conduct of any negotiation; or he preſumed upon theſe difficulties in making offers which he did not wiſh his enemies to accept. His intention was to load his antagoniſt with the blame of a war which, it is probable, he had a long time been deviſing. If he had really meant to

[38] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. viii. ep. 11.

renew

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renew his former concerts with Pompey, he would have employed again the ſame concealed methods by which thoſe concerts had been formerly obtained, and would not have intruſted the mediation to the Senate, a body which, however compoſed, had a natural claim to authority, and might have carried their negotiations farther than he propoſed. He had ever entertained a ſerious averſion to the name and pretenſions of the Senate. Being altogether indifferent to public intereſts of every ſort, the mediocrity of parts, that muſt ever appear in the majority of ſuch a body, was to him an object of contempt. He had eſpouſed the cauſe of every faction, of every tumult, of every criminal againſt them; and, at one time, rather than be ſubject to their authority, had propoſed, that Pompey himſelf ſhould tranſport this army from Aſia to uſurp the government. Even the few Senators, who, upon the former occaſion, from indifference to public queſtions, or from a diſpoſition to favour his cauſe, had remained in the city, became the objects of his diſguſt. Many of them, though willing to be his inſtruments, were not yet formed for his purpoſe. When he affected to treat them with reſpect, they received his addreſſes as matter of right; when he propoſed any meaſure, they took the matter into ſerious conſideration, and affected to deliberate of what was to be done. "He deteſts the Senate," ſaid Curio to Cicero, "now more "than ever; he will leave them no authority. I meant to have "held my commiſſion by a fictitious decree of that body: but he "ſaid, I ſhould hold it of himſelf; and that every honour, and every "power ſhould be derived from him [39]."

Cæſar, however, meant to make this remnant of a legal aſſembly the tools of every ungracious or improper meaſure he had occaſion to execute, and, in particular, to avail himſelf of their authority in ſeizing the public money. Pompey, before he left Rome, had been

[39] Cicer. ad Att. lib. x. ep. 4.

authoriſed

authoriſed to draw from the treaſures of the commonwealth whatever money he wanted for the ſervice. At his departure, he ordered the whole to be removed; and the Conſul Lentulus was about to execute this order, when a ſudden alarm of Cæſar's approach obliged him to deſiſt, and left him time only to carry away the keys of the publick repoſitories. Cæſar now moved the Senate, that the doors ſhould be opened; and that the public money ſhould be iſſued from thence to defray the expence of the war[40]. To this motion the Tribune Metellus Celer oppoſed his negative; and Cæſar, diſdaining any longer to wear a maſk which ſubjected him to the obſervance of inſignificant forms, proceeded to the treaſury, and ordered the doors to be forced. The Tribune had the boldneſs to place himſelf in the way, and was about to reduce Cæſar to the diſagreeable alternative of being diſappointed of his purpoſe, or of rendering himſelf the object of popular deteſtation, by violating the ſacred perſon of a Tribune, from a veneration to which, he himſelf profeſſed to have undertaken the war. On this occaſion, contrary to his uſual character, he appeared to have loſt his temper, and threatened Metellus with immediate death. "This," he ſaid, "is eaſier for me "to execute than to utter." It was thought, that if the Tribune had perſiſted, not only this officer, but numbers of Senators, and many of the more reſpectable citizens, whom he conſidered as enemies and promoters of the Tribune's contumacy, would have been involved in a general maſſacre. "Think not," ſaid Curio, in relating theſe particulars to Cicero, "that his clemency proceeds from "temper, or is ſecured to you by any real diſpoſition of his mind. "It is a mere effect of his policy; he is naturally indifferent to "blood, and, if he is provoked, will make it to run in the "kennels[41]."

[40] Dio. Caſſius, lib. xli. c. 17 & 18.

[41] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. x. ep. 4.

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The Tribune Metellus, however, when matters were coming to this extremity, ſuffered himſelf to be removed. The doors were forced open, all the money was taken from thence, even the ſacred depoſit, ſuppoſed to have remained from the time of the rebuilding of Rome after its deſtruction by the Gauls, and ſtill kept as a reſource for the utmoſt exigency of publick affairs, was now carried off. I have ſubdued the Gauls, ſaid Cæſar, and there is no longer any need of ſuch proviſion againſt them. He is ſaid, on this occaſion, to have carried off in bars, 25,000 lb. [42] of gold, 35,000 lb. [43] of ſilver, and in coin, 40,000,000 Roman money [44].

After this act of violence, it appears that Cæſar diſtruſted the affections of the people. He had propoſed to harangue them in a publick audience, which had been appointed for that purpoſe; but apprehending that he might be expoſed to inſult from ſome one in the crowd, he declined that ſolemnity, even avoided the public view altogether, and having paſſed but a few days at Rome, ſet out for Spain ſullen and diſpleaſed. It was no longer a doubt, that his victories led to the ſubverſion of the republic, and of every ſpecies of civil government whatever [45].

Marcus Emilius Lepidus, who, as has been obſerved, was at this time Prætor, and the officer of higheſt rank then at Rome, was left to govern in the city. Mark Antony had the command of Cæſar's forces in Italy; and by the uſe which he made of his power, treating perſons of the moſt reſpectable condition with great inſolence, and indulging himſelf in all the extravagance of debauch, for which his genius appears to have been peculiarly fitted, increaſed the diſ-

According to Arbuthnot, ch. 18.

[42]	£678,125	0	0	
[43]	94,937	10	0	
[44]	322,916	13	4	Vid. Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.
	£1,095,982	3	4	

45 Cic. ad Att. lib. x. ep. 4.

mal

mal apprehenſions of the public. He is ſaid to have travelled through Italy himſelf in an open litter, with Citheridé, a celebrated actreſs, followed by ſeven other carriages repleniſhed with courtezans, and even attended by his wife Fulvia, the widow of the late famous Clodius, who, to enjoy her huſband's ſtate, and partake with him in the licence of his military power, connived at his infidelities, and made a part in this ſcandalous train [46]. The whole, a lively ſpecimen of the purpoſe for which the accomplices of Cataline, and many of the followers of Cæſar wiſhed to be maſters of the republic, and a foretaſte of the wanton caprice with which this overgrown republic, ſo long a prey to outrageous faction, was now likely to be made the ſubject and the ſport of a military uſurpation.

Soon after hoſtilities had commenced, Cotta had been ſent to command for the republic in Sardinia, and Cato to command in Sicily. Cæſar, when about to carry the war into Spain, thought it neceſſary, if poſſible, to get the poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands, as well as to reduce Pompey's forces in every other part of the empire. Having ſtationed Dolabella, with C. Antonius, on the coaſt of Illyricum, he ordered Valerius, with a proper force, into Sardinia, and Curio, with three legions, to attack Cato in Sicily. The Sardinians, hearing that one of Cæſar's officers was appointed, in his name, to take poſſeſſion of their iſland, declared for his intereſt, took arms againſt Cotta, and obliged him to fly into Africa, where he joined Atius Varus, who had occupied that province in the name of the republic.

Cato, ſome time after his nomination to command in Sicily, and while there were any hopes of a negotiation, remained at Capua, then the quarters of Pompey, in order to give his aſſiſtance in forming an accommodation, the leaſt ruinous that could be obtained for the commonwealth. On Pompey's retreat into Apulia, he went into

[46] Cic. ad Att. lib. x. & xiii.

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Sicily, and the province being unprovided with every means of defence, he gave orders to repair, and to build ſhips in all the ports of the iſland, and in thoſe of the neighbouring coaſt of Italy. He had likewiſe ordered all the towns to furniſh their quota of troops; but had not been able to aſſemble any force, when Curio landed at Meſſina, with the two legions deſtined by Cæſar to take poſſeſſion of the iſland. Senſible that any attempts to reſiſt this force would only expoſe the lives of a few well-affected citizens or ſubjects, who might on this occaſion be diſpoſed to ſupport him as an officer of the republic, he diſcontinued his military preparations, and withdrew from the iſland.

This officer had often diſapproved of Pompey's conduct; and on this occaſion, complained particularly of the defenceleſs ſtate in which he had ſuffered the republic to be ſurpriſed in all its poſſeſſions. Cæſar, who no doubt wiſhed to have the ſuffrage of ſuch a citizen, and of his own enemy againſt Pompey, repreſents Cato as complaining that he was betrayed, that the Senate had been deceived, and that the war itſelf was unneceſſary [47]. The conduct of Pompey, not only as a citizen, but as an officer of ſtate and as a ſoldier, has been cenſured in many parts of this memorable conteſt; and it is indeed eaſy to ſpy faults after the event, and when experience has expoſed them to view. Cæſar himſelf is ſaid to have cenſured him for abandoning Italy; and it is probable would have reſpected him more, if in executing this reſolution, inſtead of paſſing into Macedonia, he had gone to the head of his army in Spain. His celebrated ſaying, in leaving Brundiſium, when he was about to carry the war into that country, implied an opinion to this purpoſe, "We go," he ſaid, "from this "general who has no army, to an army that has no general."

Cæſar's own diſpoſition of his forces, as has been already mentioned, in aſſigning what appeared to have been the reaſons of his

[47] Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. xxx.

conduct,

conduct, had been made with the greateſt ability; and the more, that they gave him the appearance of a perſon acting without deſign, and ſuddenly forced to the meaſures which he embraced. In talking of ordinary men, we may err in imputing too much to deſign and concert; but with reſpect to Cæſar, the miſtake to be feared, is not perceiving the whole extent of his foreſight and plan. He at once armed himſelf with a military force, and artfully guarded the appearances under which he was to uſe it. When the Senate paſſed their reſolution againſt him, he ſeemed to be caught unprepared to reſiſt; but the Senate was ſtill leſs prepared to attack. He had artfully avoided giving them any cauſe of ſuſpicion, by any unneceſſary aſſemblage of forces on the ſide of Italy, while he had ſufficient ſtrength to take the full benefit of the conſternation into which they were thrown by his firſt alarm. Though long meditating the invaſion of Rome with an army, he contrived an incident, in the flight of the Tribunes, to make it appear the effect of a ſudden provocation, and of his zeal in a popular cauſe. When we conſider that Mark Antony was the Tribune who furniſhed this pretence, there is no doubt that Cæſar had his choice of the time at which it ſhould be preſented to him.

At this conjuncture, the greater part of his army ſtill remained beyond the Alps, and in the preciſe ſituation in which they were moſt likely to be wanted to encounter the firſt conſiderable difficulty that would probably ariſe in the war, from the veteran legions which had been levied for Pompey, and which were ſtationed under Afranius and Petreius in Spain [48]. If theſe legions had attempted to paſs the Pyrennees, the army of Cæſar was ſtationed in Gaul to intercept them, and he was accordingly ſecure of being able to finiſh the war in Italy, without any interruption from thence. When this ſervice was effected, his army in Gaul remained in the moſt advantageous

[48] See p. 374. 378, 379. the preceding parts of this chapter.

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poſition, from which to enter upon what was likely to become the ſecond object of his enterprize, the reduction of Spain.

The antagoniſts of Cæſar, without any apprehenſion of theſe diſpoſitions, and perfectly ſecure before hoſtilities commenced, were completely ſurpriſed, overwhelmed, and routed in every quarter on which they attempted to make any defence. Armies indeed had been formed in Italy, according to the ſaying of Pompey, *at the ſtamp of his foot*; but they were armies that ſerved the purpoſe of his enemies, not that of the republic, or his own; and though raiſed to ſecure Italy againſt Cæſar, became in the reduction of Italy itſelf an acceſſion to his force, and were ready to be ſent in ſeparate diviſions to occupy different provinces of the empire in his name; inſomuch, that while Cæſar himſelf, with the ſtrength of the veteran legions with which he had conquered Gaul, haſtened into Spain to reduce what was the moſt formidable part of his rival's power, his officers were detached with ſeparate bodies of theſe newly acquired troops, into Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa.

Pompey, although he had never viſited his government in perſon, nor ſought for occaſions of war, as Cæſar, in order to form his army and inure them to ſervice, had done in Gaul, had nevertheleſs formed a great military eſtabliſhment, conſiſting of ſeven Roman legions, with five thouſand horſe, and eighty cohorts of provincial infantry, equal in number to eight legions more; and Cæſar had reaſon to believe, that this great force, if the war could have been protracted in Italy, would have come upon his rear, cut off his reſources in Gaul, or obliged him to defend himſelf on the north of the Alps. He accordingly, inſtead of bringing into Italy the legions that lay in the low countries, or the interior parts of his province, had moved them only to the neighbourhood of Narbonne, to be near the confines of Spain, from which this ſtorm was to be dreaded; and meant, if the ſucceſs of his affairs in Italy ſhould admit of it, that theſe legions ſhould croſs

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croſs the Pyrennees, and fix the ſcene of the war amidſt his rival's poſſeſſions.

Spain had been formerly divided into two provinces, under two ſeparate Roman governors; but the whole being united under Pompey, was committed by him to three lieutenants, Varro, Petreius, and Afranius. The firſt commanded, from the river Guadiana weſtward to the extremities of Luſitania [49] and Gallicia; the ſecond, from the Guadiana caſtward to the mountains of Murcia; and the third, from thence to the Pyrennees.

Soon after the war broke out in Italy, Pompey ſent Vibullius into Spain, with orders to theſe officers to aſſemble their forces, and to prepare for the defence of their province. Varro affected indifference in the quarrel, or an equal regard to the oppoſite parties concerned in it. An accident, he ſaid, had placed him under the command of Pompey; but he had an equal attachment to Cæſar. The other two, from regard to the commonwealth, or from fidelity to their commander in chief, engaged with more zeal in the cauſe. They determined, in concert with Vibullius, to leave Varro in the weſtern province, while they themſelves drew the principal part of their force towards the eaſtern frontier; and by occupying the paſſes of the mountains, or ſome ſtrong poſt on the Ebro, endeavoured to defend the country entruſted to their care, until Pompey ſhould either arrive in perſon to take the command on himſelf, or until, having rallied his forces in Macedonia, he ſhould bring the ſcene of the war again into Italy. For this purpoſe, they took poſt at Ilerda [50], a place of ſtrength on the Segro, and about twenty miles above the confluence of this river with the Cinea; Afranius with three legions, Petreius with two more, together with five thouſand horſe, and eighty cohorts of provincial infantry.

[49] Portugal.

[50] Now called Lerida.

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Such were the diſpoſitions that were making in Spain, when Cæſar, having expelled his rival from Italy, took poſſeſſion of Rome, and having paſſed a few days in that city, in the manner above related, ſet out for his army in the province of Narbonne.

Being to paſs by Marſeilles, he intended to take poſſeſſion of that city; but the inhabitants were already diſpoſed to favour his antagoniſts, and ſhut their gates againſt him. This ancient Greek colony, after having long defended their ſettlement againſt the rude tribes in their neighbourhood, had placed themſelves at laſt unde the protection of the Romans; but with a reſerve of all their immunities, and an exemption from all the burdens of a Roman province. Cæſar propoſed to have entered their city as a neutral place, and to prevail on the citizens to receive him, cited the examples of Rome itſelf, and of all the other cities of Italy who had opened their gates, and given a paſſage to his army, without taking any part in the preſent diſputes. To this propoſal, the people of Marſeilles made anſwer, That in every caſe where the Romans were divided among themſelves, every ally in their ſituation muſt ſo far preſerve their neutrality, as not to receive the forces of either party within their walls; and that in the preſent caſe particularly, they lay under ſuch high obligations to the leaders of both parties, that they muſt carefully avoid giving offence to either.

It ſoon after appeared, however, that this plauſible anſwer was intended merely to gain time. Vibullius had paſſed by Marſeilles in his way to Spain, and had delivered to the people of that place a meſſage from Pompey, with aſſurances of ſupport; on which they fully relied. The receipt of this meſſage, was followed by a reſolution to admit the officers and men of Pompey's party into their town, and to exclude his antagoniſts.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, after he had been diſmiſſed from Corfinium, no ways affected by the oſtentatious clemency of Cæſar, had, in

in purſuance of the Senate's appointment to the government of Gaul, repaired to that province, raiſed ſome troops, with which he was expected to take poſſeſſion of Marſeilles, and actually, in a few days after this anſwer was given to Cæſar, entered the harbour of that place with ſeven ſhips, and ſome land forces on board. Upon his arrival, the people of this republic called in to their aſſiſtance the force of ſome neighbouring cantons from the mountains; repaired their fortifications; repleniſhed their magazines; employed many hands in fabricating arms; and took every other precaution that was neceſſary, in caſe they ſhould be attacked, to enable them to make a vigorous defence.

Cæſar being greatly provoked, inveſted the town with an army of three legions; and having ordered ſome ſhips to be built on the Rhône, prepared to aſſail it at once by ſea and by land. He committed the attack by land to Trebonius; and that from the ſea to Decimus Brutus. While he was making theſe preparations, a report prevailed that Pompey was paſſing the ſeas into Africa, and intended, with the troops which were in that province, and a body of Numidian cavalry, to reinforce, and to take the command of his army in Spain. It is probable that Cæſar, in like circumſtances, would have even taken a ſhorter road to the head of his army. He appears at leaſt to have believed this report of his enemy, or to have thought it extremely probable, and to have been ſomewhat alarmed. As if the proſpect of meeting with Pompey, having under his direction a well-appointed and regular force, had rendered him doubtful of the affections of his own men, he mentions an artifice practiſed by himſelf on this occaſion, which may be conſidered as a ſpecimen of his addreſs, and of the influence which he employed with his army. He borrowed money from the officers, and gave it in gratuities to the ſoldiers; thus taking a pledge for the fidelity of the one, and purchſiang that of the others by his bounty.

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While Cæſar was yet employed in opening the ſiege of Marſeilles, he ordered Fabius, who commanded his forces at Narbonne, to advance into the Pyrennees; and if the paſſes were open or ſlightly guarded, to penetrate into Spain, and occupy ſome advantageous ſtation on the frontier of that country. This officer accordingly, having forced the paſſes of the Pyrennees, penetrated to the Segra, or, as it was then called, the Sicoris; and took poſt on the right of this river, in the front of the united armies of Afranius and Petreius, who were encamped near the town of Ilerda.

Fabius, not to be interrupted by occaſional floods in his communication with the country through which he had paſſed, and to keep open the ordinary route from Gaul, laid two bridges upon it, at the diſtance of four miles from each other. By theſe communications, he was chiefly ſupplied with proviſions; and as the Spaniſh army had an eaſy acceſs by the bridge of Ilerda to intercept his ſupplies, it was neceſſary to cover every convoy and foraging party with numerous and powerful eſcorts. Two intire legions, under the command of Plancus, had marched on this ſervice, and were to be followed by a body of cavalry. After the infantry had paſſed the river, and the cavalry was entered on the bridge, it broke down, and deprived thoſe who were already over, of any communication with the camp. The timber and wreck of the bridge floating by the town of Ilerda, gave the enemy intimation of what had happened, and ſuggeſted the deſign to ſcour the country on the left of the Segra, with a powerful detachment, in order to intercept any parties who might by this accident be cut off from the main body of the army. For this purpoſe, Afranius marched with four legions, and might have taken or deſtroyed thoſe who remained under Plancus on the left of the river, if this officer had not retired to a height, on which he was able for ſome time to reſiſt the ſuperior numbers of his enemy. In the mean while, Fabius ſuſpecting the danger to which his

his detachment was expoſed, diſpatched two legions more by the other bridge to ſupport the former. On the appearance of this reinforcement, Afranius, whoſe plan in the preſent campaign was altogether defenſive, thought proper to retire, without hazarding an action, in which he might be expoſed to a too haſty deciſion of the cauſe. CHAP. V.

Two days after this adventure, Cæſar, with an eſcort of nine hundred horſe, arrived in the camp of Fabius. Having examined the ſituation of both armies, and ordered the bridge on the Segra to be rebuilt, he proceeded as uſual to act on the offenſive, and to occupy the enemy's attention with ſucceſſive operations againſt them, by which he left them no leiſure to form any deſigns of their own. It was his fortune, indeed, in this and other periods of the preſent war, to need a ſpeedy deciſion, which made him take meaſures that forced his enemies to remain on the defenſive, and inſpired his men with a notion of their own ſuperiority; an opinion which, after it has been ſome time received, ſeldom fails to verify itſelf.

In a few days after his arrival, he advanced with his army in three diviſions to the foot of the hill on which the Spaniſh army was encamped, and while they continued to obſerve, and endeavoured to penetrate his intentions, he began to break ground, and to make a lodgment for himſelf in that place. That his purpoſe might not be known, until the work was conſiderably advanced, he kept the firſt and ſecond lines under arms, and ordered the third, without raiſing a parapet, or planting their paliſades; to ſink a ditch fifteen feet wide, and of a ſufficient length to cover his front. This being done, he retired with his whole army behind it, and ordered them to lie upon their arms all night. Under cover of this temporary entrenchment, he on the following day completed the uſual fortifications of his camp, and brought forward the tents and baggage of his army, which till then had remained under a proper guard on his former ground.

Being now in poſſeſſion of a poſt within four hundred paces, or leſs than half a mile of the enemy's lines; and having a view of the

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ground which lay between their camp and the town of Ilerda, extending about three hundred paces, and moſtly plain, with a ſmall height in the middle of it, he formed a project to ſeize this height; and knowing that the enemy lodged their magazines and ſtores in Ilerda, propoſed to cut off their communication with the town. In this view, he drew up a body of three legions in a proper poſition, from which to execute his purpoſe; and ordered the front rank[*] from one of thoſe legions to ſtart from their colours, and with the utmoſt ſpeed to gain the height which he intended to occupy. The ſudden movement of this body explained his deſign to the enemy, and they inſtantly put all the piquets and extraordinary guards of their camp in motion to prevent its effects. Having a nearer way, and the advantage of the ground, they prevented Cæſar's party; and being in poſſeſſion of the height before they came up, repulſed and beat them back to their main body. Here too, they purſued their advantage; and as they ruſhed with little regard to order, but with an appearance of undaunted courage, on the flanks as well as the front of the legions which Cæſar had advanced, they put the whole in ſome degree of confuſion, and forced them back to the heights in their rear.

While the leaders of the Spaniſh army probably committed an error in not redoubling their blow, or remained in ſuſpence, Cæſar iſſued from his camp with a freſh legion to ſupport the flying diviſion of his army, obliged the enemy to retire in their turn, and having overtaken them before they could reach their camp, obliged them to take refuge under the walls of the town.

The ground at the foot of theſe walls was ſteep, and the acceſs to it was by lanes and narrow ways. Thither the troops, with whom Cæſar had renewed the action, fluſhed with victory, had followed the enemy, and got into a ſituation in which they could not gain any advantage, nor retire without loſs. The parties however continued to ſkirmiſh during five hours, and being continually reinforced from

[*] Unius Legionis Antefignanos. Cæſar. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. c. 43.

their reſpective armies, a general engagement was likely to enſue on ground extremely unfavourable to Cæſar. CHAP. V.

In order to extricate himſelf with the leaſt poſſible appearance of diſgrace, he ordered a general charge, and having drove his antagoniſts before him to the foot of the wall, he ſounded a retreat from thence, and brought off his men, before the enemy could rally or return to the purſuit.

In this manner, Cæſar retired to his camp with conſiderable loſs, and foiled in his deſign; but on account of the laſt impreſſion he made on the enemy, with ſome pretenſions to a victory, of which, to ſupport the courage of his troops, he did not neglect to avail himſelf.

In a few days after this miſcarriage, the army of Cæſar ſuffered a worſe and more alarming calamity. The ſummer being far advanced, and the ſnow on the Pyrennees melting, all the rivers which are ſupplied from thence, roſe of a ſudden to their greateſt height. The Segra carried off both the bridges erected by Fabius, and baffled all the endeavours that were uſed to reſtore them. As often as any attempt was made for this purpoſe, the work was interrupted by the enemy from the oppoſite bank, or the materials were ſwept away by the flood. Neither the Segra nor the Cinca were paſſable, and the country between them, though extending in breadth about thirty miles, being exhauſted, could no longer furniſh any ſupply of proviſions to Cæſar's camp.

About the time that the army began to feel their diſtreſs, a convoy which arrived from Gaul, conſiſting of many carriages, eſcorted by a large body of Gauliſh horſe, and accompanied with many officers and perſons of diſtinction, who came to witneſs the glories of this campaign, the whole, together with their attendants and equipage, amounting to about ſix thouſand men, were attacked by Afranius, and with great loſs obliged to take refuge in the neighbouring mountains.

In

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In conſequence of this diſaſter, and under the ſenſe of the preſent, and apprehenſion of the future diſtreſs, the modius [51] of corn ſold in Cæſar's camp for fifty denarii, or at the rate of thirty ſhillings a peck. All their attempts to procure a ſupply were fruſtrated by the difficulties of their ſituation, or by the vigilance of the enemy. As the height of the floods was a permanent effect of the ſeaſon, in ſwelling every river which deſcends from mountains that retain their ſnow in the ſummer, and as the enemy were plentifully ſupplied from their magazines in the town of Ilerda, or had, by the bridge of that place, an open communication with the fertile country which is now named Catalonia on their right, Cæſar could have no immediate proſpect of relief. The Spaniſh army accordingly triumphed in their good fortune, and ſent exaggerated accounts of their advantage to all parts of Spain, to Italy, and to Macedonia. Many perſons, who had hitherto heſitated in the choice of their party, were now determined. Varro began to exert himſelf in his province, and levied two entire new legions in the name of Pompey. Many haſtened from Italy into Macedonia, to be the carriers of ſuch agreeable tidings, or to have the merit of declaring themſelves of the party of the republic, while the iſſue of the war yet remained in any degree of ſuſpence.

The triumphs, however, which anticipate events are often deceitful; and, by the overweening ſecurity and confidence which they inſpire, give an able enemy great advantage, even in his diſtreſs, or facilitate the changes of fortune in his favour. Afranius and Petreius, while they truſted to the ordinary courſe of the ſeaſons, were not ſufficiently upon their guard againſt the ſuperior reſources of ſo able an adverſary. They ſuffered him to build, unobſerved, a number of boats, upon a conſtruction which his workmen had learned in

[51] Little more than a peck.

Britain;

Britain; having a keel in the ordinary form, and ſome timbers of ſtrength on the ſides; but, inſtead of plank, finiſhed between theſe timbers with baſket-work and covered with hides. Theſe veſſels being of eaſy carriage, were tranſported by land about twenty miles above Cæſar's camp; and in a firſt embarkation ferried over a party ſufficient to make a lodgement on the oppoſite bank. Cæſar continued to reinforce this party, until, having an entire legion intrenched on that ſide, he ventured to employ his carpenters openly in conſtructing a bridge, which they began at once from both ſides of the river. This work was completed in two days, and again gave him acceſs to the left of the Segra, where he ſurpriſed ſome of the enemy's parties, and procured immediate relief by a ſupply of proviſions to his own camp. CHAP. V.

About the time that Cæſar had effected this change in the ſtate of his army, he had news of a naval fight on the coaſt of Gaul, in which his fleet, under Decimus Brutus, had defeated that of the enemy, and given a ſpeedy proſpect of the reduction of Marſeilles. This report, together with the diſappointment he had recently given to the hopes of his enemies, had at once all the effects of victory, and made him appear more formidable than he was ſuppoſed to be, even before the diſtreſſes which he had lately experienced. His antagoniſts, from a ſtate of ſanguine expectation, ſunk into a proportional degree of deſpondency, and became ſo much in awe of his ſuperior conduct, that they abandoned the country on the left of the Segra to his foragers, and never ventured, except in the night, to go abroad for the neceſſary ſupplies of their own camp. Theſe events affected the natives of the country in a ſtill higher degree, and brought them from every quarter to make a tender of their ſervices in ſupplying Cæſar with proviſions, or in ſeconding him in his military operations.

In conjunction with the natives, who were now become his allies, Cæſar again found himſelf in condition to act on the offenſive, and to deviſe new alarms for the enemy. His firſt object was to render the paſſage of the river at all times practicable; and as he had failed

in

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in his purpoſe of ſeparating the Spaniſh army from the town of Herda, he now propoſed to extend his command of the country, and to form a chain of poſts, by which he might circumſcribe the town itſelf, together with the enemy's camp, which depended upon it.

The bridge which he had lately built was at too great a diſtance, and he experienced the inſecurity of ſuch communications over torrents, which came with ſuch force and ſo much inequality from the mountains. Inſtead, therefore, of attempting to erect any more bridges, he propoſed to render the river fordable, by ſeparating its courſe into many different channels; and for this purpoſe made a number of cuts, of about thirty feet deep, through the plain, to receive as much of the waters of the Segra as might ſufficiently drain the principal ſtream.

The enemy, as ſoon as they underſtood the purpoſe of theſe operations, were greatly alarmed. They foreſaw that Cæſar, having the paſſage of the river ſecured, might command its oppoſite banks below, as well as above the town of Ilerda, block up the bridge of that place, and, with the aid of the country around him, which, ſince the late defection of its inhabitants, was ready to ſupport him in all his deſigns, might have it in his power to prevent their ſupplies, and diſtreſs them, in their turn, for want of proviſions.

To remove from a ſituation in which they were expoſed to ſo many evils, they reſolved inſtantly to abandon their preſent ſtation, and to retire beyond the Ebro, where the people, either from fear or affection, were ſtill in their intereſt. They proceeded to the execution of this purpoſe with much ſeeming precaution and foreſight. Having fixed upon a proper place at which to lay a bridge over the Ebro, they ordered all the boats, within a certain diſtance on that river and on the Segra, to be collected together for that purpoſe. They placed a proper garriſon in Ilerda, to check the motions of the enemy in their rear, or if he attempted to reduce that place, to

employ

employ his forces until they themſelves ſhould have effected their retreat, and made their arrangements in the new poſition they intended to take.

As their firſt movement in filing off from their preſent encampment, and in paſſing through the town of Ilerda, incumbered with all their baggage, was likely to detain them ſome time in preſence of the enemy, and expoſed them to the attacks of his cavalry and light troops, they intended no more, on the firſt day, than to file off by the bridge; and they fixed on a poſt at which they might halt on the left of the Segra, and make the proper diſpoſitions to continue their march. This poſt they ſent two legions before them to occupy and to ſecure.

Having taken theſe preparatory ſteps, they decamped, defiled without moleſtation through the town of Ilerda, and came to the ground on which they had taken care to ſecure their reception; here they halted until the middle of the night, when they again were in motion. They had a plain of ſome miles before them, bounded by a ridge of hills, which they were to paſs in their way to the Ebro. They might be expoſed to Cæſar's light troops in croſſing this plain; but as ſoon as they reached the mountains, they could, by ſecuring the paſſes in their rear, effectually prevent any further attack from the enemy. Thither they accordingly directed their march; but Cæſar, who had obſerved their intentions, and who had ſo far ſucceeded in his operations on the river as to be able to ford it with his horſe, ſent the greater part of his cavalry, in the beginning of the night, with orders to hang upon the rear of the enemy, and by all poſſible means to retard their progreſs.

This ſervice the cavalry performed with ſo much ſucceſs, that at break of day the Spaniſh army, in conſequence of the frequent interruptions they had received, were ſtill to be ſeen from Cæſar's camp. The cavalry, as often as the enemy got in motion, were obſerved

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to attack them, but when the enemy halted, appeared to ſtop or retire, and were purſued in their turn. The army of Cæſar being ſpectators of this ſcene became extremely impatient, and with the greateſt ardour preſſed to be led againſt the enemy. Even officers crowded to their general, and begged they might be allowed to try the ford; they obſerved of what conſequence it was, that an enemy who had been driven with ſo much labour from one poſt, ſhould not be ſuffered to retire in ſafety to another ſituation, from which they might renew the war.

Cæſar, affecting to be moved by theſe repreſentations, and to be prevailed upon to do what it is probable he earneſtly deſired, inſtantly made his diſpoſitions to paſs the river. He ſelected the leaſt firm and vigorous men of every cohort for the guard of the camp; placed lines of horſe in the river above and below the ford, to break the force of the ſtream, and tc ſave thoſe who might be overpowered by the ſtrength of the current; in this manner he paſſed his infantry between the double lines of cavalry without the loſs of a man. They had a circuit of ſix miles to make, in order to avoid the town of Ilerda; but notwithſtanding this delay, and the advantage which Afranius and Petreius had gained by beginning their march at midnight, and by their not being diſcovered until it was day, ſuch were the interruptions given by the cavalry, and the ſpeed with which the legions of Cæſar advanced, that they overtook the enemy's rear about three in the afternoon, and occaſioned at once a general halt in every part of their column.

Petreius and Afranius, ſtunned by the unexpected arrival of Cæſar at the head of his whole army, formed on a riſing ground to receive him; and both armies ſeemed to prepare for immediate action. But Cæſar, knowing the neceſſity which the enemy were under of purſuing their retreat, and the proſpect he had of increaſing his advantage on the march, did not think it neceſſary to attack

them when in order of battle; he took his ground, however, ſo near them [52], that he could profit by every advantage they gave him, and in every attempt they ſhould make to change their ſituation, could puſh them into all the diſorders of a general rout.

In this poſition of the two armies, the Spaniards having ſome time remained in order of battle, again attempted to reſume their march; but having ſoon experienced the difficulties of that attempt with an enemy ſo near them, and being faint with hunger and the fatigue of ſo many tedious and fruitleſs operations, they determined to halt and wait for the return of night. They had now no more than five miles to paſs on the plain, and hoped, by a rapid motion in the night, to traverſe this ſpace before Cæſar could overtake them, or before he could oblige them to halt any where ſhort of the mountains, where they looked for a perfect ſecurity.

Both parties appeared to be fixed on their ground for the night, when ſome priſoners that were brought to Cæſar gave information that the enemy were in motion, and muſt in a little time be ſo far advanced as to reach the hills before he could give them any effectual trouble. On this ſudden emergence, although his army was by no means ready to march, he ordered every trumpet to ſound, as if he were actually in motion. This feint, however ſlight, had its effect; the enemy believed that they were to be inſtantly attacked, or cloſely purſued on the march, when diſordered and incumbered with baggage; they deſiſted from their intention, and gave the ſignal to halt.

Afranius and Petreius, thus baffled in the execution of the firſt part of their plan, which had been ſo reaſonably formed, began to loſe courage, and remained on this ground all night, and the following

[52] The want of cannon or fire-arms enabled a ſuperior army to remain almoſt in contact with that it intended to haraſs.

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day perplexed with irreſolution and various counſels. So far, however, they determined, that before ſo vigilant an enemy it was ſafer to march by day than by night; and in this mind they remained yet a ſecond night in the preſent poſition.

In this interval Cæſar, having leiſure to viſit the country over which they were to paſs, found it practicable to turn their flank and get to the hills before them. He accordingly moved in the night, and at break of day, before the enemy judged it ſafe to decamp, he appeared on their right; but ſeeming to retire, and to leave them at liberty to continue their retreat. So long as his march had this appearance, they were pleaſed to think that he had moved for want of proviſions, and applauded themſelves for having patiently waited ſo joyful an event. But as ſoon as he had got a ſufficient way to his left, he changed his direction, and marched with all poſſible ſpeed to reach the mountains. They were no longer at a loſs to perceive his deſign, or the danger with which they themſelves were threatened. And they inſtantly, without ſtriking their tents or packing their baggage, moved in the greateſt haſte to prevent him.

In this operation, Cæſar was now become certain of one or other of two great advantages; either that he ſhould reach the paſs of the mountains before the enemy, and ſo cut off their retreat; or, if they got there before him, that he ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of their camp and their baggage. He prevailed, however, in the trial of ſpeed, got the firſt of theſe advantages by being before them at the aſcent of the mountains, where he found a ledge or terras that was ſufficiently capacious to receive his army, and which gave him entire command of the paſs.

Afranius, on ſeeing Cæſar in poſſeſſion of this ground, ſent a conſiderable party to try the aſcent of the mountains at a different place, and to gain the ſummits behind him; in hopes that, if this way was

practicable, he might follow with his whole army, and descend from thence to the Ebro. But the party he employed on this service was, in presence of both armies, surrounded by Cæsar's horse, and put to the sword. The rest of the army, without making any attempt to rescue their friends, beheld this scene with a kind of torpid dejection. They dropped their arms, and staggered in their ranks. The troops of Cæsar, who well understood these signs of extreme terror, became to a degree of mutiny impatient for action; and he himself was sensible that the enemy might in that moment be attacked with the greatest advantage; but as he now thought himself sure of being able to reduce them without a blow, he was unwilling to give them an opportunity, however unlikely to avail them, of making their escape by the chance of a battle. While he endeavoured accordingly to restrain the unseasonable ardour of his own men, the leaders of the Spanish army had time to retire with theirs, and led them back to the camp which they had left in the morning, and to the melancholy possession of tents and of baggage, which they had been willing to abandon, in order to effect their escape.

Cæsar having left proper guards to secure the passes of the mountains, followed the enemy, and took post, as before, so near them, that they could not move without being exposed to his insults.

In this position of the two armies, the centinels and advanced guards had an opportunity to talk together; they mutually regretted the unhappy quarrel in which they were engaged, and both officers and men becoming by degrees more familiar, met between the lines, and even exchanged visits in their opposite camps. Officers of the Spanish army proceeded so far as to talk of an accommodation, and got over their scruples in treating without proper authority from their generals, by proposing to stipulate some honourable terms for them in the peace which they proposed to conclude.

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Cæſar was appriſed of this correſpondence, and, however irregular, connived at a circumſtance which he hoped his ſuperior popularity and the ſplendour of his fortune, would turn to his own account. He flattered himſelf, that as he had been able to ſeduce the troops of Pompey in Italy, ſo he might now deprive his antagoniſts of the army they had formed in the field to oppoſe him.

The Spaniſh generals, being intent on a work they were executing to ſecure their acceſs to water, remained for ſome time unapprized of the diſorderly correſpondence ſubſiſting between the two armies; and Afranius, when he came to the knowledge of what was paſſing, ſeemed to obſerve it with great indifference; but Petreius was greatly alarmed, ran with the officers and the guard who uſually attended his perſon to the ſpace between the lines, diſperſed all thoſe who were found in conference together, and put all the ſoldiers of Cæſar's army who fell in his way to the ſword. From thence he went through the camp, and with tears exacted from every legion apart freſh oaths of fidelity to Pompey. He afterwards aſſembled the whole at the uſual place of audience, before the general's tent; and in a ſpeech, compoſed of inſinuation and reproach, endeavoured to confirm them in their duty; and, to the end that he might effectually cut off all hopes of conciliation, ordered all the ſoldiers of Cæſar's army that could be found within his intrenchments to be brought before him and ſlain.

Cæſar, at the ſame time, having many officers and men of the Spaniſh army in his camp, might have retaliated theſe acts of ſeverity; but he choſe rather to contraſt the character of clemency he himſelf had aſſumed, with the auſtere and mercileſs policy of his enemies; and for this purpoſe gave their freedom to ſuch officers or men as choſe to return to their own party, and rewarded with preferments and honours ſuch of them as were inclined to remain in his ſervice.

Afranius

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Afranius and Petreius, by the timely diſcovery of theſe irregular practices, having eſcaped the diſgrace of being delivered up to the enemy, to be treated at his diſcretion, or to be ſpared only as objects of pity at the interceſſion of their own army, continued their plan of operations; but by perſevering in their reſiſtance, they only enabled their adverſary to give ſtill more evident proofs of his ſuperior ſkill and addreſs. They were ſenſible that their preſent poſt could not be long maintained; it had been taken, in their haſte to reach the mountains, from neceſſity, as an immediate reſpite from the attacks of an enemy who annoyed their march; and, beſides other inconveniences, had a difficult acceſs to water, the brook or river from which they were to be ſupplied being expoſed to the diſcharge of arrows, darts, and other miſſiles from the enemy. Their bread, which they had calculated to ſerve them on the whole route to the Ebro was near exhauſted, and they had no immediate proſpect of ſupply. They entered therefore into anxious deliberation on the choice of a retreat, by which they might ſooneſt get beyond reach of an enemy who preſſed them with ſuch unremitted alarms. They heſitated whether they ſhould return to Ilerda, where they ſtill had ſome magazines, or ſhould attempt to reach Tarraco [53] on their left, at the diſtance of about fifty miles. The length and difficulty of the way, in which they would be expoſed to Cæſar's attacks, determined them againſt the laſt; and they choſe the firſt, as promiſing the neareſt and moſt immediate relief from their preſent diſtreſſes. They accordingly, without any precaution, decamped, and directed their march to Ilerda.

The Spaniſh infantry were now more expoſed than they had been on any of their former marches; for their cavalry had been ſo often diſcomfited, and had loſt courage ſo much, that they could not be kept to their place in the column, and were now actually received for ſafety into the centre of the infantry; the rear was therefore

[53] Tarragona.

cruelly

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cruelly annoyed by Cæſar's horſe, ſupported by the whole force of his legions. In aſcending the heights, which were frequent in their way, they had the better of the enemy, by throwing their javelins and darts on thoſe who attempted to purſue them from below; and with this ſuperiority they made a ſtand on every aſcent, to force their purſuers back to ſome diſtance; but in deſcending the hills, the ſame advantage being taken againſt themſelves, they generally ran in great diſorder to the plains. And in this manner, the ground being uneven, their march conſiſted of alternate ſtops and precipitate flights, extremely fatiguing, and likely to end in a general rout.

The leaders of the retiring army, to prevent this fatal conſequence, thought proper again to form upon a riſing ground, and attempted a ſtratagem to amuſe the enemy, and to gain ſome advance on the march before him. For this purpoſe, affecting to make ſome permanent lodgment in the place where they halted, they threw up a breaſt-work, but neither pitched their tents nor unloaded their baggage, and were ready to depart the moment their purſuer gave them an opportunity, by quitting the order of march. Cæſar, truſting to the effects of his late attacks, and to the appearances which the enemy preſented, had no ſuſpicion of their purpoſe, gave orders to pitch, and even ſuffered his cavalry to ſeparate in parties to forage. This was no ſooner obſerved from the Spaniſh army, than they inſtantly reſumed their march. It was then about noon, and they made ſome way undiſturbed.

Cæſar ſeeing himſelf over-reached, inſtantly put his legions in motion, without ſtriking their tents or packing their baggage, and leaving orders for the cavalry to follow him as ſoon as they could be aſſembled, endeavoured to keep cloſe to the enemy's rear. He was in this ſituation when the cavalry rejoined him, and, by renewing with double ardour their former operations, obliged the Spaniſh army again to ſuſpend their march, and, in deſpair, to take ſome reſpite from

from the continual attacks with which they were haraſſed, by halting again in a field, which they had no time to examine, and in which they were accordingly very much expoſed. CHAP. V.

On this ground Cæſar had again a fair opportunity to attack them, and, with little doubt of the event, to terminate the war by a battle; but he perſiſted in his purpoſe of forcing this unfortunate army to ſurrender without any loſs or hazard to himſelf. In this mind he continued to obſerve them with a degree of inſulting indifference. They ſoon became ſenſible of the great diſadvantage of the poſition in which they had halted, and endeavoured to change it, without expoſing themſelves to the enemy, who was ſo near as to be able to diſturb them in every motion they attempted to make; for this purpoſe they broke ground for a new intrenchment in their rear, and retiring, as beſiegers advance in the attack of a fortreſs, changed their ſituation under the cover of works which they ſucceſſively raiſed [53].

In theſe ſlow and toilſome operations they perſiſted all the night and the following day, and got a new poſition, in which they were leſs expoſed to the enemy; but ſubject to a freſh inconveniency, till then unobſerved, in the great diſtance to which they were removed from water.

As ſoon as this defect was perceived, which was probably not till after the ſoldier had conſumed what he commonly carried in his flaſk, they diſcontinued their fatiguing operations; but no man ventured abroad for water, and they remained all night under dreadful apprehenſions of what they might ſuffer from this diſtreſs.

On the following day the Spaniſh army advanced in array to the watering-place, and, at the hazard of a general action, proceeded to ſupply themſelves with this neceſſary article. They were ſuffered to avail themſelves of this temporary relief; but none attempted to procure any food, and they ſoon after, in order to ſupply their own

[53] Cæſar de Bell. Civil. lib. i. c. 81.

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immediate wants, and to leſſen their conſumption of water and forage, killed all the beaſts of burden in their camp. While they endeavoured, by means of theſe temporary expedients, to await the event of any change that might offer in their favour, Cæſar formed a deſign to cut off all their hopes at once by a line of circumvallation. In conducting or covering this work, his legions were commonly under arms. And the enemy, ſenſible of the extremity to which they were ſoon likely to be reduced, advanced in front of their camp to interrupt him; and there might have decided their fate by an action upon equal terms. But they had no courage left; the habit of acting upon the defenſive had impreſſed them with a ſenſe of inferiority, and their frequent miſcarriages had made them diſtruſt the conduct of their officers. Though now in a ſtate of ſuffering, from which nothing but victory could extricate them, or which nothing but the blood of their enemies could avenge, they, without making any effort for either purpoſe, retired again within their intrenchment.

In that ſituation, however, their diſtreſſes in a little time became entirely inſufferable. After four days had paſſed in their camp without water or ſuſtenance of any ſort, their leaders deſired an interview with Cæſar; and, not to expoſe themſelves in ſo humbling a ſtate to the troops of either army, begged that their meeting might be held apart from both. The conference was accepted; but Cæſar would not allow it to be held in any private place: he inſiſted that Afranius and Petreius ſhould meet him in the ſpace between the two armies; and having previouſly demanded, as an acknowledgment of his victory, that the ſon of Afranius ſhould be delivered up as an hoſtage, he came to the place of meeting, ſurrounded by multitudes who crowded from both armies to witneſs the ſcene.

Afranius pleaded in behalf of the troops he commanded, that they had done no more than their duty to Pompey, and no more than the ſervice of the province in which they had been ſtationed required;

quired; but acknowledged the diſtreſſes to which they were reduced, and implored the victor's clemency. CHAP. V.

Cæſar, in return, upbraided the leaders of that army with their obſtinate animoſity to himſelf, and with their late cruelty to innocent men, who had committed no other offence than that of having embraced their fellow-citizens as friends, and that of being deſirous to terminate this unnatural quarrel in an amicable manner. "That "army," he ſaid, "had been raiſed and kept on foot for the ſole "purpoſe of making war upon him. For this purpoſe numerous "fleets had been equipped in times of profound peace, and ſeven "entire legions, under able and experienced officers, had been kept "in this peaceable province, where there was not the leaſt pretence "of a war; that every meaſure was concerted for his deſtruction; "that in order to raiſe one citizen to uncommon honours and "powers, a new ſpecies of arrangement had taken place, by which "a perſon remaining at the gates of Rome, governing in the city "and in every diſtrict of Italy, might likewiſe have the command in "two warlike provinces, and be allowed a great military eſtabliſhment "in time of profound peace; that, on the contrary, in order to "diſtreſs himſelf, the ordinary rules of the ſervice had been ſet aſide; "and that to him alone had been denied, what had always been "granted to every citizen who faithfully ſerved the republic, the "privilege of retiring, if not diſtinguiſhed with honours, at leaſt "without being loaded with injuries and affronts; that he had borne "theſe indignities, however, with patience, and mentioned them "now, not as a prelude to any ſeverities which he meant to inflict, "nor as an excuſe for any ſingular advantage he meant to take of "their preſent diſtreſſes; that he demanded no more than peace; his "antagoniſts ſhould go unhurt, provided they left the province, and "became bound not to ſerve his enemies for the future againſt him; "that no one ſhould be forced to take any active part on his ſide;

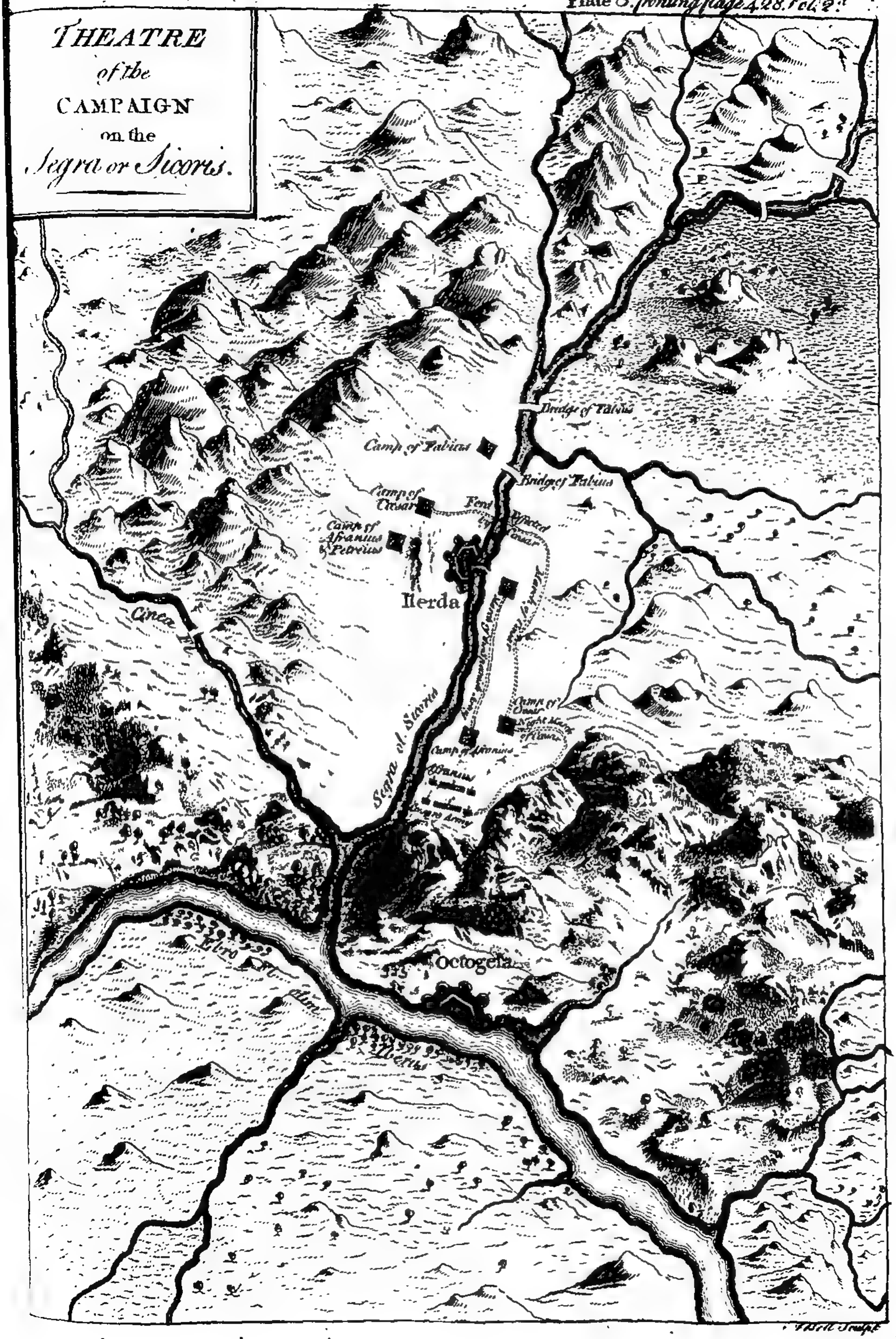
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" that all who committed no injury againſt him ſhould be conſidered
" as his friends; and that every man now in his power ſhould be at
" liberty, without any other conditions than theſe."

It is difficult to determine whether the ſword or the tongue of this ſingular man were moſt dangerous to the ſtate he attacked. It is probable that many of his preſent audience were as much convinced by his eloquence, as they had been ſubdued by his military ſkill, and thought him a perſon no leſs forced to his preſent extremities by the wrongs he had ſuffered, than able to do himſelf juſtice by the force of his arms. His ſpeech was received by the late partizans of his rival with evident ſigns of pleaſure. To be diſcharged after a certain period of the moſt faithful ſervices was all that a Roman ſoldier, in the ordinary times of the republic, could claim. To receive this favour at the hands of a victorious enemy, by whom they expected to be treated as captives, gave ſudden and unexpected joy.

After the material articles were adjuſted in this manner, ſome queſtions aroſe with reſpect to the time and place in which the vanquiſhed army ſhould be diſmiſſed from their colours. Numbers of them, though Roman citizens, had been inliſted in Spain, and were natives or ſettlers in that province; others had been tranſported from Italy, and wiſhed to return to their country. It was determined, therefore, that the firſt ſhould be diſbanded immediately; the others march to the Var, and there be ſet free, and not be ſubject to be preſſed into any ſervice whatever. Cæſar undertook to ſupply them with proviſions on their march. He ordered their effects, if any were found in his camp, to be reſtored to them. He paid his own ſoldiers a high price for what they were in this manner deſired to reſtore. By this meaſure he gained ſeveral advantages; he lightened his baggage; he made a gratification to his own men, without the imputation of bribery; and he gained his late enemies by an act of generoſity. The vanquiſhed army accordingly came to Cæſar with all their

THEATRE of the CAMPAIGN on the Segre or Sicoris.



their complaints, and appealed to him even from their own officers. It was impoſſible for mankind to reſiſt ſo much ability, inſinuation, and courage. CHAP. V.

About a third of the captive army were diſmiſſed from their colours in Spain; the remainder paſſed the Pyrennees, preceded by one part of Cæſar's army, and followed by the other; who, being thus ſeparated to the van and the rear, and always encamping cloſe to their priſoners, led them, in terms of the capitulation, to the frontiers of Ciſalpine Gaul [54].

While the main body of Cæſar's army thus conducted the remains of the Spaniſh legions to the place of their deſtination, Varro yet remained in the weſtern province of Spain; and Cæſar, in order either to effect a conjunction which had been concerted between them, or to force him to ſurrender, ſent Quintus Caſſius with two legions to that quarter, and himſelf followed with an eſcort of ſix hundred horſe. Upon the report of his approach, the natives, as uſual, having taken their reſolution in favour of the ſucceſsful party, declared for the victor. One of the legions of Varro that lay at Gades [55] advancing in form with their colours, came forward to Hiſpales to receive him, and made offer of their ſervices. Varro himſelf agreed to ſurrender the forces he commanded, both by ſea and by land, and was received at Corduba. Here Cæſar held a general convention of the province; and having thanked the people for the favours they had ſhewn to his cauſe, he remitted the contributions, and withdrew all the burdens which Varro, acting under the authority of Pompey, had impoſed upon them. In this, as in other examples, he endeavoured to diſpel the fears which his enterpriſe at firſt had occaſioned, and ſecured the attachment of the provinces by a ſenſe of the eaſe and the freedom which his ſucceſs had procured them. The fleets and armies

[54] Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. i.

[55] Now Cadiz.

which

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which joined him upon every conqueſt he made, enabled him to ſtation troops for the ſecurity of every new acquiſition, without dividing the forces on which he was to rely for the future operations of the war. He accordingly, in the preſent inſtance, left, under the command of Quintus Caſſius, five legions, conſiſting chiefly of the troops which had been levied by Varro; and he himſelf embarking on board a fleet which had been fitted out for his enemies, went by ſea to Tarraco, now Tarragona, and from that place by land to Narbonne and Marſeilles.

CHAP. VI.

The Siege of Marſeilles continued.——Its ſurrender.——Cæſar named Dictator.——Return to Rome.——Mutiny at Placentia.——Cæſar with Servilius Iſauricus Conſuls.——Forces and Diſpoſition of Pompey.——Departure of Cæſar to Brundiſium.——Tranſports the firſt diviſion of his army to Acroceraunus.——Meſſage to Pompey, and their ſeveral Operations.——The Lines of Dyrrachium.——Cæſar baffled in his attempt to inveſt Pompey.——Action and Defeat of Cæſar.——His Retreat.——March of both Armies into Theſſaly.——Battle of Pharſalia.

CHAP. VI.

THE city of Marſeilles had not ſurrendered to the forces which Cæſar had left under the command of Trebonius and Decimus Brutus to beſiege it. Brutus, according to the diſpoſition which had been made to block up the place by ſea, as well as by land, was ſtationed under the iſland at the mouth of the bay. His ſquadron conſiſted of twelve ſhips, but ſo haſtily built, that no more than thirty days had elapſed from the felling of the timber to the launching of the veſſels. They were manned, however, with the choice of Cæſar's legions; and, in order to fruſtrate any advantage which their antagoniſts might have in the conſtruction or management of their ſhips, they were furniſhed with contrivances to grapple and make faſt their gunwales to thoſe of the enemy, in order to decide the conteſt with their ſwords.

The Marſeillians had equipped ten gallies, of which the greater number, though not all, were decked. Theſe they joined under the command of Domitius, who had been named by the Senate to ſucceed Cæſar in Gaul, with the ſeven ſhips which this officer had brought into their harbour; and having manned them with mariners from

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from the neighbouring coaſts, they came abroad into the bay, in order to force Brutus from his ſtation, and to open their communication with the ſea. In the beginning of the action, the Marſeillians being ſuperior to Cæſar's fleet in the number of their ſhips, and in the ſkill of their mariners, had a conſiderable advantage. But as ſoon as they ſuffered themſelves to be entangled by the grapple, the Gauliſh ſailors, though of a very hardy race, could not withſtand the arms and diſcipline of the legionary ſoldiers, and were defeated with the loſs of nine of their ſhips.

This was the victory already mentioned, and which contributed ſo much to the reputation of Cæſar's arms, while he lay before Ilerda; and which, joined to the other circumſtances of his good fortune, procured him the alliance of ſo many nations in Spain.

While Brutus thus kept his ſtation in the bay of Marſeilles, Trebonius practiſed all the uſual methods of attack to reduce the city. This place being covered on three ſides by water, and on the fourth only acceſſible by an iſthmus or neck of land, which was defended by walls and towers of a great height; he opened two ſeparate attacks, probably on the right and the left of the iſthmus, and at each of theſe attacks, appears to have employed the ſloping mound or terrace [1], which, in the ſieges of the ancients, where the defence depended on the height of the battlements, correſponded to the ſap of the moderns, and was calculated to conduct the beſiegers, by a gradual aſcent, to the top, as the other conducts them to the foot of the walls. This work was ſupported on the ſides chiefly with timber, and built up with faſcines, hurdles, and earth, riſing in the preſent caſe to an elevation of eighty feet, and in breadth, as was formerly obſerved in that employed againſt the Bituriges [2], probably no leſs than three hundred and fifty feet, ſo as to receive a proper column of infantry

[1] Agger.

[2] Bourges.

in

in front, and to embrace a proper extent in the walls. The workmen employed in the front of this laborious approach were covered with ſkreens, mantlets, and penthouſes of great length; and ſuch was the conſumption of timber in the conſtruction of the whole, that the neighbouring country is ſaid to have been cleared of its woods.

A mere trading city, long diſuſed to war, or accuſtomed to rely on foreign protection, we may ſuppoſe to have been ill provided, either in the ſtate of its arſenals, or in the ſpirit of its citizens, for ſuch an attack. But this little republic, ſtill bearing the character of an independent ſtate, being in the neighbourhood of mountains inhabited by fierce nations, who looked upon its wealth as a tempting prize, and owing its ſafety to the ſtrength of its walls, and the ſtate of its arſenals, was ſtill ſuitably provided for its own defence; and the People, although long inured to peace, ſtill kept in mind the duties which the neceſſities of war might oblige them to render to their country. They were now ſupported by the preſence of the Roman Proconſul, and had hopes of a ſpeedy relief from Pompey, whom, in oppoſition to Cæſar, who was in rebellion againſt the legal government of his country, they conſidered as head of the commonwealth. They accordingly exerted great perſeverance and valour in defence of their walls; and by a continual diſcharge from the battlements, and by frequent ſallies, in which they ſet fire to the works of the beſiegers, greatly retarded the progreſs of the ſiege. They had engines of a peculiar force, from which they darted arrows of a monſtrous ſize and weight, being beams twelve feet long, and proportionally thick, and pointed with iron, which none of the ſcreens or coverings, uſually employed in making approaches, could reſiſt; and Trebonius was accordingly obliged to proportion the ſtrength of his timbers and penthouſes, and the thickneſs of his parapets, faſcines, and earth on his terrace, to the weight of theſe enormous weapons.

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While ſuch efforts were made on both ſides at this memorable ſiege, Pompey had detached Naſidius with ſixteen gallies from the coaſt of Macedonia to endeavour the relief of Marſeilles. This ſquadron had entered the ſtraits of Meſſina by ſurpriſe, and, having cut out of the harbour a ſhip which belonged to Curio's fleet, proceeded on their deſtination to the coaſt of Gaul. Being arrived in the bay of Tauroentum, now La Ciotat, in the neighbourhood of Toulon, they ſent intimation of their coming, in order to concert operations with thoſe in the harbour of Marſeilles.

The beſieged were greatly animated with theſe hopes of relief; and having already drawn from their docks as many ſhips as ſupplied the place of thoſe they had loſt in the late engagement, they now manned them with the choice of their citizens, and determined once more to try their fortune at ſea. When this fleet was about to depart, numbers of women and many citizens, who, on account of their age, could not take part in the ſervice, crowded to the ſhore, and with tears exhorted the ſoldiers and mariners to be mindful of their own and their country's honour, on the eve of becoming a prey to their enemies. Multitudes of people, at the ſame time, drew forth in proceſſion, and crowded to the temples with prayers and ſupplications for the ſucceſs of this laſt effort they were to make in defence of their commonwealth.

This buſtle in the ſtreets of Marſeilles, with the motion of the ſhipping in the harbour, being obſerved from the camp of Trebonius, which was ſituated upon a height, and which had a view into the town, gave ſufficient intimation of what was intended; and Brutus was warned to be upon his guard: but the Marſeillians, having found a favourable wind, had the good fortune to clear the bay, and, without any interruption from his ſquadron, joined Naſidius at Tauroentum. Here an action ſoon after enſued, in which the Marſeillians made great efforts of valour; but were ill ſupported by Naſidius,

fidius, who, unworthy of the command with which he had been intruſted, withdrew at the beginning of the action, and fled to the coaſt of Spain. The Marſeillians, being left to ſuſtain the conteſt alone, loſt nine of their ſhips, of which five were ſunk, and four were taken.

Theſe tidings were received at Marſeilles with inexpreſſible ſorrow; but did not alter the reſolution of the inhabitants to perſevere in their defence, and in the uſe of every poſſible method that could be employed to protract the ſiege, and to give Pompey time to deviſe more effectual means for their ſafety. They accordingly, with great vigour and ſucceſs, counteracted the ordinary operations of the ſiege, burning and demoliſhing a conſiderable part of the works which were raiſed up againſt them, and obliging the beſiegers frequently to renew their labours.

The firſt attack, againſt which the beſiegers were not able to find an adequate defence, came from a work which had not been a part in the original plan of the ſiege, but had been deviſed by the ſoldiers who had ſucceeded each other on the guard of the agger, or mound of approach, as a lodgment or cover to ſecure themſelves from ſurpriſe. It was at firſt no more than a ſquare of ten yards, incloſed with a brick wall five feet thick; but ſo ſituated, that if it were raiſed to a proper height, it might cope with the battlements, and greatly annoy the beſieged. To give it this conſequence, maſons were employed to raiſe it, and great efforts of ingenuity were made to protect them in their work. A moveable penthouſe, of great thickneſs in the roof, and ſcreened on the front and ſides with net-work made of cables, or the ſtrongeſt ropes, was raiſed on beams or rafters of a proportional ſtrength, and contrived to be hoiſted up by machinery, to keep pace with the building, and to cover the workmen as they roſe on the ſucceſſive courſes of maſonry which they laid. With theſe precautions, a tower was gradually raiſed on the

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foundation of the original brick wall, to the height of ſix ſtories; and being furniſhed with ports or embraſures on every floor, gave the beſiegers, by means of their miſſiles, the command of all the ſpace from thence to the ramparts. They accordingly, under the cover of engines, that made a continual diſcharge from this tower, filled up the ditch, and puſhed up a gallery to the foot of the wall. In this poſition, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the beſieged, by a continual diſcharge of heavy ſtones from the battlements, to deſtroy or overwhelm the ſupports of their gallery, they undermined the foundation of the rampart, and brought ſome part of it in ruin to the ground.

The inhabitants, greatly alarmed at the ſight of a breach, which might ſoon be enlarged to admit of being ſtormed, made ſome ſignals of truce, and ſent to beſeech Trebonius that he would ſuſpend his operations, and wait for the arrival of Cæſar, in whoſe clemency they hoped to find ſome protection againſt the fury of troops, who had already threatened the inhabitants with a maſſacre.

Trebonius, accordingly, moved by theſe intreaties, and by the inſtructions he had received from Cæſar, not to deliver up the town, in caſe it fell into his hands, to the rage of the ſoldiers, ſuſpended his operations, and ſuppoſing the petition of the inhabitants equal to an offer of ſurrender on their part, entruſted his works to ſlender guards, who, in their turn, relying on the ſubmiſſive profeſſions of the people, were proportionally remiſs in their duty. The citizens, tempted by the opportunity which was thus offered them to ſtrike an important blow, and to throw back to a great diſtance all the poſts of the enemy, made a vigorous ſally from the town, and being favoured by a high wind, which blew directly on the works of the beſiegers, ſet the whole on fire, and reduced to aſhes, in a few hours, what had been the labour of many months to erect.

As

CHAP. VI.

As Trebonius had already exhauſted the greater part of the materials which the country around him could furniſh, it appeared difficult for him to reſume the attack. But he himſelf, as well as the troops under his command, being greatly exaſperated by the late breach of faith in the town, made every effort of ingenuity and courage to repair their loſſes. They ſubſtituted brick work for timber in ſupporting the ſides and galleries of their terrace; and advanced with ſo rapid a progreſs in their new approach, that the beſieged, now greatly ſpent with toil, and diſappointed in their hopes of relief, were ſtruck with freſh and more alarming apprehenſions of what they might expect from the reſentment of troops whom they had incenſed with a recent and juſt provocation; and they returned to their ſuit for mercy, with more humble and more ſincere intentions of ſubmiſſion.

While meſſages were paſſing to this effect, Domitius Ahenobarbus, ſenſible that he could no longer ſerve the cauſe of his party at this place, embarked with his attendants and friends on board of three galleys which ſtill waited his orders in the harbour. Having the opportunity of a high and favourable wind, which made it unſafe for the ſquadron of Brutus to weigh, or to quit their anchors in purſuit of him, he endeavoured to eſcape from the bay. In this attempt two of his veſſels were taken, the third, with himſelf on board, got off, and reſerved him to take that ſhare which yet remained for him in the growing misfortunes of his party throughout this diſaſtrous war.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when Cæſar arrived from Spain, and expecting, in the preſent conteſt for empire, to profit as much by the reputation of his clemency, as by the terror of his arms, liſtened to the ſupplications of the people of Marſeilles, and took poſſeſſion of the town without any act of reſentment or ſeverity whatever. While he was yet at this place, he had accounts from Rome, that his party in

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in the city had procured an act of the People to veſt him with the power of Dictator. The ceremony of his nomination had, in the abſence of both Conſuls, been performed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, then Prætor in office, who, though a perſon of mean capacity, was, by the chance of his ſituation, involved in many of the greateſt affairs that followed; and, though but a ſingle accomplice in the crimes of this guilty age, eſcaped its violences, to become almoſt the only example of an ignominy and diſgrace, which ſo many others had merited no leſs than himſelf.

Cæſar, being thus raiſed, though by an irregular ſtep, to a legal place in the commonwealth, haſtened to Rome, in order to be inveſted, for the firſt time, with the character of Dictator. In his way he was ſtopped at Placentia by ſome diſorders which threatened a mutiny among the troops who were aſſembled at that place. The legions, elated by victory, and filled with a ſenſe of their own importance in a conteſt for the ſovereignty of the empire, were become impatient of diſcipline, and in haſte to avail themſelves of that military government they were employed to eſtabliſh. In entering Italy they treated Roman citizens as their ſubjects, and the country as their property. Being reſtrained, they reſented the ſeverities which were practiſed againſt them, entered into cabals, and even talked of abandoning Cæſar, and of declaring for Pompey. Here, however, the uſual courage and ability of this ſingular man ſupported him. He brought the mutinous troops, under arms, before him, and put them in mind how much he had ever coveted, and been anxious to obtain the affections of the ſoldiers; but aſſured them, that it was no part of his intention to earn thoſe affections by making himſelf an accomplice in their crimes. "Shall we," he ſaid, "who profeſs to be the de-
"liverers of our country from oppreſſion, become ourſelves the
"greateſt oppreſſors? Shall I, who am intruſted with the command
"of a Roman army, become the patron of licentiouſneſs, and, in
"order

" order to indulge for a moment the paſſions of my ſoldiers, ſuffer
" them to ruin their own fortunes for ever? What ſhould induce
" me?—The fear of violence to my perſon, or the danger to which
" my life may be expoſed?—If my life were attacked, there are enow
" to defend it. But what is life compared to the honour of a Ro-
" man officer, which I am concerned to maintain? There are perſons
" who have ſaid, That they will deſert my cauſe, and go over to
" Pompey. Let them. They ſhall ſoon have an opportunity to do
" ſo. If Pompey be my enemy, what is there I ſhould more ear-
" neſtly wiſh than to find his cauſe entruſted with ſuch men? men
" who make war on their friends, and diſobey their officers. He
" had been ſlow," he ſaid, " in proceeding to the fatal extremes which
" were now become neceſſary. The guilty," he continued, " had
" been long known to him; but he had endeavoured to conceal their
" offences, in hopes that remorſe and ſhame, or the fear of juſtice,
" would have made the actual application of puniſhment unneceſſary;
" but that he muſt now, though with the greateſt reluctance, pro-
" ceed to the laſt of remedies."

In order that he might not involve the whole of thoſe who were preſent in the ſame deſperate cauſe, he affected, in this harangue, to treat the offence he was to puniſh as the crime of a few. They were now to be ſet apart, he ſaid, and their puniſhment ſhould purge the army, and retrieve its honour. In purſuance of this plan, he affected to believe, that the ninth legion were the principal authors of this mutiny. He ordered a few of them for immediate execution, and boldly diſmiſſed the whole of the legion from his ſervice. The remainder of the army, having thus obtained an implied exculpation, in token of their own innocence, vied with each other in applauding the juſtice of their general. Even the legion, which was diſmiſſed from the ſervice, deteſting, as a puniſhment on themſelves, what they had threatened to execute as an act of reſentment againſt their commander,

beſet

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beſet him with humble and earneſt intreaties, that he might be pleaſed to receive them again into his ſervice. He affected great difficulty in granting this requeſt; but, after much ſolicitation, ſuffered himſelf to be gained by their profeſſions of penitence [4].

With a conſiderable acceſſion of authority, acquired by his ſucceſs in quelling this mutiny, Cæſar proceeded to Rome, where he aſſumed the title and enſigns of Dictator; being the firſt example of any perſon, ſince the abdication of Sylla, intruſted with this alarming power. It was ſaid to be conferred upon him, however, merely in compliance with form; and that there might be a proper officer, in the abſence of both the Conſuls, to preſide at the elections. His own object, at the ſame time, being to gain to his party the authority of legal government, and, in his conduct, to give proofs of clemency and moderation, without any intention, for the preſent, to perpetuate or even to exerciſe any of the high powers of Dictator, he proceeded to hold the elections, and was himſelf, together with Servilius Iſauricus, choſen Conſul for the following year. In the interval that followed, before their inſtallation, he continued to aſſemble the People in the character of Dictator, and obtained ſome laws reſpecting the times, and the diſtracted ſtate of the public affairs. Credit and trade were at an alarming ſtand; he procured an act to facilitate the recovery of debts, by delivering the effects of the debtor to be divided among his creditors, upon an eſtimate of what the different ſubjects might have been ſold for at the time that the war broke out.

Many being ſuppoſed to hoard great ſums of money, as the only means of preſerving it from the violence of the times, or being unwilling to lend on ſuch ſecurities as were then to be had, Cæſar

[4] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xli. c. 27—35. Appian. de Bello Civ. lib. ii. p. 547. Sueton. in Cæſ. c. 69. Lucan. lib. v. 244.

procured another act, by which any perſon was forbid to have in his poſſeſſion, at once, above ſixty thouſand Roman money [5].

He obtained a general act of indemnity, from which Milo alone was excepted, reſtoring perſons of every denomination, who, at the breaking out of the war, lay under the cenſure of the law, and were in exile for corrupt practices in the State; and, in purſuance of this meaſure, procured a pardon for all the diſorders which had been committed in oppoſition to the late government; but for none of the irregular efforts that had been made in ſupport of it. He opened the city at once to all the inhabitants of the Ciſalpine Gaul, and by a ſingle vote gave them a title to be enrolled with the People of Rome as members of the republic [6]. In theſe, and in other affairs of leſs moment, while his troops were in motion through Italy, he employed a few days in the city, and being ready to depart, reſigned the power of Dictator. This reſignation, made by a perſon poſſeſſed of a military force, and hitherto victorious, was conſidered as an evidence of his moderation, and ſerved to diſpel the fears of thoſe who expected to ſee the immediate eſtabliſhment of a military government. He was now about to aſſume the office of legal magiſtrate, and to appear in the character of Roman Conſul againſt thoſe who, lately truſting to the name and authority of the republic with which they were veſted, had treated himſelf and his adherents as rebels; but who now, in their turn, might appear to incur all the diſadvantages of that imputation which he was about to retort upon them; and with the additional charge of an attempt to diſmember the empire, and to arm ſo many of the provinces againſt the ſovereignty of the State.

The competitors in this famous conteſt were in or but a little paſt the prime of life: Pompey was fifty-ſeven, and Cæſar fifty. The firſt had been early diſtinguiſhed as an officer, and for many

[5] About 500l.

[6] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xli. c. 36, 37, 38. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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years had enjoyed a degree of conſideration, with which that of any other Roman citizen was not allowed to compare. His reputation, however, in ſome meaſure, had ſunk, and that of Cæſar roſe on the firſt ſhocks of the preſent war; but the balance was not yet abſolutely ſettled, and the minds of many were held in anxious ſuſpence. Cæſar, wherever he acted in perſon, had always prevailed; but where he was not preſent, his affairs wore a leſs promiſing aſpect.

His forces under Curio had acquired an eaſy poſſeſſion of Sicily; and this officer, encouraged by his firſt ſucceſs, tranſported two legions into Africa, found Varus encamped near Utica, obliged him to retire into the town, and was preparing to beſiege it, when he received intelligence that Juba, king of Numidia, was advancing to its relief with all the powers of his kingdom. This prince had been induced to take part in the war by his attachment to Pompey, and by his perſonal animoſity to Curio, who, in his Tribunate, had moved for an act to deprive him of his kingdom.

Curio, upon this intelligence, wiſely withdrew from Utica to a ſtrong poſt in the neighbourhood, and ſent orders into Sicily to haſten the junction of the troops he had left behind him in that iſland. While he waited their coming, ſome Numidian deſerters arrived at his camp, and brought accounts that Juba, with the main body of his army, had been recalled to defend his own dominions; and that only Sabura, one of his generals, with a ſmall diviſion, was come to give what ſupport he could to the party of Pompey in Africa.

Upon this information, Curio formed a deſign to intercept the Numidian general before he could be joined by Varus; and for this purpoſe, leaving a guard in his camp, he marched in the night to attack the enemy, where he was informed that they lay on the banks of the Bagrada. His cavalry being advanced, fell in with the Numi-

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dian horſe, and put them to flight. Encouraged by this advantage, he haſtened his march to complete the victory; and Sabura, by whoſe art the laſt intelligence had been conveyed to him, likewiſe, after a little reſiſtance, fled before him. By this means, Curio was gradually inſnared into the midſt of Juba's forces, was ſurrounded, and attacked on every ſide. He attempted, in vain, to take refuge on a height which he had in view, and, with the greater part of his army, was put to the ſword. The few who eſcaped, with thoſe who had been left in the camp, endeavoured to find a paſſage into Sicily, and, being diſappointed, ſurrendered themſelves to Varus, by whom they were treated with clemency; but being obſerved, and diſtinguiſhed by Juba, who arrived at Utica on the following day, were claimed as his captives, and put to death.

About the ſame time, Dolabella, to whom Cæſar had given the command both of his ſea and land forces on the coaſt of Illyricum, was, by Marcus Octavius and Scribonius Libo, expelled from thence; and Caius Antonius, attempting to ſupport Dolabella, was ſhut up in a ſmall iſland, and, with his party, made priſoners[7].

The principal ſtorm, however, with which the new government was threatened, appeared on the ſide of Macedonia. In this country, Pompey himſelf was now at the head of a great force. He had tranſported five legions from Italy; and, ſince the middle of March, when his laſt diviſion ſailed from Brundiſium, he had been in the quiet poſſeſſion of Greece, Macedonia, and all the eaſtern part of the empire. He had ſent his father-in-law, Cornelius Scipio Metellus, into the provinces of Aſia and Syria, to collect the forces and the revenues of thoſe opulent countries; and diſpatched his own ſon Cneius with inſtructions to aſſemble all the ſhipping that could be found on that coaſt. He likewiſe ſent general orders to all the Roman officers

[7] Dio, Caſſ. lib. xli. c. 41 & 42.

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in different parts of the empire, and to the allies or dependants of the Roman People, to join him with every power they could raiſe. Seven thouſand citizens of rank had followed him from Italy [a]. Numbers of veterans, who had been ſettled in Theſſaly, repaired to his ſtandard. He was joined by one legion from Sicily, another from Crete, and two from Aſia. He had two legions under Scipio in Syria, had aſſembled three thouſand archers, and as many ſlingers; had hired, in the neighbourhood of Macedonia, two thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand cavalry. Dejotarus ſent him ſix hundred horſe; Ariobarzanes five hundred; Cotus, a Thracian prince, five hundred; the Macedonians furniſhed two hundred; five hundred, being the remains of Gabinius's army, had joined him; his ſon brought eight hundred from his own eſtates; Tarcundarius three hundred; Antiochus Commagenes two hundred: amounting to fifty-five thouſand legionary troops, eight thouſand irregular infantry, and ten thouſand ſix hundred horſe. In all ſeventy-three thouſand ſix hundred [b].

He had likewiſe aſſembled a numerous fleet; one ſquadron from Egypt, of which he gave the command to his ſon Sextus; another from Aſia, under Lelius and Triarius; one from Syria, under Caius Caſſius; that of Rhodes, under Caius Marcellus and Coponius; that of Achaia and Liburnia, under Scribonius Libo and M. Octavius: the whole amounting to above eight hundred galleys, of which Bibulus had the chief command, with orders to guard the paſſage from Italy to Greece, and to obſtruct the communications of the enemy by the Ionian Sea.

Pompey had likewiſe formed large magazines of corn from Theſſaly, Aſia, Egypt, Crete, and Cyrene. The principal reſort of his land forces was at Berrhœa, on the fertile plains between the Axius and Haliacmon, that run into the bay of Thermæ. The Roman Senate

[a] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[b] Cæſar. de Bello Civile, lib. iii.

was represented at Thessalonica by two hundred of that body, who, together with the two Consuls, held their assemblies, and assumed all the functions of the Roman State. The Roman People were likewise represented by the concourse of respectable citizens, who repaired to the army, or to this place[10]. But though so many members of the government, thus violently expelled from Rome, considered themselves as the real constituents of the commonwealth, they suffered the usual time of elections to elapse, and did not attempt to preserve in their retreat the succession of officers, in opposition to the elections that were made at Rome. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, at the expiration of their year in office, took the several commands allotted to them, as usual, under the title of Proconsul.

The general had been extremely active in forming, as well as in assembling this powerful armament. He intended, early in the spring, to take possession of Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and the other towns on the coast, probably with a view to fall upon Italy, with a weight which now appeared sufficient to ensure the high reputation as a commander, which his successes, on other occasions, had procured him.

Cæsar, on his part, had drawn all his army to the coast in the neighbourhood of Brundisium; but it was not likely that he would attempt to pass a sea which was commanded by the enemy's fleet, or venture upon a coast where he had not a single port, and in the face of a superior army, now completely formed and appointed, under the command of an officer, whom no man was ever supposed to excel. The formality of entering on the office of Consul, to which he had been elected, it was supposed, might detain him at Rome till after the first of January; and Pompey accordingly made no haste in

[10] Dio. Cass. lib. xli. c. 43.

taking

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taking his intended ſtations on the coaſt of Epirus, from which he might either act on the defenſive, or invade Italy as the occaſion might require [11].

It was difficult, however, to foreſee what ſuch an enemy as Cæſar might attempt. Having ſtaid no more than eleven days at Rome, while he acted in the character of Dictator, and obtained his election as Conſul, without waiting for his admiſſion into office, he ſet out in December for Brundiſium. At this place twelve legions and all his cavalry were already, by his order, aſſembled. He found the numbers of his army conſiderably impaired by diſeaſe, being come from the more healthy climates of Spain and Gaul to paſs the ſickly ſeaſon of autumn in Apulia. In any other hands than his own, an army ſo reduced would have ſcarcely been fit for the defence of Italy againſt ſuch forces as were aſſembled to invade it; and his march to Brundiſium would have appeared altogether a defenſive meaſure, and intended to counteract the operations of his enemy from beyond the ſeas. The ſeaſon too appeared extremely unfavourable to any hoſtile attempts on Greece. Cæſar, however, had determined to prevent the deſigns of his enemy, and to keep him involved in all the diſadvantages of a defenſive war.

No more tranſports were collected in the harbour of Brundiſium than were ſufficient to receive about twenty thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. Cæſar, nevertheleſs, immediately on his arrival, informed the troops of his intentions to embark, and of his reſolution to fix the ſcene of the war in Greece. He cautioned them not to occupy tranſports with unneceſſary baggage and horſes, and exhorted them to rely on the conſequences of victory, and on his own generoſity, for a full reparation of any loſs they might ſuſtain by leaving their effects behind them. He embarked ſeven legions in the firſt

[11] Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. ii.

diviſion,

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U. C. 705. C. Julius Cæſar, P. Servilius Iſauricus.

diviſion, and with theſe he himſelf ſailed on the fourth of February. He turned from the uſual courſe, and ſteering unobſerved to the right, arrived next day, where the enemy, if they had really been appriſed of his embarkation, were leaſt likely to expect him, on what was reputed a very dangerous part of the coaſt, under a high and rocky promontory, that was called the Acroceraunus.

As ſoon as the fleet had come to an anchor, Cæſar having Vibullius Rufus, one of Pompey's officers who was taken in Spain, till now detained as a priſoner, he diſmiſſed him with a meſſage to his general in the following terms: "That both parties had already "carried their obſtinacy too far, and might learn, from experience, "to diſtruſt their fortunes; that the one had been expelled from "Italy, had loſt Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, with one hundred and "thirty cohorts (or thirteen legions),[10]; that the other had ſuſtained "the loſs of an army in Africa, cut off with its general", and had "ſuffered no leſs by the diſaſters of his party in Illyricum; that their "mutual diſappointments might inſtruct them how little they could "rely on the events of war; that it was time to conſult their own "ſafety, and to ſpare the republic; that it was prudent to treat of "peace while the fortunes and the hopes of both were nearly equal; "if that time were allowed to elapſe, and either ſhould obtain a "diſtinguiſhed advantage, who could anſwer, that the victor would "be equally tractable as both were at preſent?

"But ſince all former endeavours to procure a conference, or to "bring on a treaty between the leaders themſelves, had failed, he "propoſed, that all their differences ſhould now be referred to the "Senate and People; that, in the mean time, each of them ſhould "ſolemnly ſwear, at the head of their reſpective armies, That, "in three days, they ſhould diſband all their forces, in order that, "being diſarmed, they might ſeverally be under a neceſſity to ſubmit "to the legal government of their country; that he himſelf, to remove

[10] The armies of Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, &c. [11] The army of Curio and C. Antonius.

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" all difficulties on the part of Pompey, ſhould begin with diſ-
" miſſing all the troops that were under his command, whether in
" garriſon or in the field "."

It appears that Cæſar, if theſe declarations had been accepted, might have been ſomewhat embarraſſed for evaſions; but equally bold in all his meaſures, he riſked this event, or rather foreſaw it could not happen, as he was ſure that this offer of peace, like the former, would be rejected; and the rather, that it would be conſidered as an effect of his weakneſs, and of the danger into which he had fallen by his raſh debarkation with ſo ſmall a force. At any rate, there is no doubt that his meſſage was intended, in the uſual ſtrain of his policy, to amuſe his enemy, or to remove the blame of the war from himſelf. As he uſually accompanied ſuch overtures of peace with the moſt rapid movements and the boldeſt reſolutions, the moment Vibullius ſet out, he diſembarked his troops, and in the night diſpatched the tranſports on their return to Brundiſium to bring the remainder of his army.

His landing on the coaſt was the firſt intimation received by the enemy of his intention to paſs a ſea, which they ſuppoſed ſufficiently guarded by their fleets, and of his purpoſe to carry the war into a country, in which they thought themſelves ſecure by the ſuperiority of their numbers, and of their other reſources. Bibulus, upon this alarm, put to ſea, and came in time to intercept about thirty of the empty tranſports on their return to Italy. Theſe he burnt; and, ſenſible of his own remiſſneſs in ſuffering ſo great a body of the enemy to paſs, he diſtributed his ſhips along the coaſt, and determined, for the future, to keep the ſea in the face of every difficulty, and under every diſtreſs.

In the mean time, Cæſar marched directly to Oricum, where Lucius Torquatus, on the part of Pompey, was poſted, with orders to de-

[z] Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

fend

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fend himſelf to the laſt extremity. But Cæſar, as ſoon as he appeared in the character of Roman Conſul, preceded by the enſigns of office, prevailed on the garriſon to deſert their commander, and to ſurrender the place. Without ſtopping here, he proceeded to Apollonia, was received in the ſame manner by the inhabitants, in oppoſition to the officer who commanded for Pompey. In conſequence of theſe examples he was acknowledged by all the towns of Epirus, and continued his march with the greateſt diſpatch towards Dyrrachium, where Pompey had collected his ſtores, and formed his principal magazines. By his unexpected arrival he had hopes of being able to ſurpriſe that important place, and to make himſelf maſter of it, before a ſufficient force could be aſſembled to cover it.

Pompey, in execution of the plan he had formed, was on his march from Macedonia towards the coaſt of Epirus, when he was met by Vibullius, and received from him the firſt intelligence of Cæſar's landing. He was not amuſed with the meſſage which this officer brought him, nor did he attempt to retort the artifice, by affecting to be deceived. He even expreſſed himſelf in terms harſh and impolitic, "That he neither choſe to return to his country, nor "to hold his life by the conceſſion of Cæſar;" and, without returning any anſwer, detached ſome parties towards the coaſt where the enemy was landed, with orders to lay waſte the country, break down bridges, deſtroy the woods, and block up the high ways with the timber they felled [63]. He ſent expreſſes to Scipio, with an account of Cæſar's arrival in Epirus, and with orders to haſten his paſſage into Europe, with all the forces he had been able to aſſemble in Aſia. He himſelf advanced with great diligence; and being informed on the march, that Oricum and Apollonia had already fallen into the enemy's hands, he haſtened to ſave his magazines and ſtores

[63] Appian. lib. ii.

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at Dyrrachium, and without ſtopping, night or day, marched in ſuch diſorder, that many deſerted as from a cauſe already ruined or deſperate. He arrived, however, in time to prevent the deſigns of Cæſar on Dyrrachium; encamped under the walls, ſent a ſquadron of ſhips immediately to retake or block up the harbour at Oricum, and ordered ſuch a diſpoſition of the fleet as was moſt likely to prevent the paſſage of a ſecond embarkation from Italy.

Cæſar, finding himſelf prevented at Dyrrachium, halted on the Apſus; and, in order to cover Epirus and wait for the ſecond diviſion of his troops from Italy, prepared to intrench himſelf on the banks of that river. Having accordingly ſecured the main body of his army in this poſt, he himſelf returned with a ſingle legion to receive the ſubmiſſion of the towns in his rear, and to provide for the ſupply of his camp.

In the mean time Bibulus, on the part of Pompey, blocked up the harbour at Oricum, and commanded the paſſage from Italy with his fleet.

Calenus, on the part of Cæſar, who had orders to loſe no opportunity of tranſporting his army from Brundiſium, actually embarked and put to ſea; but being met by a packet from Cæſar, with intelligence of the diſpoſitions which had been made by the enemy to intercept him, he returned, ſuffering one of the veſſels that had accompanied his fleet to keep on her way, in order to carry an account of his motions; but ſhe was taken by the enemy and deſtroyed.

Bibulus, who commanded the fleet which lay before Oricum, being precluded from the land by the parties which Cæſar had poſted along the ſhore, forced to bring his daily ſupplies of wood, water, and other neceſſaries at a great diſadvantage from Corcyra, and reduced to great diſtreſs, endeavoured, under pretence of a negotiation, to obtain a ceſſation of arms. But Cæſar, who came in perſon to Oricum, on hearing of this propoſition, ſuppoſing that the

deſign

design of Bibulus was to find an opportunity, under cover of the truce, to procure some supply of provisions and water, rejected the offer, and returned to his camp on the Apsus.

Pompey had advanced from Dyrrachium, and took post on the opposite bank of that river. Dion Cassius and Appian agree that he made some attempt to pass the Apsus, and to force Cæsar in this post; but that he was prevented by the breaking of a bridge, or by the difficulties of a ford. According to Cæsar's own account, the armies continued to observe each other, and the troops, separated only by a narrow river, had frequent conferences from the opposite banks. It was understood that in these interviews no hostilities should be offered. Of the two parties, that of Cæsar was the more engaging to soldiers; notwithstanding his own affectation of regard to the civil constitution of the republic, his military retainers still hoped to remain in possession of the government. He therefore encouraged the communication of his men with those of the opposite party. On this occasion Vatinius, by his direction, went forward to the bank of the river, and raising his voice, complained of the harsh treatment lately offered to Cæsar, in the contempt shewn to all his overtures and advances to peace. May not one citizen, he said, send a message to another, when he means only to prevent the shedding of innocent blood? He proceeded to lament the fate of so many brave men as were likely to perish in this quarrel; and was listened to with profound silence by many of both armies, who crowded to the place.

These remonstrances on the part of Cæsar, delivered by an officer of high rank, and appearing to make so deep an impression on both armies, when reported at Pompey's quarters, seemed to be too serious to be slighted. An answer, therefore, was given by the direction of Pompey, that on the following day A. Varo should be sent to any place that should be agreed upon as safe between the two armies, and there receive the propositions that should be made to

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him. The parties accordingly met at a place appointed, and multitudes from both armies crowded around them. Pompey conſidering the whole as an artifice to gain time, or to find an opportunity to debauch his men, probably gave inſtructions to break up the conference, in a way that for the future ſhould keep the troops at a greater diſtance from each other. Soon after the officers met, ſome darts, probably by his directions, were thrown from the crowd. Both ſides being alarmed by this circumſtance, they inſtantly parted, and withdrew under a ſhower of miſſiles, in which numbers were wounded.

The fate of the war ſeemed to depend on the vigilance of the fleet, and on the difficulties with which Cæſar had to contend in bringing any reinforcements or ſupplies from Italy. Bibulus, from the effect of fatigue, was taken dangerouſly ill; but could not, upon any account, be perſuaded to leave his ſtation, and died on ſhipboard. There being nobody appointed to ſucceed him in the command at ſea, the leader of each of the ſeparate ſquadrons acted for himſelf without any concert. Scribonius Libo, with fifty galleys, ſet ſail from the coaſt of Epirus, ſteered towards Brundiſium, where he ſurpriſed and burnt ſome trading veſſels, one in particular laden with corn for Cæſar's camp. Encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, he anchored under the iſland which covered the mouth of the harbour: from thence he kept the town in continual alarm, landed, in the night, parties of archers and ſlingers, with which he diſperſed or carried off the patroles which the enemy employed on the ſhore; and thus, maſter of the port of Brundiſium, expected fully to obſtruct that outlet from Italy, and to awe the neighbouring coaſt. To this purpoſe he wrote to Pompey, that the other diviſions of the fleet might go into harbour; that his ſquadron alone, in the poſt he had taken, was ſufficient to cut off from Cæſar all reinforcements and further ſupplies. But in this he preſumed too much on the firſt effects of his own operations.

Antony,

Antony, who commanded the troops of Cæſar in the town of Brundiſium, by placing numerous guards at every landing-place on the contiguous ſhore, effectually excluded the ſquadron of Libo from any ſupply of wood or water, of which his ſhips, for want of ſtowage, could not have at any one time a conſiderable ſtock; and he reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs for want of theſe articles, that they were obliged to abandon their ſtation, and to leave the harbour again open to the ſea.

In the mean time, preſſing orders arrived from Cæſar to haſten the embarkation of the troops. Dion Caſſius and Appian relate, that he himſelf being impatient of delay, embarked alone in diſguiſe on board of a barge, with intention to paſs to Brundiſium; that, after he had been ſome time at ſea, the weather became ſo bad, as to determine the maſter of the veſſel to put back; but that being prevailed upon by the intreaties of Cæſar, he continued to ſtruggle with the ſtorm for many hours. They farther relate, that the mariners being likely to faint, the paſſenger at laſt diſcovered himſelf, and encouraged them to perſiſt, by telling them that they carried Cæſar and his fortunes; that, nevertheleſs, he was forced to give way, and afterwards intruſted his orders to a meſſenger; but that he returned to camp before it was known that he had been abſent. He himſelf ſays, that ſome months being paſt, and the winter far advanced, he ſuſpected that ſome opportunities of effecting the paſſage of his ſecond diviſion had been loſt; that he was become highly impatient, and wrote to haſten the embarkation; informing his officers, that they might run aſhore any where between Oricum and Apollonia; as the enemy's fleet, having no harbour in thoſe parts, were frequently obliged, by ſtreſs of weather, to depart from the coaſt.

Upon theſe orders, the troops with great ardour began to embark. They conſiſted of four legions and eight hundred horſe, under the command of Mark Antony and Calenus. The wind being at ſouth,

and

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and no enemy appearing in the channel, they ſet ſail, and ſteered for the coaſt of Epirus, but were drove to the northward; and on the ſecond day paſſed Apollonia, and were diſcovered by the enemy from Dyrrachium. As they were far to the leeward of that part of the coaſt on which Cæſar had inſtructed them to land; and as it was vain for them with this wind to attempt getting to the ſouthward, they choſe to give way at once, and ſteer for ſome convenient harbour northward of all Pompey's ſtations. But in following this courſe, as they paſſed by Dyrrachium they were inſtantly chaſed by Quintus Coponius, who commanded Pompey's ſquadron at that place, chiefly conſiſting of Rhodian galleys. The wind at firſt was moderate, and Coponius expected eaſily to weather the head-lands that were to leeward of his poſt; and, though it roſe conſiderably after he ſet ſail, he ſtill continued to ſtruggle againſt it. As ſoon as Antony obſerved this enemy, he crowded ſail, and made for the neareſt harbour; being in the bay of Nympheus, about three miles beyond Liſſus [14], on the coaſt of Dalmatia. This bay opened to the ſouth, and was very acceſſible, though not ſecure with the preſent wind. He choſe, however, to riſk the loſs of ſome ſhips, rather than fall into the enemy's hands; and made directly for this place. Soon after he entered the harbour the wind ſhifted to the ſouth-weſt, from which his ſhips were now ſufficiently covered, and he debarked without any loſs. At the ſame time the wind, in conſequence of this change, blowing more directly on the land, and more violently, bore hard on Coponius, forced him upon the ſhore, where the greater part of his galleys, being ſixteen in number, were ſtranded and wrecked.

Such of Antony's tranſports as got ſafe into the bay of Nympheus landed three veteran legions, with one of the new levies, and eight hundred horſe. Two of his tranſports, one with two hundred and

[14] Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. 26.

thirty

thirty of the new raiſed troops; the other, with ſomewhat leſs than two hundred veterans, being heavy ſailors, fell aſtern; and it being night before they arrived, miſtook their way, and, inſtead of the bay of Nympheus, came to an anchor before Liſſus. Ottacilius Craſſus, who was ſtationed with a body of horſe in that place to obſerve the coaſt, manned ſome ſmall boats, ſurrounded theſe tranſports, and offered the troops who were on board favourable terms if they would agree to ſurrender. Upon this ſummons the new levies accordingly ſtruck; but the veterans ran their veſſels aſhore, and having landed, fought their way, with the loſs of a few men, to Nympheus, where they joined the main body of their army that was landed with Antony.

The colony at Liſſus had been ſettled by Cæſar, as a part of the province of Illyricum, and now appeared to favour his cauſe; Ottacilius therefore thought proper to withdraw with his garriſon; and Antony having ſtationed ſome of the tranſports at this place to enable Cæſar to embark his army for Italy, if, as was reported, Pompey ſhould attempt to remove the ſcene of the war into that country; and having ſent the remainder back for the troops which were ſtill left at Brundiſium, he diſpatched meſſengers to Cæſar with the particulars of his voyage, and an account of the place at which he had landed.

The fleet, with this diviſion of the army under Antony, had been ſeen on the coaſt, from the ſtations both of Pompey and of Cæſar, ſteering to the northward; but it was not known for ſome days what was become of them. Upon the arrival of the intelligence, that they had effected a landing to the northward, both parties determined to move to that quarter. Pompey decamped in the night, and knowing the route which Antony was likely to take, placed himſelf in his way, giving orders that the army, without lighting fires or ſounding their trumpets, ſhould remain in profound ſilence. Antony, however, having intelligence of this diſpoſition of the enemy, did not

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advance. Cæſar, in the mean time, to favour his junction, was obliged to make a conſiderable circuit, aſcended on the banks of the river Apſus to a ford at which he paſſed; from thence continued his march to the northward, and ſeemed to advance on Pompey's right, while Antony remained in his front. In this ſituation, Pompey, apprehending that he might be attacked on different ſides at once by Cæſar and by Antony, thought proper to quit his ſtation; and leaving their armies to join, fell back to Aſparagium, a ſtrong poſt about a day's march from Dyrrachium.

Cæſar having obtained this great reinforcement, was no longer ſo anxious as he had hitherto been for the preſervation of his poſſeſſions upon the coaſt. His enemies, by the ſuperiority of their fleets, could prevent his receiving any regular ſupply of proviſions from the ſea. It was neceſſary for him, therefore, in order that he might have ſome other reſource, and be in condition to act on the offenſive, to extend his quarters by land, and to cover ſome tract of country from which he could ſubſiſt his army. For this purpoſe he removed from Oricum the legion that was ſtationed at that place; taking ſuch precautions as were neceſſary to ſecure his ſhipping in the port from any ſurprize by ſea. He drew the greater part of the veſſels on ſhore, ſunk one in the mouth of the harbour, and placed another at anchor near it, mounted with a conſiderable tower, and manned with a proper force. Being thus ſecured on the coaſt, he ſent numerous detachments in different directions: L. Caſſius Longinus, with a legion of new levies, into Theſſaly; C. Calviſius Sabinus, with five cohorts and a party of horſe, into Ætolia; Cn. Domitius Calvinus, with two legions, the eleventh and twelfth, into Macedonia; giving ſtrict charge to each of theſe officers, that they ſhould collect all the forage and proviſions which thoſe or the neighbouring countries could furniſh.

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As Pompey had relied much on the authority of government, with which he was veſted at the beginning of the war, and which he believed gave his party a diſpenſation from exerciſe of thoſe popular arts, with which Cæſar thought proper to recommend his cauſe, he threatened to puniſh the refractory, more than he encouraged or rewarded the dutiful; and he often therefore extorted ſervices from the provinces, neglecting the neceſſary attention to conciliate their affections; and ſuch were the effects of this conduct, that the detachments which now appeared on the part of Cæſar were every where favourably received. Sabinus made himſelf maſter of Ætolia. Longinus found the people of Theſſaly divided, and was joined by one of the parties. Calviſius, upon his arrival in Macedonia, had deputations from many towns and diſtricts of the province, with aſſurances of favour and ſubmiſſion; and by theſe means the poſſeſſions of Cæſar, even in thoſe countries on which his antagoniſts had chiefly depended, began to be equal to theirs.

It was thought an unpardonable error in Pompey, thus to ſuffer his quarters to be over-run by an enemy who had but recently acquired a footing on the coaſt, and whoſe army was, in number of cavalry and light infantry, as well as of regular foot, greatly inferior to his own. Pompey, however, knowing the intereſt which Cæſar had in bringing the conteſt to a ſpeedy deciſion, did not chooſe to divide his forces, and he relied for the ſecurity of the ſouthern and inland provinces, on the legions which were ſoon expected to land from Aſia on the eaſtern ſhores of Macedonia or Theſſaly.

Scipio, being the father-in-law of Pompey, had been employed in aſſembling the forces of Aſia, and had, by ſevere exactions, availed himſelf of the reſources of that opulent province. He was ſtill occupied in this ſervice at Epheſus, when he received from Pompey an account of Cæſar's arrival in Epirus, and an order without delay to tranſport his army into Europe. He accordingly, ſoon after the

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arrival of Cæſar's detachments at their ſeveral places of deſtination, debarked in the bay of Thermé, or of Theſſalonica, and penetrated into Macedonia, directing his march towards the quarters of the two legions which Cæſar had ſent thither under the command of Domitius Calvinus, and gave a general alarm on his route; but being arrived within about twenty miles of Domitius, he turned on a ſudden into Theſſaly, as thinking Longinus, who was ſtationed in that country with one legion of raw troops, might be made an eaſier prey.

To lighten his march, he left his baggage under a guard of eight coherts, commanded by Favonius on the Haliacmon, a river which ſeparates Macedonia from Theſſaly, and proceeded with great diſpatch towards the quarters of Longinus. This officer, greatly alarmed at his ſudden approach, and miſtaking, at the ſame time, for an enemy a body of Thracian horſe which were coming to his own aſſiſtance, haſtily withdrew by the mountains, and continued his retreat to Ambracia. Scipio was about to purſue Longinus on the route he had taken, when he was recalled by earneſt repreſentations from Favonius, the officer he had left to guard his baggage; informing him, that his poſt was in the utmoſt danger of being forced by Calvinus, who was on his march through Macedonia for that purpoſe. Scipio accordingly returned with all poſſible diſpatch to the Haliacmon, and arrived at the poſt of Favonius, after the duſt which aroſe from the march of the enemy had appeared on the plain; and thus came barely in time to ſuſtain his party, and to reſcue his baggage.

The armies continued to occupy the oppoſite banks of the Haliacmon; and as Scipio, by the flight of Longinus, was become maſter of all Theſſaly, Calvinus continued in poſſeſſion of Macedonia, and from thence ſecured a conſiderable ſource of ſupply to Cæſar's army.

It would have been of great moment to Pompey's affairs, and not inconſiſtent with the dilatory plan he had formed for the conduct of

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the war, to have riſked an action between theſe ſeparate bodies on the Haliacmon, rather than to have ſuffered his enemy to retain the command of ſo many poſts of conſequence; and Scipio accordingly paſſed the river with a view to bring on an engagement; but after ſome ſtay on the plain, finding no opportunity to attack the enemy with any hopes of ſucceſs, he repaſſed the river, and having occupied his former ſtation, there paſſed ſome partial encounters between ſuch as were advanced on the different ſides, but without any conſiderable event.

While ſo many large bodies, detached from the principal armies, were thus contending in Theſſaly for the poſſeſſion of the country, Pompey remained to cover the ground, which was of greater importance to him, in the neighbourhood of the ſea, and the port of Dyrrachium. Having, at the diſtance of about a day's march in his rear, this town and harbour as a place of arms, when he had depoſited his magazines and ſtores, and from which he received his ordinary ſupply of proviſions, he had taken his meaſures to protract the war; and truſting to his own ſuperior reſources, both by ſea and by land, did not doubt that by waiting until the countries which Cæſar had occupied ſhould be exhauſted, he might force him to retire from the conteſt without the riſk of a battle. To haſten this event, he endeavoured every where to ſtraiten his quarters in the country, and to block up or deſtroy all the harbours he had on the coaſt.

Cnæus, the eldeſt of Pompey's ſons, commanding the Egyptian fleet, in execution of this plan which had been laid to haraſs the enemy, without expoſing their cauſe to a general hazard, attacked Cæſar's principal naval ſtation at Oricum, raiſed the veſſel that had been ſunk at the mouth of the harbour, forced the armed galley that was ſtationed before it, and carried off or deſtroyed all the ſhips that were laid up in the port. From thence he proceeded to Liſſus, burnt thirty

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tranſports which Antony had left in the harbour; but having made an attempt on the town, was repulſed with loſs.

Cæſar, on the oppoſite part, ſenſible of the intereſt which he had in bringing the war to a ſpeedy deciſion, advanced upon Pompey, forced a place of ſome ſtrength that covered his front, and encamped in his preſence. The day after he arrived in this poſition, either to bring on a general action, or to gain the reputation of braving his antagoniſt, he formed his army on the plain between the two camps; but as Pompey continued firm or unmoved by this inſult, and as the recent loſſes which Cæſar had ſuſtained in his ſhipping, and on the coaſt, rendered his proſpect of future ſupplies or reinforcements every day leſs ſecure, he projected a movement, by which he propoſed either to force an engagement, or to preclude the enemy from all his reſources in the town and harbour of Dyrrachium.

For this purpoſe, and that Pompey might the leſs ſuſpect any important deſign, he decamped in the day, and having a large circuit to make, directed his march at firſt from Dyrrachium, and was thought to retire for want of proviſions; but in the night he changed his direction, and with great diligence advanced to the town. Pompey having intelligence of the change which Cæſar had made in his route during the night, perceived his deſign; and having a nearer way to Dyrrachium, ſtill expected by a rapid march to arrive before him. But Cæſar having prevailed on his men, notwithſtanding the great fatigues of the preceding day, to continue their march with little interruption all night, was in poſſeſſion of the only avenue to the town, when the van of Pompey's army appeared on the hills.

Pompey thus ſhut out from Dyrrachium, where he had placed his magazines and ſtores, and from the only harbour he had on the coaſt, was obliged to take poſſeſſion of the Petra, a ſmall promontory which covered a little creek or bay not far from the town, and there endeavoured to ſupply the loſs of the harbour, by bringing ſhips of burden

to unload, and by procuring ſupplies in boats from his magazines and ſtores in the town; and in this manner was ſtill in condition to avoid any immediate riſk of his fortunes in a ſingle action.

Cæſar, on the other hand, being diſappointed in the deſign he had formed to exclude the enemy from their magazines in the town of Dyrrachium, and ſeeing no likelihood of being able to bring the war to a ſpeedy deciſion, his own communication with Italy being entirely cut off, and the fleets he had ordered from thence, from Sicily, and from Gaul, having met with unexpected delays, ſent an officer, named L. Canuleius, into Epirus, with a commiſſion to draw into magazines all the corn that could be found in that or the neighbouring diſtricts, and to ſecure them at proper places for the uſe of his army. This, however, in a country that was mountainous and barren, itſelf commonly ſupplied with corn from abroad, and lately on purpoſe laid waſte by the enemy, was not likely to furniſh him with any conſiderable ſupply, or to enable him for any time to ſupport a dilatory war. His genius was therefore at work by ſome ſpeedier courſe to haraſs his enemy, and to haſten the end of the conteſt.

In theſe circumſtances, however, he did not neglect his uſual artifices to amuſe and diſtract his antagoniſts with great profeſſions of moderation, and with overtures of peace. On hearing of Scipio's arrival in Europe, affecting to have deſpaired of obtaining peace by any farther direct applications to Pompey himſelf, and willing to appeal to the reaſon of the father-in-law againſt the obſtinacy of the ſon, he ſent Clodius, their common friend, with letters and inſtructions, to inform Scipio of the great pains he had taken to obtain an equitable accommodation, "all which, he preſumed, had hitherto "failed, through the unhappy timidity of thoſe he intruſted with his "meſſages, and from their not having courage to deliver them "properly to their general. But ſubjoined that, through the media-

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" tion of Scipio, who could deliver himſelf with ſo much freedom; " who could adviſe with ſo much authority; and who, being at the " head of a great army attached to his perſon, could even enforce " what was juſt, he might expect a different iſſue to propoſitions ſo " fair and ſo reaſonable. And that in this event Scipio would have " the honour of being the reſtorer of tranquillity and good order to " Italy, of peace to the provinces, and of proſperity to the whole " empire." Clodius was received with reſpect; but on delivering his meſſage, it appears, that all farther communication was refuſed him as a perſon who came to inſult or amuſe with falſe pretenſions. Cæſar, indeed, was himſelf, as uſual, ſo far from truſting to the effect of theſe propoſitions, or ſo far from remitting his own operations in order to confirm his pacific profeſſions, that he even redoubled his efforts in that very quarter which was entruſted to Scipio; and as he had already poſſeſſed himſelf of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, he carried his views ſtill farther on that ſide, and ſent Fuſius Calenus to be joined by Longinus and Sabinus, and to endeavour, by the iſthmus of Corinth, to penetrate into Achaia.

He himſelf at the ſame time engaged in a project, which to thoſe who do not recollect the amazing works which were frequently executed by Roman armies, particularly by that of Cæſar himſelf, will appear ſo vaſt, and even romantic, as to exceed belief: this project was no leſs than to inveſt Pompey in his camp, though at the head of an army ſuperior to his own, and oblige him to recede from the coaſt, or ſubmit to be inveſted with lines, and completely ſhut out from the country. For this purpoſe he occupied ſeveral hills in the neighbourhood of Pompey's camp, ſtrengthened them with forts, joined thoſe forts by lines of communication acroſs the vallies, and ſoon appeared to have projected a complete chain of redoubts, and a line of circumvallation.

Pompey, to counteract this daring project, took poſſeſſion of ſome heights in his turn, fortified and joined them in the ſame manner,

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and while the one endeavoured to contract, the other endeavoured to enlarge, the compaſs of their works. The archers and ſlingers on both ſides, as in the operations of a ſiege, were employed to annoy the workmen. The armies lay under arms, and fought in detail for the poſſeſſion of advantageous grounds. When forced from one height which they attempted to occupy, they ſeized upon another that was contiguous, and ſtill continued their line, though obliged to change its direction.

In theſe operations, a campaign, that began in January with the landing of Cæſar on the coaſt of Epirus, already drew on to the middle of ſummer, and both parties had undergone great labour, and were expoſed to peculiar diſtreſs. Cæſar's army, already inured at the blockade of Aleſia, and the ſieges of Marſeilles and of Avaricum, to toils like thoſe in which they were now engaged, flattered themſelves with a like glorious iſſue to their preſent labours. They were in want of bread, and obliged to ſubſtitute in its place a kind of root boiled up with milk; but were comforted under this hardſhip with the proſpect of fields which were repleniſhed with ripening corn, and which gave the hopes of a plentiful harveſt. They not only continued their countervallations with incredible toil, but turned or interrupted all the rivulets or ſprings that formerly watered the grounds on which the enemy were now encamped.

Pompey's army, on their part, were leſs inured to ſuch toilſome operations. They had plenty of bread, which came to them with every wind, from the different coaſts that were ſtill in their poſſeſſion, but were in great diſtreſs for want of water and forage: many of their horſes had died; the men, too long confined to the ſame ground, and to the ſame air, which was infected with filth, and the exhalation of putrid carcaſes, being reduced to the uſe of bad water, were become extremely ſickly.

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Pompey, nevertheleſs, held his enemy at ſome diſadvantage by the ſuperiority of his numbers, and by the extent of line which he obliged him to form and to defend; and it appears that he availed himſelf of theſe advantages with all thoſe abilities of a great officer, which he was juſtly ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. He not only forced Cæſar, without hazarding a general action, to recede from many of the heights which he attempted to occupy, and obliged him, with great labour, to widen the compaſs of his lines; but likewiſe alarmed him by various attacks on the works which he had already completed, and in ſome places forced open the bars which the enemy had placed in his way, and recovered his own communication anew with the country before him. But as Cæſar could preſent his whole army in many places to cover the works he was executing, it was impoſſible, without riſking a general action, which Pompey avoided, entirely to ſtop his progreſs.

In the courſe of theſe operations it appears, from the text of Cæſar's Commentaries, though incomplete, that the armies changed the ground of their principal encampments as well as the diſpoſition of ſome ſeparate poſts, and mutually haraſſed each other with frequent ſurprizes and alarms. And Cæſar mentions no leſs than ſix capital actions which happened in one day at the lines of circumvallation, or under the walls of Dyrrachium; and in moſt of them it is probable that Pompey had the advantage, as he acted on the ſtring, or ſmaller circumference, while his antagoniſts moved on the bow, or the wider circle.

Pompey completed his own line of circumvallation to a circuit of fifteen miles, having a chain of four-and-twenty redoubts on the different hills over which it was carried. By this work he obliged Cæſar to recede half a mile beyond him, and to extend his compaſs to about ſeventeen miles in circumference.

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The extremities of both their works terminated on the ſhore; and Cæſar having no boats or ſhips to oppoſe to the numerous craft of his enemy, ought, perhaps, by the conſideration of this very circumſtance, to have been diverted at firſt from his project. But as he ſought merely for occaſions of action, he was contented with the hopes of finding them even under ſuch diſadvantages. While he was obliged to remain with the ſtrength of his army at that end of his line which was neareſt the town of Dyrrachium, in order to prevent the acceſs of Pompey to his magazines, he propoſed to fortify the other extremity of it with double works, and had already thrown up, at the diſtance of two hundred yards from each other, two entrenchments, conſiſting of a parapet ten feet high, and of a ditch fifteen feet wide; one facing the lines of Pompey, the other turned to the field, in order to guard againſt any ſurpriſe from parties which, coming by water, might land in his rear. He was likewiſe about to join theſe entrenchments by a traverſe or flank, to cover him from the ſea.

Before this work was completed, Pompey made a diſpoſition to force him at this extremity of his lines, and of conſequence to open a way to his rear over the whole extent of his works. For this purpoſe he brought in the night ſix entire legions, or ſixty cohorts, to that part of his own works which faced this place. He embarked a numerous body of archers, ſlingers, and other light troops, having their helmets and ſhields fortified, as it ſeems was the cuſtom, with baſket work, to break the force of the ſtones which were likely to ſhower from the enemy's parapets, and furniſhed with great quantities of faſcines and other materials proper to fill up the ditch. This embarkation was effected in the night; and the officer who commanded it had orders to land part of the troops in the rear of both Cæſar's entrenchments, and another part between them where the work was ſtill incomplete. Theſe ſeparate diviſions were to be ſupported by the whole force of the legions in front, who were to take

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advantage of any effect which the miſſiles from their boats might produce on the flank or the rear of the enemy.

Theſe attacks were accordingly made at day break, in three different places at once, and had all the conſequences of a complete ſurpriſe. They fell with the greateſt effect upon the ſtation of the ninth legion, of which the picquets and other guards being inſtantly routed, the whole legion was put under arms to ſupport them; but ſoon infected with the panic, was carried off in the flight. Antony, who occupied the neareſt ſtation on the heights, appearing in that inſtant with twelve cohorts, and a better countenance, ſtopped for a while the purſuit of the enemy, and furniſhed a retreat to the troops that were routed.

The alarm was conveyed to Cæſar himſelf, by fires lighted on all the hills, and he haſtened to the ground with as many cohorts as could be ſpared from the poſts in his way; but he came too late, Pompey had already forced the entrenchments, had burſt from his confinement, and was beginning to encamp in a new poſition, where, without loſing his communication with the ſea, he rendered abortive for a long time Cæſar's purpoſe of excluding him from the ſupplies of neceſſaries or conveniences which were to be derived from the land, and was now in a poſture to command a free acceſs to water and forage, from the want of which he had been chiefly diſtreſſed in his late ſituation.

Thus Cæſar, far from reaping the fruits which he expected from the labour of ſo many months, began to incur the cenſure of a viſionary projector, who preſumed to practiſe on the ableſt captain of the age the arts with which he had ſucceeded againſt ignorant Barbarians, or, at moſt, againſt generals of mean capacity.

Theſe circumſtances, however, probably made no impreſſion on Cæſar himſelf, nor greatly altered the confidence of his army: he preſented himſelf again before the enemy in their new poſition, and pitched

pitched his camp in their preſence, ſtill determined to act on the offenſive, even in the ſequel of attempts in which he had failed. An action accordingly followed, of which the reſult is evident, although it is difficult, from the imperfect text of his Commentaries, to aſcertain the detail. It appears that both armies had changed the ground which they had taken immediately after the laſt action; that in this remove Pompey had taken poſſeſſion of the camp which Cæſar had left; and as his army, being more numerous, occupied more ground than that of Cæſar had done, he made a ſecond entrenchment, quite round that which had been formerly occupied by Cæſar. This camp was covered by a wood on one ſide, and by a river, at the diſtance of four hundred paces, on the other.

While Pompey lay in this poſition, he had thrown up a line of communication from the flank of his camp to the river, in order to cover his acceſs to water. But after he had taken this precaution, he thought proper to change his ground, and had moved about the diſtance of half a mile on his march to occupy a new ſituation, when, for ſome purpoſe that is not explained, he thought proper to ſend back a legion, or large detachment of his army, to reſume the poſſeſſion of the camp he had ſo recently left.

Cæſar, on his part, being occupied in fortifying a camp in the laſt ſituation he had taken, and obſerving this detachment ſent off from the enemy, thought it gave him a favourable opportunity, by cutting it off, to recover part of the credit he had loſt in the late action. While, to amuſe the enemy, he ordered his men to continue the work in which they were engaged, he himſelf marched with twenty-three cohorts, in two diviſions, under cover of the wood, came to the ground unobſerved, and with the diviſion which was led by himſelf, mixed with the enemy, who had already taken poſſeſſion of the exterior lines, and drove them from thence to the interior entrenchment, with great ſlaughter. The other diviſion being in the mean time to attack the

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ſame works at a different place, miſtook the line of communication which covered the acceſs from the camp to the river for the entrenchment of the camp itſelf, and before they perceived their miſtake, had run along this line to a great diſtance in ſearch of an entrance; when obſerving, at laſt, that the line along which they ran was not defended, the infantry went over it firſt, and were followed by all the cavalry: but the time which they had loſt by their former miſtake gave Pompey an opportunity to come to the relief of his detachment. As ſoon as he appeared, Cæſar's cavalry, finding themſelves entangled between the line of communication, the entrenchment of the camp, and the river, began to retire with great precipitation, and were followed by the foot, who fell into great confuſion. That part of Pompey's detachment, which, in the beginning of the action, had been defeated by Cæſar, ſeeing themſelves likely to be ſupported, rallied in the rear-gate of the camp; and the party which Cæſar himſelf commanded againſt them, obſerving the precipitant retreat of the other diviſion, ſaw dangers and difficulties accumulating on every ſide. Imagining that they were about to be ſurrounded, or ſhut up within the enemy's works, they betook them to flight, crowded back to the ditch, and, in attempting to repaſs it, were killed in ſuch heaps, or were trodden under foot in ſuch numbers, that the ſlain filled up the ditch, and made a paſſage for thoſe that followed.

In this ſtate of general confuſion and terror, the preſence and authority of Cæſar, which, on other occaſions, uſed to be of ſo great effect, were entirely diſregarded. The bearer of a ſtandard, upon Cæſar's catching it, and endeavouring to ſtop him, quitted his hold, and continued to run without it; a rider, whoſe horſe he had ſeized by the bridle, diſmounted, and ran off on foot. The rout was complete; but the ditches and works, amongſt which the action began, as they embarraſſed the flight of the one party, ſo they retarded the purſuit of the other; and Pompey, who did not expect ſuch a victory,

remained

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remained in ſuſpence. He miſtook the flight of Cæſar's army for a feint, to draw him into ſome ambuſcade. In this he was governed, probably, by the high eſtimation for diſcipline and valour to which Cæſar's army was ſo juſtly entitled; but which no troops can uniformly ſupport at all times: and if it be true, as is probable, that the flight of an army in actual rout may be always diſtinguiſhed from a concerted retreat, he on this day committed an unpardonable error; and Cæſar, who may be inclined to exaggerate the overſights, though not the advantages, of his enemy, owns that he himſelf loſt about a thouſand men, with above thirty ſtandards or colours, and owed the preſervation of his army to the exceſſive caution or incapacity of Pompey. He himſelf acted indeed like a perſon defeated, inſtantly abandoned all his famous lines of Dyrrachium, and all his outpoſts; and to make head againſt the victor, brought all the ſcattered parts of his army together.

Pompey, in the mean time, loſt the deciſive moment, or was not ſenſible of his advantage till after the time for improving it was paſt. But this victory, although it had not been perceived in the preciſe moment in which a ſignal advantage could have been made of it, was preſently afterwards greatly exaggerated. Pompey had from his own army the uſual ſalutations of triumph, or received the title of Imperator, which he continued to aſſume, and ſent his accounts of the action, by expreſſes, to every part of the empire; but had the moderation to abſtain from the practice that was uſual in the caſe of victories obtained over foreign enemies, that of binding his faſces and his diſpatches with laurel.

Cæſar, by carrying the war into Macedonia, had put himſelf in a very arduous ſituation. He had paſſed over a ſea on which the enemy were maſters, and had invaded a country of which they were in poſſeſſion, with forces greatly ſuperior to his own: but this daring adventure, which, even in its firſt ſucceſſes, excited aſtoniſhment,

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now expoſed him to cenſure, and his attempt to inveſt ſo great an officer as Pompey, at the head of an army ſuperior to his own, appeared altogether wild and extravagant. The merit of all his former campaigns, as is common, began to be queſtioned by thoſe who, after the event, can inſtruct and correct every general; and the glory he had gained in the former part of the war was entirely obſcured. He was even ſaid to have gained the Spaniſh army by corruption, and to have purchaſed with money the ſurrender which he pretended to have forced by his addreſs and his ſword. People returned to their firſt apprehenſions, that Pompey was the greateſt general which any age or nation had ever produced; that he had effectually put an end to the preſent conteſt, and had left nothing for his party to do but to reap the advantages of the victory he had obtained for them.

Some time before this event, and while the minds of men were yet in ſuſpence, Cato, in one of the councils which had been ſummoned by Pompey, obſerved that Cæſar had acquired much popular favour by his oſtentation of mercy, and by the hopes of protection which he held out to every man who did not actually take arms againſt him; while Pompey and his followers, by publiſhing threats againſt all who did not actually eſpouſe their cauſe, had rendered the army of the republic an object of terror; he therefore moved, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued, containing aſſurances, that every town not actually in arms ſhould be protected, and that no blood ſhould be ſhed but in the field of battle. A reſolution to this purpoſe had been accordingly publiſhed [15]; but in the preſent exultation of victory was forgotten. The times were ſaid to require exemplary juſtice, and to juſtify executions and forfeitures, not only of thoſe who were actually in arms againſt their country, but of thoſe likewiſe who had betrayed its cauſe by a mean and prodigate neutrality. The favourites of Pompey already, in

[15] Plutarch. in Vita Pompeii, p. 494.

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imagination, fated their revenge, and gratified their avarice, at the expence of the oppoſite party and of its abettors [16]. Every one conſidered the uſe which he himſelf was to make of the victory, not how it might be ſecured or rendered complete.

The ſhock which Cæſar had received in ſo critical a time and ſituation, was, not without reaſon, ſuppoſed to be deciſive; he had abandoned his lines, and called in all his out-poſts. His army appeared to ſink under the weight of their misfortunes. Inferior to the enemy in numbers, greatly reduced by their loſſes, and fallen in their own eſtimation, they were not ſoon likely to recover courage enough to contend for the field again with ſo renowned and ſo ſuperior an adverſary.

Cæſar, however, was not overwhelmed by theſe appearances; he knew what was the force of an army which had been taught, by the experience of many years, to repoſe the utmoſt confidence in themſelves and in their general, and which was not likely to ſink, without hopes of recovery, under any ſingle event. He conſidered their apparent dejection as a ſymptom of indignation, and of rage more than of fear or debaſement; and, inſtead of blame or reproach, ſoothed them with conſolation, and with the apologies which he induſtriouſly framed for their late miſcarriage. He bid them recollect their former actions, and not be diſmayed by a ſingle accident which befel them in the midſt of a career ſuſtained with a ſpirit ſo much ſuperior to that of every enemy they encountered: "If fortune has croſſed us for "once," he ſaid, "we muſt retrieve our loſſes by diligence and re- "ſolution. Difficulties only excite the brave, and awaken their "ardour; you have formerly experienced difficulties, and every "ſoldier who was at Gergovia will remember the effects of perſeve- "rance and courage."

[16] Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. lib. iii. c. 88.

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He was ſenſible, however, that ſome particular officers had ſet a ſhameful example; and he ſuppoſed, that by ſingling out theſe for puniſhment, he might ſeem to exculpate the ſoldiers, and reinſtate them in their own eſteem. For this reaſon he diſmiſſed, with infamy, ſome bearers of ſtandards, who, he alleged, had miſled the troops, whoſe object it is never to part from their colours. By theſe means the ſullen dejection of the legions was changed into rage, and an ardent impatience to retrieve their honour [17]. They did not preſume to importune their general to be entruſted ſo ſoon again with his fortunes; but they impoſed voluntary taſks, by way of penance, on themſelves, ſaying, That they had deſerved to be loaded with hardſhips. Many of the ſuperior officers gave it as their opinion to Cæſar, that whatever reſolution he might have taken for the future plan of the war, ſo favourable a diſpoſition in the army, and ſo fair an opportunity of yet ending the conteſt with honour on the very ground on which they had incurred their late diſgrace, ſhould not be neglected, nor ſuffered to eſcape. Cæſar, however, did not chuſe to ſtake his fortunes on the chance of a feveriſh ardour, which ſtill had ſome mixture of conſternation, nor to rely on a fury which had more of deſpair than of rational confidence, againſt the impetuoſity of a ſuperior army recently flushed with victory. Nor was he ſafe to remain in his preſent ſituation, without any poſts in his rear to ſecure his communication with the country, and without any immediate proſpect of ſupply for the ſubſiſtence of his army.

For theſe reaſons, Cæſar determined, without loſs of time, to decamp and to remove to ſome diſtance from the enemy [18]. In the firſt night after this reſolution was taken, and as ſoon as it was dark, the ſick and wounded, with all the baggage, under the eſcort of a legion, were ſent off, with orders that they ſhould not halt till they reached

[17] Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. lib. iii. [18] Ibid.

Apollonia,

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Apollonia, being a march of about thirty miles. At three in the morning the main body of the army, obſerving a profound ſilence, turned out of the camp by different gates, and took the ſame route. Two legions yet remained for the rear-guard. Theſe, after a proper interval, being ready to depart, ſounded the uſual march to make the enemy believe the van of the army was then only beginning to move, and the whole being thus already on their way, and without any incumbrance, they ſoon gained a conſiderable diſtance from the enemy, who was likely to purſue them.

Pompey, as ſoon as he was appriſed of this retreat, drew forth his army, and followed with great expedition. After marching a few miles he overtook, with his cavalry, the rear of Cæſar's army at the paſſage of the river Genuſus; but being received by the enemy's horſe, interlined with infantry, could make no impreſſion, and ſaw them effect the paſſage of the river without any conſiderable loſs.

Cæſar, having completed an ordinary march, took poſſeſſion of the lines which he had formerly occupied at Aſparagium; but not intending to remain on this ground, gave orders to the legions to reſt on their arms. He ſent forth his cavalry by the front gate in ſight of the enemy, as if with intention to forage; but with orders to turn round the camp, and enter it again by the rear. Pompey ſuppoſing, from theſe appearances, that Cæſar had concluded his march, and that the buſineſs of the day was over, followed his example, pitched in the ſame lines, which he likewiſe had formerly occupied at this place, and ſuffered his men to ſtray in ſearch of forage and wood; many alſo who, in the hurry with which they decamped in the morning, had left their baggage behind them, were now allowed to lay down their arms, and returned to Dyrrachium in ſearch of it.

Cæſar, who waited only until the halt he had made ſhould produce this effect in the camp of the enemy, again put his army in motion about noon, and without interruption, on the ſame day

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completed a ſecond march of eight miles; while Pompey's army, having already laid aſide their arms and encamped, were not in condition to follow. Cæſar continued his retreat during ſome of the ſubſequent days in the ſame order, having his baggage advanced ſome hours before him: and Pompey, having loſt ſome ground by the delay of the firſt day, and having haraſſed his army in attempting to regain it, on the fourth day intirely diſcontinued the purſuit.

This reſpite gave both parties leiſure to conſider the plan of their future operations. Cæſar repaired to Apollonia to lodge his ſick and wounded, to pay off the arrears of his army, and to make a proper diſpoſition for the ſecurity of the places he held on the coaſt. And having already one cohort at Liſſus, placing three at Oricum, and four at Apollonia, he continued his route from thence to the ſouthward. He propoſed, without delay, to penetrate into Theſſaly, and to occupy, for the ſubſiſtence of his army, as much as he could of that fertile country. He flattered himſelf, that if Pompey ſhould follow him thither, to a diſtance from his magazines and his ſupplies by ſea, the war might be continued between them upon equal terms. If he attempted to retake Oricum and the towns on the coaſt, he muſt expoſe Scipio and the body under his command, in the eaſtern parts of Macedonia, to be ſeparately attacked; or, if he wiſhed to preſerve Scipio and his army, he would be obliged to quit his deſign upon Oricum in order to ſupport them. If he ſhould paſs into Italy, it was propoſed to follow him by the coaſts of Dalmatia. And this laſt alternative of carrying the war into Italy, from the difficulties, the delays, and the diſcredit to which it might have expoſed Cæſar's cauſe, appears to have been the preferable choice for Pompey. It was accordingly debated in council, Whether, being maſter of the ſea, and having abundance of ſhipping, he ſhould not tranſport his army, recover the poſſeſſion of the ſeat of government, and ſtrip his antagoniſt of that authority which he derived from this circumſtance? or, whether he ſhould not ſtay

to finiſh the remains of the war in Macedonia? The advantages likely to reſult from his return to Rome in the capacity of victor, after he had left it with ſome degree of diſgrace, were obvious. But the war appeared to be ſo near its concluſion, that it was reckoned improper to leave any part of it unfiniſhed. It was argued, that, by quitting the preſent ſeat of the war, Cæſar would be left to recover his forces in a country yet full of reſources, and would only exchange the weſtern part of the empire for the eaſt, from whence Sylla had been able, and from whence Pompey himſelf was now about to recover the city and the poſſeſſion of Italy.

But, what weighed moſt of all in theſe deliberations, the ſafety of Scipio required the preſence of Pompey in Macedonia. If he ſhould remove his army from thence, this officer, with the forces recently arrived from Aſia, would fall a ſacrifice to the enemy.

Upon theſe motives both armies, having their ſeveral detachments in Theſſaly, and ſeparate bodies to ſupport or to reſcue from the dangers which threatened them; the generals determined to march into that country, and calculated their reſpective movements, ſo as to cut off the enemy's parties, or to ſuſtain their own. Cæſar, by his march to Apollonia, had been turned from his way; and having the diſcredit of a defeat, and being ſuppoſed on his flight, was haraſſed or ill received by the country as he paſſed. The meſſengers, whom he had diſpatched to Domitius, were intercepted; and this officer, while both armies were advancing, having made ſome movements in Macedonia in ſearch of proviſions, and having, with the two legions he commanded, fallen into Pompey's route, narrowly eſcaped, and only by a few hours, being ſurpriſed and taken.

Cæſar, having arrived in time to reſcue Domitius, and being joined by him as he paſſed the mountains into Theſſaly, continued his march to Gomphi. The people of this place having refuſed to admit him, he ſcaled the walls, gave the town to be pillaged; and intending, by

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this example, to deter others from retarding his march by fruitleſs reſiſtance, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword. When he arrived at Metropolis, the people, terrified by the fate of Gomphi, threw open their gates; and Cæſar, to contraſt this with the former example, gave them protection. From hence to Lariſſa, where Scipio, having fallen back from the Aliacmon, then lay with a conſiderable army, the country was open, and Cæſar, or his parties, were every where received without oppoſition. Having paſſed all the leſſer rivers which fall into the Penius, he took poſt on the Enipeus, which runs through the diſtrict of Pharſalia. Here he commanded extenſive plains, covered with forage and with ripening corn; had a very fertile country to a great diſtance in his rear; and being joined not only by Domitius, but probably likewiſe by the legion which Longinus commanded in Ætolia, in all amounting to ten legions, he was in condition to renew his offenſive operations.

Pompey directed his motions likewiſe towards the ſame quarter; but although he had the more direct route, and was every where received as victor in the late action, was ſtill on his march. Scipio advanced from Lariſſa to receive him; and being joined, they took poſt together on a height near Pharſalus, and in ſight of Cæſar's ſtation, at the diſtance of thirty ſtadia, or about three miles [19]. The armies being ſome time fixed in this poſition, Cæſar drew forth, in the front of his intrenchment, to provoke his antagoniſt. It was evidently not Pompey's intereſt to give an enemy, whom he had brought into conſiderable ſtraits, an opportunity of relief by the chance of a battle. But as this was a defiance, and had ſome effect on the minds of the ſoldiers, it was proper to return it; and both ſides, during many days, continued to turn out in the front of their reſpective lines. Cæſar advanced, on each ſucceſſive day, ſtill nearer

[19] Appian. de Bello Civ. lib. ii.

to

to Pompey's ground; but there were ſome difficulties in the way of his farther approach, in which he did not chuſe to engage himſelf in the preſence of an enemy, nor did Pompey chuſe to quit the eminence on which he had hitherto formed his line of battle.

The ſummer being far ſpent, and all the forage and corn of the neighbouring plains being conſumed, Cæſar began again to ſuffer for want of proviſions, and having no hopes of bringing the enemy to a battle on this ground, he determined to change it, for ſome ſituation in which he could more eaſily ſubſiſt his own army, or by moving about, haraſs the enemy with continual marches, and oblige them perhaps to give him an opportunity to fight them on equal terms. Having reſolved on this plan, and having appointed a day on which the army ſhould move, the tents being already ſtruck, and the ſignal to march given, while the van was paſſing through the rear-gate of the camp, it was obſerved, that Pompey's army, being formed according to their daily practice, had advanced farther than uſual before their lines. Cæſar immediately gave orders to halt, ſaying to thoſe who were near him, "The time we have ſo earneſtly wiſhed "for is come; let us ſee how we are to acquit ourſelves." He immediately ordered, as a ſignal of battle, a purple enſign to be hoiſted on a lance in the centre of the camp [20]. Appian ſays, That he likewiſe ordered the pales to be drawn, and the breaſt-work to be levelled in the front towards the enemy, that his army might not hope for a retreat, not even behind their intrenchments [21].

It was evidently Pompey's intereſt to avoid a battle, and to wait for the effect of the diſtreſſes to which Cæſar's army muſt have been expoſed on the approach of winter. But this is the moſt difficult part in war, requiring great ability in the general, together with tried courage and diſcipline in the troops. A general may be qualified to

[20] Plutarch. in Vita Pompeii.

[21] Appian. de Bello Civ. lib. ii.

fight

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fight a battle, but not dextrouſly to avoid an enemy who preſſes him; an army may have that ſpecies of courage which impells them in action, but not that degree of conſtancy which is required to ſupport them long unemployed in the preſence of an enemy. In whatever degree Pompey himſelf was qualified for the part which the ſervice required of him, he was attended by numbers of Senators and perſons of high rank, who, thinking themſelves in a civil or political capacity, equal with their general, bore the continuance of their military ſubordination with pain. They ſaid, he was like Agamemnon among the kings, and protracted a war that might have been ended in a day, merely to enjoy his command. Nurſed in luxury, and averſe to buſineſs, petulant in ſafety, uſeleſs in danger, impatient to be at their villas in the country, and their amuſements in the town; and anticipating the honours and ſucceſſions to office which they imagined due to their high merits in the preſent ſervice, they railed at the conduct of their general, affected courage by urging him to fight, whilſt in reality they only wiſhed to terminate the ſuſpence and anxiety of a campaign, which they had not the reſolution to endure. Many of the allies, then alſo preſent in the army, who were princes of high ſtate in their own dominions, were impatient of longer delay; and the troops of every deſcription, in imitation of ſo many reſpectable examples, were loud in their cenſures of ſo much caution in their general.

Pompey, urged by the clamours of his army, thought himſelf under a neceſſity to come to a ſpeedy deciſion, and had prepared for battle on the morning of that very day on which Cæſar was about to decamp. Although he was ſenſible, that, in this conjuncture, it was not his intereſt to hazard a battle, it is probable, that he did not think the riſk was great. He too, as well as others of his party, became elated and confident upon his late ſucceſs [22]. His numbers greatly

[22] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. vii. ep. iii.

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ſurpaſſed thoſe of Cæſar, eſpecially in horſe, archers, and ſlingers; and he truſted, that, by this part of his army, he ſhould prevail on the wings, and carry his attack to the flank, and even to the rear of the enemy. Having the Enipeus, a ſmall river with ſteep banks, on his right, which ſufficiently covered that flank [23], he drew all the cavalry, amounting to ſeven thouſand, with the archers and ſlingers to his left, expecting that the event of the battle would be determined on this wing. He himſelf, therefore, took poſt to ſecond the operations of the cavalry, at the head of the two famous legions which he had called off from Cæſar at the beginning of the war. Scipio was poſted in the centre, with the legions from Syria, having the great body of the infantry divided on his right and his left. The right of the whole was covered by a Cilician legion, and the remains of the Spaniſh army which had joined Pompey under Afranius. The whole amounted to one hundred cohorts, or about forty-five thouſand foot, drawn up in a line of ten men deep [24].

Cæſar, obſerving this diſpoſition, formed his army in three diviſions; the left was commanded by Antony, the right by Sylla, and the centre by Cn. Domitius. The tenth legion was poſted on the right, and the ninth on the left of the whole. He had eighty cohorts in the field; but theſe ſo incomplete, as not to exceed above twenty-two thouſand men. He ſaw the diſparity of his horſe and irregulars on the right, having no more than a thouſand horſe to oppoſe to ſeven thouſand of the enemy. In order to reinforce and ſuſtain them, he draughted a cohort from each of the legions in the right to form a reſerve, which he placed in the rear of his cavalry with orders to ſuſtain them, or to repel the enemy's horſe, when they ſhould attempt, as he expected, to turn his flank. This body formed a fourth diviſion of his army, not placed in the ſame line with the other diviſions; but

[23] Appian. de Bello Civ. lib. iii.

[24] Frontinus de Stratagematis.

facing

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facing obliquely to the right, in order to receive the cavalry that was expected to turn the flank, and to fall obliquely on the rear. He himself paſſed along the front of the right wing, and earneſtly intreated them not to engage till they got the ſignal from himſelf. He reminded them of his continual attention to the welfare of the army, deſiring them to recollect with what ſolicitude he had endeavoured to bring on a treaty, in order to ſave both armies to the republic; and how far he had always been from any diſpoſition wantonly to ſhed the ſoldiers blood. He was anſwered with ſhouts that expreſſed an impatience to begin the action. Pompey had directed the cavalry and archers aſſembled on his left to begin the attack; and inſtructed them, as ſoon as they had driven Cæſar's horſe from the plain, to fall upon the flank and the rear of his infantry.

Theſe diſpoſitions being completed, a ſolemn pauſe and an interval of ſilence enſued. The ſame arms, and the ſame appearances preſented themſelves on the oppoſite ſides. When the trumpets gave the ſignal to advance, the ſounds were the ſame; many are ſaid to have ſhed tears[25]. Being ſo near, that they had only ſpace enough in which to acquire that rapid motion with which they commonly ſhocked, Cæſar's army began to ruſh forward, while Pompey's, agreeable to the orders he had given them, remained in their places, expecting that the enemy, if they were made to run a double ſpace in coming to the ſhock, would be diſordered, or out of breath. But the veterans, in Cæſar's line, ſuſpecting the intention of this unuſual method of receiving an enemy, made a full ſtop; and, having drawn breath, came forward again with the uſual rapidity. They were received with perfect order, but not with that reſiſtance and equal force which motion alone could give. The action became general near about the ſame time over the whole front. Pom-

[25] Dio. Caſſius, lib. xli. c. 58.

pey's

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pey's horſe, as was expected, in the firſt charge, put Cæſar's cavalry to rout, and, together with the archers and ſlingers, were haſtening to turn the flank of the enemy. But as ſoon as they opened their view to the rear, being ſurpriſed at the ſight of a body of infantry which was drawn up to oppoſe them, and being, probably, from their confidence of victory, negligent of order; in their attempts to recover it they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and, although there was not any enemy in condition to purſue them, fled to the heights. The archers and ſlingers, being thus deſerted by the horſe, were put to the ſword. And Pompey's left, on which he expected the enemy could not reſiſt him, being flanked by the cohorts who had defeated his cavalry, began to give way. Cæſar, in order to increaſe the impreſſion he had made, brought forward freſh troops to the front of his own line; and while his reſerve turned upon the flank, made a general charge, which the enemy no longer endeavoured to withſtand.

Pompey, on ſeeing the flight of his cavalry, an event he ſo little expected, either thought himſelf betrayed, or deſpairing of the day, put ſpurs to his horſe, and returned into camp. As he entered the Prætorian gate, he called to the guards to ſtand to their arms, and to provide for the worſt. "I go the rounds," he ſaid, "and viſit the poſts." It is likely that ſurpriſe and mortification had unſettled his mind. He retired to his tent in the greateſt dejection, and yet he awaited the iſſue[26]. His army, in the mean time, being routed, fled in confuſion through the lanes of their own encampment. It was noon, and the victors, as well as the vanquiſhed, were greatly fatigued; but Cæſar ſeldom left any refuge to a flying enemy, not even behind their intrenchments. He ordered Pompey's lines to be ſtormed, met with ſome little reſiſtance from the guards that were

[26] Caſſ. de Bello Civile, lib. iii. c. 94.

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placed on the parapet, but ſoon prevailed. The rout and the carnage continued through the ſtreets and the alleys of the camp, to the rear-gate and paſſages through which the vanquiſhed crowded to recover the fields, and from which, without any attempt to rally, they continued their flight to the neighbouring hills.

When Pompey's army drew forth to battle, their tents were left ſtanding, as in full confidence of victory; and the plate, furniture, and equipage of the officers were ſtill diſplayed, as if intended for ſhow. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, Cæſar had authority enough to reſtrain his troops [27] from plunder, and continued the purſuit. Seeing crowds of the vanquiſhed had occupied a hill in the rear of their camp, he made haſte to ſurround them, and to cut off their farther retreat. But they themſelves having obſerved, that the place was deſtitute of water, abandoned it before they could be ſurrounded, and took the road to Lariſſa. Cæſar having ordered part of the army to keep poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, another part to return to their own, he himſelf, with four legions, endeavoured to intercept the fugitives in their way to Lariſſa. He had the advantage of the ground; ſo that after a haſty march of ſix miles, he got before them; and, having thrown himſelf in their way, obliged them to halt. They took poſſeſſion of a height over a ſtream of water, from which they hoped to be ſupplied. Night was faſt approaching, and the purſuers were ſpent with fatigue; but Cæſar yet prevailed on his men to throw up ſome works to prevent the acceſs of the enemy to the brook. When overwhelmed with fatigue and diſtreſs, theſe remains of the vanquiſhed army offered to capitulate; and while the treaty was in dependence many among them, who were Senators and perſons of rank, withdrew in the night, and made their eſcape; the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. perſons of diſtinction, who had been formerly priſoners, and who had

[27] The ſpoils of an enemy were commonly ſecured by the Romans in a regular manner, to be equally divided.

been

been ſet at liberty, were now put to death. Some were ſpared at the interceſſion of their friends, to whom Cæſar permitted that each ſhould ſave one of the priſoners[28]. The private men took oaths of fidelity to the victor, and were enliſted in his army. Cæſar, having ordered ſuch of his men, as had been on ſervice all night, to be relieved from the camp, he himſelf marched with a freſh body the ſame day to Lariſa.

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[28] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xli. c. 62.

CHAP. VII.

Comparative Loſs on the different Sides in the late Action.——Pompey's Flight.——His Death.——Arrival of Cæſar at Alexandria.——Cato, with the Fleet and Remains of the Army from Pharſalia, ſteers for Africa.——State of Italy and of the Republican Party.——Adventures of Cæſar in Egypt.——Victory over Pharnaces.——Arrival in Italy.——Mutiny of the Legions.——Cæſar paſſed into Africa.——His Operations and Action with the Horſe and Irregulars of the Enemy.——Poſt at Ruſpina.——Siege of Uzita.——Battle of Thapſus.——Death of Cato.

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IN the famous battle of Pharſalia, Cæſar, by his own account, loſt no more than two hundred men, among whom were thirty Centurions, officers of diſtinguiſhed merit. He killed of the enemy fifteen thouſand, took twenty-four thouſand priſoners, with a hundred and eighty ſtand of colours, and nineteen Roman eagles and legionary ſtandards; and on this occaſion he cut off many Senators and many of the equeſtrian order[1], the flower of the Roman Nobility, who were the moſt likely to bear up the ſinking fortunes of the commonwealth.

Pompey, when he was told that Cæſar's troops had already forced his intrenchments, changed his dreſs, mounted on horſeback, and having paſſed through the rear gate of the camp, made his eſcape to Lariſſa. On the road he fell in with about thirty horſemen who joined him. At the gates of Lariſſa he received what he wanted for his journey, but declined entering the town, ſaying, That he

[1] Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

would

THEATRE of the Campaigns in MACEDONIA and THESSALY.

BAY of NYMPHEUM
Lissus
PARTHINI
Genusus Fl.
Petra
Camp of Pompey
Camp of Cæsar
Asparagium
Camp of Pompey
Camp of Cæsar
Dyrrachium
Drilo R.
Camp of Pompey
Camp of Cæsar
Apsus Fl.
ILLYRICUM
Apollonia
Aous Fl.
March of Pompey
Oricum
March of Cæsar
Mons Candavius
EPIRUS
CORCYRA
Asbenus Fl.
Ambracia
Ambracius Sinus
GULPH of AMBRACIA
Actium
ACARNANIA
Scumi Mts.
Bermius Mts.
Axius Fl.
Strymon Fl.
Edessa
MACEDONIA
Pella
Berrhœa
Haliacmon Fl.
Pydna
Camp of Calvinus
Camp of Æmilius
Scotussa
Cynocephalæ
Pamisus Fl.
Gomphi
Ion Fl.
Peneus Fl.
Metropolis
Pharna Fl.
Apidanus Fl.
Camp of Cæsar
Pompey
Sicurium
PHARSALIA
Phera
Enipeus Fl.
THESSALY
Thermopylæ
MALIAN BAY
Larissa
Olympus
TEMPE
Ossa
Pelion
Demetrias
Magnesia
Scinthus
PART of EUBŒA
Pangæus Mountains
Strymon Fl.
Philippi
Camp of Octavius
Camp of Brutus
Camp of Antony
Amphipolis
THASUS I.
BAY of STRYMON
Thessalonica
BAY of THERMÆ
Chalcis
Antigonia
Olynthus
Mount Athos

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J. Bell sculp.

would do nothing to make a breach betwixt the inhabitants of that place and the victor [2]. From thence he paſſed by the valley of Tempé to the coaſt, and reſted only one night in a fiſherman's cottage. Next morning he put off from the ſhore in a ſmall boat, with a few of his attendants, and coming in ſight of a trading veſſel, made ſignals, and was taken on board. In this ſhip he ſteered to Amphipolis, came to an anchor before that place, and, probably to conceal his farther intentions, iſſued a proclamation addreſſed to all the diſtricts of Macedonia, and requiring new levies to be made, and all the youth of the province to aſſemble forthwith at this place. But having received ſome ſupplies of money, he remained only one night at Amphipolis. His wife Cornelia, and Sextus the youngeſt of his ſons, were at Mitylené, in the iſland of Leſbos; thither he propoſed to ſail, and, without having ſettled his plan any farther, was anxious to ſave this part of his family from falling [3] into the hands of his enemies. Having taken them on board, and being joined by ſome galleys of the fleet, after a delay of ſome days, occaſioned by contrary winds, he ſet ſail, continued his voyage to the coaſt of Cilicia, and from thence to Cyprus. He meant to have landed in Syria; but being informed that the people of Antioch, upon the news of his defeat, had publiſhed a reſolution to admit none of his party, he dropt that intention, and contented himſelf with what aids and reinforcements he obtained on the coaſts of Cilicia and Cyprus. He ſeized the money which was found in the coffers of the farmers of the revenue; and having borrowed, or otherwiſe procured, conſiderable ſums, he armed two thouſand men, and having ſhipping ſufficient to tranſport them, continued his voyage to Egypt.

The late king, Ptolomy Auletes, had been indebted to the Romans and the patronage of Pompey; and the kingdom being now on a

[2] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlii. c. 2.

[3] Cæſar, Appian, Plutarch.

reſpectable

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respectable footing, having a considerable military force in the field; this Roman leader, though of the vanquished party, flattered himself, that in the gratitude of the Egyptian court he might find some means to reinstate his affairs.

On the death of that Ptolomy, who had been restored to his throne by Gabinius, two factions had arisen in Egypt. The king leaving four children, Ptolomy the elder, Cleopatra, Arsinoë, and Ptolomy the younger, had by his will bequeathed his crown to Ptolomy the eldest of his sons, together with Cleopatra the eldest daughter. This brother and sister being by the laws permitted to marry, were in the capacity of husband and wife associated on the throne. But the council of the young king proposed to set aside the will by excluding Cleopatra. In execution of this design, having obliged her to leave the kingdom, and to fly for protection into Syria, they had taken post with a great army at Pelusium to prevent her return, she being said to have assembled a numerous force in Asia for that purpose [4]. Pompey observing this army upon the shore, concluded that the king was present, came to an anchor, and sent a message with intimation of his arrival, and of his desire to join his forces with those of Egypt.

The council of Ptolomy consisted of three persons, Achillas, who commanded the army; Photinus, an eunuch, who had the care of the finances; and Theodotus of Samos, who was the preceptor or literary tutor of the young king. These counsellors, knowing that the Romans had been named executors of the late king's will [5], and in this capacity might restore Cleopatra to her share in the throne; and that Pompey, in name of the republic, might assume the supreme direction in Egypt, were greatly alarmed upon receiving his message, and came to a resolution to put him to death. By this atrocious action they expected to rid themselves of one dangerous intruder,

[4] Cæsar de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[5] Cæsar, ibid.

and to merit the favour of his rival, who by this deciſive ſtroke was to become the ſovereign of the empire, and fully able to reward thoſe who took a ſeaſonable part in his quarrel. CHAP. VII.

With this intention Achillas, with a few of his attendants, came on board in a ſmall boat, delivered a meſſage from Ptolomy, inviting Pompey to land. In the mean time ſome Egyptian galleys, with an intention to ſecure him, drew near to his ſhip; and the whole army, with the king at their head, were drawn out on the ſhore to receive him. The ſize of the boat, and the appearance of the equipage which came on this errand, ſeemed diſproportioned to the rank of Pompey; and Achillas made an apology, alleging, that deeper veſſels could not go near enough to land him on that ſhallow part of the coaſt. Pompey's friends endeavoured to diſſuade him from accepting of an invitation ſo improperly delivered; but he anſwered by quoting two lines from Sophocles, which implies, that *whoever viſits a king, though he arrive a free man, muſt become his ſlave.* Two of his ſervants went before him into the boat to receive their maſter; and with this attendance he put off from the ſhip. His wife Cornelia, and Sextus the youngeſt of his ſons, with ſome other friends, remained upon deck, ſufficiently humbled by the preceding ſtrokes of fortune, anxious for the future, and trembling under the expectations of a ſcene which was acting before them. Soon after the barge had left the ſhip, Pompey looking behind him, obſerved among the Egyptian ſoldiers a perſon whoſe countenance he recollected, and ſaid to him, Surely, fellow ſoldier, you and I have ſomewhere ſerved together. While he turned to ſpeak theſe words, Achillas beckoned to the other ſoldiers, who underſtanding the ſignal to put the Roman general to death, ſtruck him with their ſwords. Pompey was ſo much prepared for this event, that he perceived the whole of his ſituation at once, and ſunk without making any ſtruggle, or uttering one word[s]. This was

[s] App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. Plut. in Pomp. Livii epitome, lib. cxii.

done

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done in the preſence of the king of Egypt and of his army, who were ranged on a kind of amphitheatre formed by the ſhore. The veſſel in which the unhappy Cornelia with her family was left, and the little ſquadron which attended it, as if they had received a ſignal to depart, cut their cables and fled.

Thus died Pompey, who for above thirty years enjoyed the reputation of the firſt captain of his age. The title of *Great*, originally no more than a caſual expreſſion of regard from Sylla, continued, in the manner of the Romans, to be given him as a mark of eſteem, and a name of diſtinction. He attained to more conſideration, and enjoyed it longer than any other Roman citizen; and was ſupplanted at laſt, becauſe, for many years of his life, he thought himſelf too high to be rivaled, and too ſecure to be ſhaken in his place. His laſt defeat, and the total ruin which enſued upon it, was the conſequence of an overweening confidence, which left him altogether unprepared for the firſt untoward event. The impreſſion of his character, even after that event, was ſtill ſo ſtrong in the minds of his enemies, that Cæſar overlooked all the other remains of the vanquiſhed party to purſue their leader.

The accounts which Cæſar received at Lariſſa made him believe that Pompey muſt have paſſed into Aſia; and he accordingly, on the third day after the battle of Pharſalia, ſet out in purſuit of him with a body of horſe, ordering a legion to follow. In paſſing the Helleſpont, he was ſaluted by ſome galleys which guarded the Straits, under Lucius Caſſius. Theſe ſurrendered themſelves, and, with their leader, made offer of their ſervice to the victor. From thence he continued his march by the coaſt of Ionia, receiving the ſubmiſſion of the towns in his way. And being come into Aſia, he had intelligence of Pompey's operations in Cyprus, of his departure from thence, and of his continuing to ſteer for the coaſts of Egypt. In order to be in condition to follow him thither, he put into the iſland of Rhodes,

Rhodes, where he provided tranſports ſufficient to embark the legion which he had ordered to follow him from Theſſaly, and another from Achaia, with eight hundred horſe. To theſe he joined a convoy of ten armed galleys of this iſland, and ſome Aſiatic ſhips [7].

With this force Cæſar ſet ſail for Alexandria, and arrived, after a paſſage of three days [8]. Here he learned the cataſtrophé of Pompey's life; and had preſented to him by the courtiers of Ptolomy, who were impatient to recommend their ſervices, the head of the deceaſed ſevered from the body, with his ſeal, which was known throughout the empire, being that with which his ſignature was put to all letters, acts, and public writings: but Cæſar either really was, or affected to be, ſeized with a momentary compunction; is ſaid to have turned away from the ſight, and to have wept [9]. This able actor probably had tears, as well as words, at command; and could ſanctify, under the moſt ſpecious appearances, the evils which his ambition had produced. From this event, however, which he thus affected to regret, and no ſooner, he became ſecure, and ſeems to have dated the termination of the war. He accordingly landed without precaution, and being detained at firſt by the uſual periodical winds of the ſeaſon, became entangled in difficulties, or engaged in pleaſures, which occaſioned a very unaccountable ſtay, ſuſpended the expectations of the whole empire, and gave to thoſe of the oppoſite party leiſure to conſult their ſafety in different ways.

Cato, upon the march of Pompey into Theſſaly, had been left to command on the coaſt of Macedonia; and his quarters, after the battle of Pharſalia, became a place of retreat to many who eſcaped from the field, or who, at the time of the action, had been detached

[7] Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[8] App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. The two legions which he led in this ſervice amounted only to three thouſand two hundred men; ſo much had the army in general ſuffered in their late campaigns.

[9] App. ibid.

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on different ſervices. He aſſembled great part of the fleet at Corcyra; and, with his ſea and land forces united, ſtill preſerved the aſpect of a vigorous party. Cicero, Cnæus the eldeſt ſon of Pompey, Afranius, Labienus, and other perſons of diſtinction had joined him. Among theſe Cicero, as being the firſt in rank, was offered the command; and having declined it, narrowly eſcaped with his life from the fury of young Pompey, who conſidered his refuſal as a deſertion of the cauſe, and as an act of perfidy to his father, whoſe fate was yet unknown [21]. Cicero, being protected by Cato and others, who were preſent, eſcaped into Italy; and declining the command of an army, reſerved, for ſcenes in which he was better qualified to act, talents which had been, on former occaſions, of ſo much uſe to his fellow citizens. It appeared that Cato had even diſapproved of his having joined either party in this war, and wiſhed him to have devoted his life and his abilities entirely to thoſe ſervices which he was better qualified to render to his country, in the Senate, and in the popular aſſemblies, than in the field.

It is probable that Cato had already taken his own reſolution not to ſubmit to Cæſar, nor to ſurvive the fall of the commonwealth; but he treated with great candour ſuch as choſe to make their peace, and to retire from the ſtorm. Having ſtaid a ſufficient time at Corcyra, to receive on board ſuch of the vanquiſhed army as choſe to take refuge in the fleet; and having afterwards put into Patræ, near the mouth of the Gulph of Corinth, for the ſame purpoſe, he ſtill gave every one his option to continue in arms, or to retire. He ſeems to have ſuppoſed that Pompey was gone into Egypt, and he determined to follow him; hoping, that after the junction of this great reinforcement, he might, either there or in the province of Africa, renew the war with advantage. Being, in purſuance of this

[21] Plut. in Vita Ciceronis. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlii. c. 10—12.

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design, arrived in the African seas, but west of the frontier of Egypt, he met the unhappy Cornelia, with the young Sextus Pompeius, who had recently beheld the death of the husband and the father near the shore at Pelusium. The account which he received of this event determined him not to continue his voyage any farther to the eastward; but to return towards the Roman province of Africa, where the friends of the republic under Varus, in consequence of the defeat of Curio, and the alliance of Juba, still kept the ascendant, and lately received an accession of strength by the junction of Scipio and of Labienus, who had escaped from Pharsalia. But the periodical winds which about the same time began to detain Cæsar at Alexandria, made it impossible, or at least dangerous, for him to continue his voyage along a coast that was covered to a great extent by the famous shoals and sand-banks of the Syrtes. For these, perhaps, and other reasons which are not mentioned, Cato landed at Berenicé; and from thence conducting his army, then consisting of ten thousand men, in small divisions, through the deserts of Barca, and round the bay of the Syrtes; and having, during thirty days, encountered with many difficulties from the depth of the sands and the scarcity of water, he effected his march to the frontier of the Roman province [42].

Cæsar, when he passed into Macedonia, had left Italy and the western provinces in a state not likely, in his absence, to create any trouble. But the uncertain, and even unfavourable aspect, of his affairs, for some time after his landing in Epirus, had encouraged those who were discontented to question the validity of his acts, and to disregard his arrangements. The army in Spain having mutinied, deserted from Q. Cassius, and put themselves under the command of M. Marcellus Æserninus, who, however, did not openly declare

[42] Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 836.

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himſelf for either party, till after the event was decided in favour of Cæſar.

At Rome it is probable that few had remained beſides thoſe who were inclined to Cæſar's party, or at leaſt ſuch as were indifferent to both; and that ſome perſons, even of the laſt deſcription, thought they had an intereſt in his ſucceſs, as being their only ſafety againſt the menacing declarations of his adverſary, who, in all his proclamations, treated neutrality between the parties as treaſon to the commonwealth. But the uncertain ſtate of his fortunes, while the event of the war remained in ſuſpence, and ſtill more after his defeat at Dyrrachium, encouraged or tempted numbers, even in the city of Rome, to declare for Pompey. Marcus Cælius, who, in the preceding year, had, upon diſguſt, or hopes of promoting his own fortune, gone with Antony and Curio to join Cæſar, and who was now, by the influence of the prevailing party, elected one of the Prætors; being moved by a freſh diſguſt from the party he had joined, or by its apparent decline in the field, openly declared himſelf againſt Cæſar's meaſures, offered protection to debtors againſt the execution of his laws relating to bankrupts, drove his own colleague Tribonius by force from the Prætor's tribunal, and gave ſuch an alarm, that the Senate thought themſelves under the neceſſity of giving the Conſul Iſauricus the uſual charge to guard the commonwealth as in times of extreme danger. Upon this decree the Conſul took arms to preſerve the peace, and Cælius was obliged to leave the city. About the ſame time Milo, who ſtill lay under ſentence of baniſhment, ventured, at the head of an armed force, to land on the coaſt, and attempted to make himſelf maſter of Capua. While he was engaged in this enterprize he was joined by Cælius; but both were ſoon after ſurrounded and cut off by the forces which Cæſar had left for the protection of Italy [13].

[13] Liv. Epitome, lib. cxi. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlii. c. 22, 26.

†

Theſe

These disturbances, and every appearance of opposition to the party of Cæsar, were again easily suppressed upon the news of his victory at Pharsalia. The populace, who generally range themselves on the victorious side, and who are equally outrageous in every cause they espouse, celebrated the occasion, by pulling down the statues of Pompey and of Sylla. There was either no Senate, and no assembly of the People to resist the torrent with which fortune now ran on the side of military government, or the names of Senate and People were, without debate or difference of opinion, put to decrees, by which the supreme power of life and death over the supposed adherents of the vanquished party was committed to the victor. By these decrees, the power of making war or peace, and of naming commanders and governors in all the provinces, was committed to Cæsar. He was, by a new and unheard-of resolution, made Consul for five years, Dictator for twelve months, and vested with the sacred character of Tribune for life. He alone was appointed to preside in all public assemblies, except those of the Tribes, in which the other Tribunes bore an equal part with himself.

When these decrees were presented to Cæsar, then in Egypt, he assumed the ensigns and power of Dictator, and appointed Antony, who commanded in Italy, general of the horse, or second to himself in the empire. The reputation of Cæsar's clemency had encouraged many, who had recently opposed him, to lay down their arms, and to return to their habitations, trusting to this character of the victor, or to other considerations more particularly applicable to themselves. Cicero returned to Italy, and waited for Cæsar in the neighbourhood of Brundisium. Caius Cassius, who had commanded the fleet which had been assembled for Pompey from the coasts of Syria and Cilicia, having sailed to Sicily, while the army yet lay in Pharsalia, surprised and burnt the shipping, amounting to thirty-five vessels, of which twenty were decked, which Cæsar had assembled at Messina, and

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was about to have forced the town to ſurrender, when he was informed of the defeat of Pompey in Theſſaly, and ſet ſail for the coaſt of Aſia. Here he waited for Cæſar at the mouth of the Cydnus, without being determined, whether he ſhould attempt to deſtroy or ſubmit to the victor. From the correſpondence of Caſſius with Cicero, it appears that, like this diſtinguiſhed ſenator, he was about to withdraw from the ruins of a party which he could no longer ſupport. Cicero, nevertheleſs, afterwards aſcribes to him a deſign of killing Cæſar at this place, if the prey had not eſcaped him by going to a different ſide of the river from where he was expected to land. Upon this diſappointment Caſſius made his ſubmiſſion, and delivered up his fleet [14]. Quintus Cicero went to Aſia to make his peace with Cæſar; and many, expecting him in Italy, reſorted thither on the ſame errand. In this number, it was reported that Cato and L. Metellus meant to preſent themſelves as perſons who had done no wrong, and who came openly to reſume their ſtation in the commonwealth. Cæſar foreſaw the difficulties that might ariſe to himſelf from the preſence of ſuch men; that they would greatly embarraſs his government by oppoſing it, or, in order to rid himſelf of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, reduce him to the neceſſity of pulling off the maſk of moderation and clemency, which he had hitherto aſſumed. For theſe reaſons, he choſe rather to prevent their coming, than to contend with them after they were come; and ſent poſitive orders to Antony, to forbid Cato, Metellus, and every other perſon, to whom he had not given expreſs permiſſion, to ſet their foot in Italy [15].

U. C. 706. C. Julius Cæſar Dict. Iterum M. Antonius Mag. Eq.

Such was the ſtate of affairs at the end of the year of Rome 705, and beginning of the following year, which is dated in the Dictatorſhip

[14] Cæſar de bello Civil. lib. iii.

[15] Ibidem, ep. 6 & 7.

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torſhip of Caius Cæſar. While he himſelf ſtill remained in Egypt, the government of Italy continued in the hands of Antony. All orders of men vied, in demonſtrations of joy, for the ſucceſs of the victor, and for the aſcendant which his party had gained. They ſtill probably hoped to have the form of the republic preſerved, while no more than the adminiſtration of it ſhould paſs from the ruined party to thoſe who were now in power: but in the firſt ſteps of the preſent government they found themſelves diſappointed. The uſual election of magiſtrates, which, even in the height of the war had never been omitted, now at the end of it, and when no enemy any where appeared to alarm the party, were all of them, except that of the Tribunes, entirely ſuſpended or laid aſide. All government centered in the perſon of Antony, and the adminiſtration was altogether military. He himſelf, immerſed in debauch, paſt the greateſt part of his time in the company of buffoons and proſtitutes; frequently ſhifted the ſcene of his frolics from the town to the country, and travelled through Italy with a field equipage, and a numerous train of carriages, filled with courtezans and their retinue. In theſe proceſſions he himſelf is ſaid to have ſometimes appeared in a carriage that was drawn by lions[16]. In this tide of ſucceſs, as he was ungracious and arrogant to citizens of the higheſt rank, ſo he was indulgent to the troops, and deaf to all the complaints that were made of their violence and rapine. Being equally apt to ſet the example of diſorder and licence in his own practice, as he was to indulge them in others, his retainers frequently alarmed the city with rapes, robberies, and murders, and made the pacific inhabitants of Italy expect, with the arrival of Cæſar, a continual increaſe of ſuch diſorderly maſters to ſport on the ruins of the Commonwealth.

The worſt men, as uſual, were the moſt forward in paying their court to the party in power. The neareſt relations became ſpies or informers

[16] Plut. in Vita Antonii, p. 74, 75.

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informers againſt each other. Fears or complaints uttered were reported as crimes. A general ſilence and diſtruſt enſued, and all parties wiſhed or dreaded the arrival of Cæſar, according as they expected to loſe or to gain by the fall of the Commonwealth. In this interval of expectation, men diſcovered their gloomy apprehenſions, by propagating ſtrange fictions of ominous appearances, or by magnifying things natural into alarming preſages and prodigies[17].

The daily expectation of Cæſar's arrival, for ſome time, ſuſpended all the uſual factions in the city, and ſuppreſſed the hopes and deſigns of his opponents in all parts of the empire: but his unexpected ſtay at Alexandria, and the unfavourable reports of his ſituation, which were ſometimes brought from thence, began to turn the tide of popularity at Rome, and encouraged the remains of the late republican party, now forced to take refuge in Africa, again to lift up its head[18].

Dollabella, a young man of Patrician extraction, obſerving the road which others had taken, by becoming Tribunes of the People, to arrive at power in the commonwealth, procured himſelf, in imitation of Clodius, to be adopted into a plebeian family, to the end that he might be legally qualified to hold this office; and having accordingly ſucceeded in this deſign, revived the wild projects by which the worſt of his predeceſſors had endeavoured to debauch the lower ranks of the People. He propoſed an abolition of debts, and a reduction of houſe-rents. Being oppoſed by Tribellius, one of his colleagues, their ſeveral retainers frequently, as uſual, proceeded to violence in the ſtreets; and although the Senate paſſed a decree to ſuſpend every queſtion or ſubject of debate until the arrival of Cæſar, theſe Tribunes continued to aſſemble the People, kept them in a ferment by oppoſite motions, and filled the publick places with tumult

[17] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlii. c. 26.

[18] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xi. ep. 16.

and

and bloodſhed [19]. Mark Antony, ſecond in command to Cæſar, under pretence that ſuch diſorders could not be reſtrained without a military force, took poſſeſſion of the city with an army; and while he ſometimes favoured one party, and ſometimes the other, continued to govern the whole at diſcretion [20].

The troops about the ſame time became mutinous in their quarters; and theſe diſorders roſe or fell according to the reports that were propagated from Aſia or Egypt relating to the ſtate of Cæſar's affairs. The ſpirits and hopes of the late Republican party, which yet had ſome footing in Africa and Spain, likewiſe fluctuated in the ſame manner. It is highly probable, that if Cæſar had purſued the other remains of this party with the ſame ardour with which he purſued Pompey in perſon, or if he could have returned to the capital immediately on the death of his rival, they never would have attempted, or would have been able to renew the conteſt; but the leiſure which he left them, and the ill aſpect of his own affairs, for ſome time encouraged and enabled them to recover a ſtrength, with which they were yet in condition to diſpute the dominion to which he aſpired.

Cato, who, with the remains of the Republican party from Epirus, had arrived on the coaſt of Africa, being informed that Varus ſtill held the Roman province on this continent in the name of the Republic, that Scipio was there, and that the king of Numidia perſiſted in his alliance againſt Cæſar, determined to join them. At his arrival, Scipio and Varus being on bad terms, he received an offer of the command from the general voice of the army: but his acceptance being likely to increaſe, rather than to appeaſe animoſities, and the preference being conſtitutionally due to Scipio as of conſular rank, Cato had no doubts in declining it. Neither Pompey nor Scipio ever conſidered him as their perſonal friend; his ſervices they knew were intended to the Republic, and would turn againſt them whenever

[19] Eight hundred citizens were killed in theſe frays.

[20] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlii. c. 29.

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they came to make that uſe of their advantages to which it is likely they were both inclined. Pompey was accordingly ever jealous of Cato, and in the laſt part of the campaign in Theſſaly choſe to leave him behind on the coaſt. Scipio adopted the ſame conduct with reſpect to this partizan of the commonwealth, and joined to the motives of jealouſy, which actuated Pompey, a diſtruſt of the inclination recently ſhewn by the army to prefer him in the command. In order that he might not interfere in his counſels, he aſſigned or ſuffered him to take a ſeparate ſtation at Utica, where he continued to be the principal ſupport of the cauſe. The inhabitants of this place were obnoxious to Pompey's party; and having formerly received Curio with the forces of Cæſar, and ever favoured his intereſt, were now doomed to deſtruction, but ſaved at the interceſſion of Cato, who, in this extremity of political evils, wiſhed not to increaſe the ſufferings of mankind by unneceſſary acts of revenge and cruelty.

The ſpirit of the Republic thus reviving in Africa, and the party being in condition to receive all who fled to them for protection, and having the alliance of Juba, the moſt powerful prince of that continent, ſoon became formidable both by ſea and by land; and if they had choſen to invade Italy in the abſence of Cæſar, were in condition to have regained the capital of the empire. Young Pompey having, at the ſame time, paſſed into Spain, was favourably received by his father's adherents and clients in that province, and profiting by the miſconduct of Quintus Caſſius in thoſe parts, was likely to aſſemble a conſiderable force.

Gabinius, who commanded for Cæſar on the coaſt of Illyricum, attempting to penetrate by land into Macedonia, was cut off by Octavius, who had aſſembled a remnant of Pompey's army on the confines of that kingdom. Domitius Calvinus, whom Cæſar had appointed to command in Bithynia, had received a defeat from Pharnaces the ſon of Mithridates; and in general, the ſtate of his affairs in other parts of the empire was ſuch, while he himſelf continued unheard of in

in Egypt, as to raiſe a ſuſpicion of ſome misfortune, ſuppoſed to be the only way of accounting for his long ſtay in that country, and for the ſeeming neglect of all the advantages he had gained by a conduct hitherto in every inſtance deciſive and rapid. Pompey had fallen by treachery in Egypt, and ſo might Cæſar. It was now the middle of June, and there was no intimation received in Italy of the time at which he might be expected to return. He had written no letters ſince the middle of December, nor had any one come from him at Alexandria ſince the middle of March [22].

The imperfect accounts which remain of what paſſed in Egypt during this interval, are as follows: Cæſar, at his arrival, had found the young king under the direction of Pothinus; and Arſinoë, the ſiſter of the king, in the keeping of Ganimedes, two eunuchs, who had the care of their education. From his manner of receiving the preſent of Pompey's head, theſe officers conjectured that they had gained nothing by the murder of one of the rivals, that they were engaged in this conteſt for the Roman empire; and that this action, although it freed Cæſar of an enemy whom he reſpected and feared, was not to be publicly avowed or rewarded by him. They dreaded the interpoſition of this dangerous man in their affairs, more than they had dreaded even that of Pompey.

The troops now in Egypt, were the remains of that army with which Gabinius had reſtored the late king, and which he left to ſecure his eſtabliſhment. They were recruited by deſerters from the Roman provinces, and by banditti from Syria and Cilicia. They retained the form of the Roman legion; but had precluded themſelves from any proſpect of return to the Roman ſervice by a mutiny, in which they had murdered the two ſons of Bibulus, then Proconſul of Syria. Numbers of the men were married, and had families in Egypt; they were in the practice of diſpoſing of the lives

[22] Cicer. ad Att. lib. xi. ep. 16 & 17.

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and properties of the people, of the offices at court, and of the crown itſelf at their pleaſure. A party of this inſolent rabble, then in garriſon at Alexandria, and in the character of guards to the perſon of the king, took offence at the parade with which Cæſar landed, and were offended with the number and ſhow of his Lictors, by which he ſeemed to encroach on the majeſty of their ſovereign. Frequent tumults aroſe on this account, and numbers of Cæſar's attendants were murdered in the ſtreets. The weſterly winds were then ſet in, and he finding himſelf detained in a place where he was expoſed to ſo much inſult, ordered a reinforcement of troops from Aſia, and employed Mithridates of Pergamus to bring all the forces he could aſſemble there to his relief. The party of Cleopatra applied to him for his protection; ſhe herſelf, being ſtill in Syria, ventured to paſs into Egypt, came to Alexandria by ſea, and is ſaid to have been carried, wrapped up in a package of carpet, to the preſence of Cæſar.

In this manner, it is pretended that Cæſar became acquainted with the perſon of this celebrated woman, then in the bloom of youth, and poſſeſſed of thoſe allurements by which ſhe made different conquerors of the world, in their turns, for a while renounce the purſuits of ambition for thoſe of pleaſure. She is ſuppoſed at this time to have become the miſtreſs of Cæſar, and to have made him, though turned of fifty years, to forget the empire, the republic, the factions at Rome, and the armies which in Africa and Spain were aſſembling againſt him. Under the dominion of his paſſion for Cleopatra, he took a reſolution to carry into execution the deſtination made by the late king, and in the quality of Roman Conſul and repreſentative of the Roman People, to whom this office had been entruſted by the will, he commanded both parties to lay down their arms, and to ſubmit their claims to his own arbitration.

Pothinus, fearing the total excluſion of the young king, his pupil, in favour of Cleopatra, called Achillas with the army to Alexandria,

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in order to defeat Cæſar's purpoſe, and oblige him to leave the kingdom. This army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men inured to bloodſhed and violence, though long diveſted of the order and diſcipline of Roman troops. Cæſar hearing of their approach, and not being in a condition to meet them in the field, ſeized and fortified a quarter of the town, in which he propoſed to defend himſelf. The young Ptolomy being in his power, was prevailed on to diſpatch two perſons of diſtinction with a meſſage to Achillas, ſignifying the king's pleaſure that he ſhould not advance; but the bearers of this meſſage, as being ſuppoſed to betray the intereſt of their maſter, in whoſe name they appeared, were by the orders of Achillas ſeized and ſlain. Cæſar, however, being ſtill in poſſeſſion of Ptolomy's perſon, repreſented Achillas as a rebel and an outlaw, and ſtill, in name of the king, iſſued repeated orders and proclamations againſt him.

Achillas being arrived at Alexandria, entered the city, and endeavoured to force Cæſar's quarters; but being repulſed, took poſſeſſion of that part of the town which was open to him, and blocked up the remainder both by ſea and land. The city being thus divided, the Egyptians and Romans fought in the ſtreets, and from the houſes which they ſeverally occupied. Cæſar, as he deſpaired of being able to receive any ſuccours by land, endeavoured to keep open his communication by ſea, and ſent preſſing orders to Syria, Cilicia, Rhodes, and Crete, for reinforcements of men and of ſhips. Having early diſcovered that Pothinus, who was ſtill in his power, correſponded with the enemy, he ordered him to be put to death, continued to ſtrengthen his diviſion of the town by additional barriers; and in order to prevent ſurpriſe, demoliſhed and cleared away many of the buildings adjoining to his works. Achillas, finding ſo much unexpected reſiſtance, ſent for reinforcements, and a ſupply of ſtores and warlike engines, from every part of the kingdom. He traverſed, with breaſt works, the ſtreets leading to Cæſar's quarters, and demoliſhing the houſes in

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his way, effected a chain of works parallel to thoſe of Cæſar, conſiſting of a parapet and frequent towers. He exhorted the Egyptians to exert themſelves for the independency of their kingdom; repreſented to them, "That the Romans were gradually aſſuming the ſovereignty "of Egypt; that Gabinius had come as an auxiliary, but acted as a "maſter; that Pompey, on being defeated in Theſſaly, came into "Egypt [zz], as to a property which he had a right to employ in re-"pairing his ruined fortunes; that Pompey had fallen in vain, if "Cæſar were tamely ſuffered to ſucceed him; that if this intruder "were allowed to keep poſſeſſion of the city, until his ſuccours "ſhould arrive from Aſia, all Egypt for the future muſt expect to be "the ſlaves of the Romans."

The danger to which Cæſar was expoſed, aroſe no leſs from the remains of the republican party now aſſembling againſt him in Africa, than it did from the force with which he was actually aſſailed in Egypt. If Scipio had been appriſed of his condition in that country, he might in a few days have ſailed to Alexandria, and in conjunction with the Egyptians, who would now have accepted of any aſſiſtance againſt Cæſar, have recovered the fall of their party at Pharſalia; but the beſt opportunities are ſometimes loſt, becauſe it is not ſuppoſed that an enemy could be ſo raſh as to furniſh them.

The ſcene in Egypt was frequently changing by the intrigues and the treachery of different parties in the court. Ganimedes, who had the charge of the young princeſs, Arſinoë, being hitherto lodged in the quarters of Cæſar, found means to make his eſcape, together with his ward; and finding the troops diſpoſed to lay hold of Arſinoë as a branch of the royal family, employed aſſaſſins to put Achillas to death; and, in name of the princeſs, took on himſelf the command of the army. His abilities as an officer, which were very

[zz] Hirtius de bello Alexandrino.

conſiderable,

conſiderable, and his bounty, ſecured to him the affection of the ſoldiers. He continued the attack on Cæſar's quarters in all the ways which were already begun by his predeceſſor. The town being furniſhed with water by ſubterraneous paſſages from the neighbouring heights, he uncovered the conduits which led to Cæſar's diviſion of the town; and, to render theſe conduits unſerviceable, forced into them great quantities of brine from the ſea. The loſs however was ſoon ſupplied from wells, in which, at a moderate depth, the beſieged found plenty of freſh water.

While Cæſar thus counteracted the arts which were employed to diſtreſs him, the eighteenth legion, with a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions, military ſtores, and engines of war, being arrived on the coaſt, but unable to reach Alexandria on account of the winds, he thought proper to embark and put to ſea, in order to cover this reinforcement, while they made for the port. On this occaſion, he was attacked by the Egyptian fleet; but gained a victory, deſtroyed a great part of the enemy's ſhips, and brought his own reinforcement ſafe into harbour. The Egyptians, with great ardour, ſet to work in all the docks on the Nile, to repair the loſs they had now ſuſtained, and were ſoon maſters of a fleet, conſiſting of twenty-two veſſels of four tire of oars, five of five tire, and many of ſmaller dimenſions. Cæſar had to oppoſe them, nine galleys from Rhodes, eight from Pontus, five from Lycia, and twelve from the coaſt of Aſia. Five were of five tire of oars, and ten of four tire. The remainder were of ſmaller dimenſions, and moſt of them open. With theſe forces, having once more engaged off the mouth of the harbour, the Egyptians were again defeated, with the loſs of one galley of five tire of oars, another of two tire taken, and three ſunk. The remainder retired under cover of the Mole, and of the towers of the Pharos.

Soon

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Soon after this action at ſea; Cæſar attacked the Pharos, forced the enemy to fly from thence, moſt of them ſwimming acroſs the harbour, killed many, and took ſix hundred priſoners. He forced them at the ſame time to abandon the tower, which commanded the entrance of the mole on that ſide. As he purſued them in their flight, and as the mole itſelf became crowded with his ſoldiers, who advanced to puſh the attack, or who came unarmed from the ſhips, and all the ſtations around, to witneſs the ſcene; the Egyptians ſeeing theſe crowds, laid hold of the opportunity, mounted the mole, threw thoſe who were upon it into confuſion, forced them over the quay into the water, or into their boats. Cæſar himſelf endeavouring to eſcape in this manner, and finding that the boat into which he went, being aground and overloaded, could not be got off, he threw himſelf into the water, and ſwam to a ſhip. In this tumult, he loſt four hundred men of the legions, and an equal number of the fleet. The Egyptians recovered all the ground they had loſt, got poſſeſſion again of the tower at the head of the mole, and of the iſland which ſecured their ſhips.

In ſuch operations, with various events, the parties in Egypt paſt the winter and ſpring. Cæſar ſtill retained the perſon of Ptolomy in his poſſeſſion, and made uſe of his name to countenance his own cauſe, or to diſcredit that of his enemies; but the king being extremely averſe to this uſe being made of his authority, and deſirous to recover his liberty, entered into a concert with ſome officers of his army, to find a pretence for his releaſe. In purſuit of their deſign, they conveyed ſecret intimation to Cæſar's quarters, that the troops were greatly diſguſted with Ganimedes, and that if Ptolomy ſhould make his appearance in perſon, they would certainly ſubmit to his orders, and commit the whole ſettlement of the kingdom to the arbitration of Cæſar. The king was inſtructed to affect a great diſlike to this propoſal, and with tears intreated that he might

might be allowed to remain in the palace. Cæſar, either being deceived by theſe profeſſions, or believing the name of the king to be of little conſequence, conſented to let him depart; but this artful boy, as ſoon as he was at liberty, laid aſide his diſguiſe, laughed at the ſuppoſed credulity of thoſe he had deceived, and urged the attack on the Roman quarters with great animoſity. CHAP. VII.

While affairs at Alexandria were in this ſituation, accounts were brought that Mithridates of Pergamus, whom Cæſar had ſent to procure ſuccours from Aſia, was actually arrived at Peluſium with a conſiderable force; that he had reduced that place, and only waited for inſtructions from Cæſar how to proceed. Theſe accounts were brought to both parties about the ſame time, and both determined to put their forces in motion. Ptolomy leaving a proper guard on his works, embarked his army on the Nile, having a conſiderable navigation to make by the different branches of that river. Cæſar, at the ſame time, put his army on board in the harbour, and having an open courſe by the coaſt, arrived at Peluſium before the king; and being joined by Mithridates, was in condition to take the field againſt the Egyptian army. Ptolomy, to prevent the return of Cæſar by land to Alexandria, had taken a ſtrong poſt on one of the branches of the Nile; but here, after a few ſkirmiſhes, he was attacked, defeated, and driven from his ſtation. Endeavouring to make his eſcape by water, the barge [23] which carried him being overloaded it ſunk, and himſelf, with all his attendants, periſhed.

Immediately after this action, in which the Egyptian army was routed and diſperſed, Cæſar, eſcorted by a ſmall party of horſe, returned to Alexandria, and having received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, made ſuch arrangements as he thought proper in the ſucceſſion to the kingdom. He placed Cleopatra on the throne, in conjunction with her younger brother; and, to remove any farther oc-

[23] Hirt. de Bello Alex.

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caſion of diſturbance to this ſettlement, he ordered her ſiſter Arſinoë to be tranſported to Rome. He left great part of the army to ſupport this new eſtabliſhment in Egypt, and he himſelf, after this ſingular interlude, in the midſt of the conqueſt of the Roman empire, marched with the ſixth legion by land into Syria. At Antioch, he received ſuch reports of the ſtate of affairs, as required his preſence in different quarters. Nine months were elapſed, ſince any orders or directions had been received from him. During this time, the factions of the city, the relaxation of diſcipline in the army, and the threats of invaſion from Africa, had placed his affairs in ſuch a ſtate of hazard, as to urge his immediate appearance in Italy and at Rome; but he thought it of conſequence to his authority to leave no enemy behind him in the field [24], nor to ſuffer the remains of diſorder in any of the provinces through which he was to paſs. Pharnaces, the ſon of Mithridates, to whom Pompey had aſſigned the kingdom of the Boſphorus, imagining that the civil wars, in which the Romans were engaged, made a favourable opportunity for the recovery of his father's dominions, had paſſed with an army into Pontus, and from thence invaded the leſſer Armenia and Cappadocia, which had been ſeparately allotted by the Romans to Dejotarus and to Ariobarzanes. At the inſtances of theſe princes, Domitius Calvinus, who had been diſpatched by Cæſar after the battle of Pharſalia with three legions to receive the ſubmiſſion of the Aſiatic provinces, hitherto in the intereſt of Pompey, diſpatched to Pharnaces a meſſenger, requiring him inſtantly to withdraw his troops from Armenia and Cappadocia; and, in order to give the more weight to this meſſage, he himſelf at the ſame time took the field with one Roman legion, together with two legions that had been formed by Dejotarus in the Roman manner, and two hundred Aſiatic horſe. He at the ſame time ordered Publius Sextius

[24] Hirt. de Bello Alex.

and C. Prætorius to bring up a legion which had been lately raiſed in Pontus, and Q. Patiſius to join him with ſome light troops from Cilicia. CHAP. VII.

Theſe forces being aſſembled at Camana in Cappadocia, the meſſenger, who had been ſent to Pharnaces, returned with an anſwer, that the king was willing to evacuate Cappadocia; but that, having a juſt claim to Armenia, in right of his father, he would keep poſſeſſion of that province until the arrival of Cæſar, to whoſe deciſion he was willing to ſubmit his pretenſions. Domitius, not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, put his army in motion towards Armenia. While he advanced, Pharnaces endeavoured to amuſe him with negociations, and to put him off his guard, by permitting the country to receive him with all the appearances of peace and ſecurity. Being arrived at Nicopolis, the capital of Armenia, he there received orders from Cæſar to march into Egypt; but being unwilling to quit his ſuppoſed prey, riſked a battle with the forces of Pharnaces, was defeated, and obliged to fly with the remains of his army, by the route of the mountains which ſeparated Armenia from the Roman province.

Elated with this victory, Pharnaces, at the time of Cæſar's departure from Egypt, had returned into Pontus, had taken poſſeſſion of the principal towns, and with great ſeverity exerciſed the ſovereignty of the kingdom. About the middle of July, Cæſar, having diſpatched Trebonius from Antioch with an account of his own operations, and with inſtructions to thoſe who commanded in Italy [23], went himſelf by ſea to Tarſus, where he received, as has been mentioned, the ſubmiſſion of Caius Caſſius, who waited for his coming; and who, according to the account of Cicero, till then was undetermined, whether he ſhould make his peace with the victor, or attempt to aſſaſſinate him.

[23] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xi. ep. 23.

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At Tarſus, Cæſar held a convention of the principal inhabitants of Cilicia, and from thence marched into Cappadocia, ſtopped at Comana to make the neceſſary arrangements in that province, and continued his route to the frontiers of Galatia and Pontus. Hither Dejotarus, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Pompey, who had fought under his banners in Pharſalia, and who, by the gift of that unfortunate officer, ſtill retained the ſovereignty of Galatia, came to make his ſubmiſſion. He laid down his diadem, and the enſigns of royalty; and, preſenting himſelf in the habit of a ſuppliant, pleaded, that, in the late war, the eaſtern part of the empire, being ſubject to Pompey, the princes of that quarter had not been free to chuſe their party; that he was himſelf not qualified to decide in a queſtion on which the Roman People was divided; that he thought it his duty to follow the Roman ſtandard wherever it was erected, without conſidering by whom it was carried. Cæſar, rejecting the plea of ignorance or incapacity, inſiſted, that any prince in alliance with the Romans could not be ignorant who were Conſuls in the year that ſucceeded the Conſulate of Lentulus and Marcellus, and who were actually in the adminiſtration of the ſtate at Rome; that they could not be ignorant who was at the head of the republic, and in poſſeſſion of the capital, and of the ſeat of empire; and who of conſequence was veſted with the authority of the commonwealth. But that he himſelf, in the capacity of a private man, was willing, in conſideration of this prince's age, his character, and the interceſſion of his friends, to forgive the part which he had taken againſt him. He deſired him, therefore, to reſume the crown and other enſigns of royalty, and to keep poſſeſſion of his kingdom, reſerving the diſcuſſion of the title, by which he held any particular territory, to a future day.

Being joined by a legion which Dejotarus had lately formed in the Roman manner, Cæſar's force now conſiſted of this, together with the remains of the two legions that eſcaped with Domitius from Nicopolis,

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copolis, and of the ſixth, which had accompanied himſelf from Egypt, now reduced by the ſword, and by the fatigues of ſervice, to no more than a thouſand men. With this army he advanced towards Pontus. Upon his approach, Pharnaces ſent forward a meſſenger to preſent him, in honour of his late victories, with a crown of gold, and made offers of ſubmiſſion, expecting to appeaſe him, or to fill up the time until Cæſar ſhould be obliged, by the neceſſity of his affairs, to give his preſence elſewhere. "Come not againſt me," he ſaid, "as an "enemy: I never took part with Pompey, nor declared war againſt "Cæſar. Let me not be treated with more ſeverity than Dejotarus, "who did both." Cæſar replied, That he would liſten to Pharnaces when he had acted up to his profeſſions; that he had forgiven Dejotarus, and many others, with pleaſure, the injury done to himſelf; but that he could not ſo eaſily overlook inſults which were offered to the Roman State; and that he did not pardon wrongs done in the provinces of the Roman empire, even by thoſe of his own party. "Your not having joined with Pompey," he ſaid, "has ſaved you "from being a partner in his defeat, but was not the cauſe of my "victory." With this reply to the meſſages of Pharnaces, Cæſar demanded the inſtant ſurrender of the kingdom of Pontus, and full reparation of all the damages ſuſtained by any Roman citizens ſettled in that province. Pharnaces profeſſed an intention to comply with theſe demands; but under various pretences delayed the performance of his promiſe. He had fixed on a hill in the neighbourhood of Ziecla, a place that became famous by the victory which his father Mithridates had there obtained over a Roman army under the command of Triarius: and in order to ſecure himſelf, repaired his father's lines, and ſeemed to be determined to maintain this poſt.

Cæſar, having lain for ſome days within five miles of the enemy, advanced to an eminence ſeparated from the camp of Pharnaces only by a narrow valley ſunk between ſteep banks. He came upon

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this ground in the night, and began to intrench himſelf as uſual, having a party under arms to cover the workmen. As at break of day the greater part of his army appeared to be at work, this ſeemed to be a favourable opportunity to attack them; and Pharnaces began to form for this purpoſe. Cæſar, imagining that he only meant to give an alarm, and to interrupt his workmen; even after he was in motion, did not order the legions to deſiſt from their work, nor to arm: but ſeeing him deſcend into the valley, and attempt to paſs it in the face of his advanced guard, he ſounded to arms, and was ſcarcely formed when the enemy had paſſed both banks of the vale to attack him.

The troops of Pharnaces began the action with an ardour that was ſuited to the boldneſs with which they had advanced; and Cæſar's contempt of their deſigns had nearly expoſed him to a defeat. But the action, which was doubtful every where elſe, was decided by the veterans of the ſixth legion, before whom the enemy began to give way, hurried with precipitation down the declivity, and fell into a general rout. Pharnaces fled with a few attendants, and narrowly eſcaped being taken [24]. This victory gave Cæſar an opportunity to compare his own glories with thoſe of Sylla, of Lucullus, and of Pompey; and was on this account, probably, regarded by him with ſingular pleaſure. "How cheap is fame," he ſaid, "when obtained "by fighting againſt ſuch an enemy [25]?" And in the triumphs which he afterwards led in the ſequel of theſe wars, the trophies of this particular victory were diſtinguiſhed by labels, expreſſing in theſe words, "I came, I ſaw, I vanquiſhed [26]."

From the peculiar oſtentation of the eaſe with which this victory was obtained, appearing to Cæſar as a meaſure of his own ſuperiority to Sylla and Pompey, we may ſuſpect that vanity, not leſs than ambition, was the ſpring of that emulation from which he had raiſed

[24] Hirtius de Bello Alex. Velleius. Florus. Liv. Epitome, &c.
[25] Appian. de Bello Civil. lib. ii. p. 185. [26] The famous words, *Veni, vidi, vici.*

ſuch

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such a flame in the empire [26]. Having, by this defeat, extinguished all the hopes and pretensions of Pharnaces, he restored Domitius Calvinus to his command in that quarter, and to a general inspection of affairs in Asia. This province, which had furnished a principal supply to the public revenue of the State, as well as to the private fortune of Roman adventurers, was now made to pay large contributions in name of arrears of what had been promised to Pompey, or of forfeiture for offences committed against the victorious party.

Cæsar, having issued his orders for the contributions to be levied in Asia, set out by Galatia and Bithynia towards Greece, in his way to Italy; he landed at Tarentum, having been near two years absent from Rome. Many citizens had waited near twelve months at Brundisium in anxious expectation of his coming, and under great uncertainty of the reception they were to meet with. Cicero, being of this number, set out for Tarentum as soon as he heard of Cæsar's arrival, and met him on the road. When he presented himself, Cæsar alighted from his carriage, received him with marks of respect, and continued to walk and to discourse with him aside for some time. There is no particular account of what passed between them in this conversation. On the part of Cicero, probably, were stated the reasons which he assigns, in a letter to Atticus, for his conduct before the battle of Pharsalia, bearing, that he had been averse to the war, that he thought the republic had nothing to gain by the victory of either party, and that he joined Pompey, more influenced by the opinion of others, than decided in his own [27]. Under these impressions, though courted by Cæsar, who wished to have the credit of his name in support of the measures now to be taken at Rome, he chose to withdraw to a life of retirement, and devoted his time to literary amusements and studies. At this time he probably composed

[26] Sueton. in Vit. Cæsaris, c. 37.

[27] Cicer. ad Att. lib. xi. ep. 11.

most

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moſt of his writings on the ſubject of eloquence, as he did ſome time afterwards thoſe which are termed his philoſophical works [22].

U. C. 706. C. Jul. Cæſar, M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Cæſar arrived at Rome in the end of the year ſeven hundred and ſix of the Roman æra, in which he had been named a ſecond time Dictator. This year, as has been related, he had paſſed chiefly in Egypt. Being elected, together with M. Emilius, Conſul for the following year, he applied himſelf, for a little time, in the capacity of civil magiſtrate to the affairs of State; endeavoured to reſtore the tranquillity of the city, which had been diſturbed in his abſence, and to wipe away the reproach which the levities of Antony had brought on his party. He ſtifled the unreaſonable hopes of a general abolition of debts, with which Dolabella had flattered the more profligate part of the community. He told the People, on this occaſion, that he himſelf was a debtor; that he had expended his fortune in the public ſervice, and was ſtill obliged to borrow money for the ſame purpoſes. With reſpect to the general policy of the city, and the caſe of inſolvent debtors, he revived the laws which he himſelf had procured, about two years before, in his way from Spain to Epirus. But while he appeared to be intent on theſe particulars, his thoughts were chiefly occupied in preparing to meet the war which the remains of the antient Senate and of the republican party were reſuming againſt him in Africa.

This province, in which Varus, ſupported by the king of Numidia, had been hitherto able to keep his ſtation as an officer of the commonwealth, was now become the ſole or the principal refuge of the republican party. Three hundred citizens, many of them Senators, and exiles from Italy, as well as ſettlers in that province, had aſſembled at Utica, and conſidering every other part of the empire as under the influence of a violent uſurpation, ſtated themſelves as the only

[22] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 13.

free

free remains of the Roman republic; held their meetings in the capacity of Senate and People; authoriſed, under theſe titles, the levies that were made in the province, and contributed largely to ſupply the expence of the war. Many officers of name and of rank, Labienus, Afranius, Petreius, as well as Scipio and Cato, with all the remains they had ſaved from the wreck at Pharſalia, were now ready to renew the war on this ground. The name of Scipio was reckoned ominous of ſucceſs in Africa, and that of Cato, even if the origin or occaſion of the preſent conteſt were unknown, was held a ſufficient mark to diſtinguiſh the ſide of juſtice, and the cauſe of the republic.

Theſe leaders of the republican party, having a conſiderable force at ſea, and having acceſs to all the ports, not only of Africa, but likewiſe of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, had furniſhed themſelves plentifully with all the neceſſaries for war [29]. They had muſtered ten legions, which, according to the eſtabliſhment of that time, may have amounted to fifty thouſand Roman foot. They had twenty thouſand African horſe, a great body of archers and ſlingers, with a hundred and twenty elephants. They expected to be joined by the king of Numidia, who, to the eſtabliſhed character of his countrymen for ſtratagem and valour, joined the glory of his late victory over Curio; and was ſuppoſed to muſter, at this time, beſides numerous bodies of horſe, of archers, of ſlingers, and a great troop of elephants; thirty thouſand foot, armed and marſhalled, for the moſt part, in the manner of the Roman legion [30].

The army already in Africa, as well as the remains of the ſea and land forces of Pompey, who were lately arrived from Macedonia, were willing, as has been mentioned, to have placed Cato at their head. But the eſtabliſhed order of the commonwealth, for which all the party con-

[29] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lxii. c. 5.

[30] App. de Bello Civ. lib. ii. Hurt. de Bell. African.

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tended, requiring that Scipio, who was of conſular rank, ſhould have the preference, Cato, who had no more than the rank of Prætor, and who could not be acceſſary to the infringement of any eſtabliſhed or conſtitutional form, declined the command. By this circumſtance we are deprived of an opportunity to judge how far the military abilities of this great man kept pace with his integrity, judgment, and courage in civil and political affairs.

Scipio being the officer of higheſt rank in the republican party, and having the ſupreme command of their forces, notwithſtanding that the coaſts of Italy were expoſed to his attempts, and notwithſtanding that the condition of Cæſar himſelf, if his ſituation at Alexandria had been known, gave ſufficient opportunities for enterprize, took all his meaſures for a defenſive war.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Africa when Cæſar, who, with all his military character and authority, frequently experienced the difficulty of commanding mere ſoldiers of fortune, taught to diveſt themſelves of civil principle, or regard to public duty, was likely to periſh in a mutiny of his own army, and to end his career by the ſwords which he himſelf had whetted againſt the republic.

The legions, which after the defeat of Pompey had been ordered into Italy, becoming inſolent in the poſſeſſion of a military power which they ſaw was to be formed on the ruins of the commonwealth, and feeling their own importance, eſpecially in the abſence of their leader, would not be commanded by ſubordinate officers; nor did they, on the return of Cæſar himſelf, diſcontinue habits of diſorder and licence which they had ſome time indulged. Being ſtationed in the neighbourhood of Capua, from whence it was expected they ſhould embark for Africa, they decamped without orders, and marched towards Rome; paid no regard to the authority of Salluſt, who, in the capacity of Prætor, with which he had

been veſted by Cæſar, endeavoured to ſtop them, killed many officers and perſons of rank who ventured to oppoſe them, and threw the city into great conſternation. On the approach of this formidable body, Cæſar himſelf is ſaid to have wavered in his reſolution. He had ſome troops attending his perſon, and there was a legion which Antony had ſtationed in the city on occaſion of the late commotions. With theſe he at firſt propoſed to meet and reſiſt the mutiny; but he recollected, that even theſe troops might be infected with the ſame ſpirit of diſobedience, and that if he were not able to command by his authority, and were forced to draw the ſword againſt his own army, the whole foundations of the power he had erected muſt fail. While he was agitated by theſe reflections, he ſent an officer with orders to enquire for what purpoſe the mutinous legions advanced? This officer was told, "That they would "explain themſelves to Cæſar." Having this anſwer, and expecting their arrival at the gates, he choſe that they ſhould appear to do by his permiſſion, what they were likely to do without it; he therefore ſent them another meſſage, informing them that they had his leave to enter the city with their arms. They accordingly came in a body, and took poſſeſſion of the field of Mars. There, contrary to the advice of his friends, they were received by Cæſar himſelf in perſon. Being raiſed on a conſpicuous place, they crowded around him; and, from many different quarters at once, complained of the ſcanty rewards which they had received [30], enumerated their ſervices and the hardſhips they had ſuffered, and with one voice demanded their inſtant diſcharge. Cæſar knowing that they only meant to extort ſome conceſſions, which they hoped the conſideration of the war, which was ſtill impending in Africa, would oblige him to make; that they were far from wiſhing to be diſmiſſed, or to reſign thoſe arms to which they

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[30] Dio. Caſſius, c. 51—55.

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owed their own conſequence, and on which they grounded their preſent preſumption, affected to comply with their requeſt, owned that their demand was highly reaſonable; adding, that the ſervice for which they had been hitherto retained was now at an end, and that he was ſenſible they were worn out, and unfit to contend with new fatigues.

Cæſar, in concluding a ſpeech which he made to this purpoſe, employed the appellation of *Quirites*, or fellow citizens; and obſerved how proper it was that all, who had ſerved out the legal time, ſhould receive the accuſtomed diſmiſſion. In ſpeaking theſe words, he was interrupted by a general cry, that they were no Quirites, but ſoldiers, willing to ſerve. It is alleged, that the name of Roman citizens [31], though the moſt reſpectable form of addreſs in the political aſſemblies of the People, carried contempt to theſe military adventurers, and inſinuated a ſtate of degradation from that in which they affected to ſtand. An officer who was prepared for the occaſion, or who wiſhed to improve this ſentiment in favour of Cæſar, deſired to be heard; made an apology for what was paſt, and offered to pledge himſelf for the duty and future obedience of the troops. He was anſwered by Cæſar, That the ſervices of this army were now of little moment to him; that as they deſired their diſmiſſion, while by their own confeſſion they were yet in condition to ſerve, he had taken his reſolution, and ſhould inſtantly diſmiſs them with the uſual rewards. "No man," he ſaid, "ſhall complain that in time of need I em-
"ployed him, and now at my eaſe forget the reward that is due to
"him. Such as continue in the ſervice until the public tranquillity
"is fully reſtored ſhall have ſettlements in land; ſuch as have received
"promiſes of money at any time during the war, ſhall be paid now,
"or in a little time hereafter, with intereſt." He concluded, how-

[31] Quirites, Roman citizens.

ever,

ever, with ſaying, "That as he aſked no man to remain in the "ſervice, ſo he ſhould not reject the duty of thoſe who were will-"ing to abide by their colours; that he owed this indulgence to their "preſent requeſts, and to their merit on former occaſions." The whole with one voice deſired to be comprehended in this act of indulgence, and went headlong into all the extremes of ſubmiſſion, as they had lately gone into every exceſs of diſorder and inſolence; Cæſar was thus again in full poſſeſſion of his power; but he did not venture to puniſh the authors of the mutiny. It was ſafer to reward ſuch as were conſpicuous in any particular merit; he therefore ſelected a few to be diſtinguiſhed by immediate effects of his bounty, and put the remainder in motion towards Africa, where they might have an opportunity of earning future rewards and the pardon of paſt offences; and where they might ſpend againſt enemies that fury which, at every interval of leiſure to recollect their pretenſions and their conſequence, they were ſo likely to turn againſt their leader [32].

The year was now, according to the vulgar computation at Rome, and in conſequence of the uſual intercalations being neglected, nominally advanced to the middle of December, but was in reality little paſt the autumnal equinox [33], or was in the end of September, when Cæſar, having made the proper arrangements in the city, and in the manner related, appeaſed the mutiny which threatened to deprive him of his army, was again in motion to carry the war into Africa. The ſeaſon, which was thought unfit for operations at ſea, and which had actually forced his antagoniſt's ſhips into port, gave him the opportunity he wiſhed for to effect his paſſage into that province. He knew that the enemy's fleet could not continue to cruize for any time to obſerve his motions; and that he might eſcape them with the advantage of a favourable wind, he had choſen the ſame opportunity, and

[32] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlii. c. 51—55.

[33] Plut. in Vita Cæſaris, p. 154.

in

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in the ſame ſeaſon, two years before, to tranſport his army into Macedonia againſt Pompey, who, truſting to the numbers and vigilance of his fleet, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed, and to be diſpoſſeſſed of a country which he occupied with ſo ſuperior a force. Cæſar having gained ſo much on that occaſion, by the rapidity of his motions, now made war with many accumulated advantages of reputation and power, which increaſed his boldneſs, and facilitated his ſucceſs.

Having ordered troops and ſhipping from different quarters of Italy to aſſemble at Lillybæum, from whence he had the ſhorteſt paſſage to Africa, he himſelf arrived there on what was nominally the ſeventeenth of December, but in reality no more than the thirtieth of September; and although he found no more of his army arrived than one legion, or five thouſand men, of the new levies, and ſix hundred horſe, he ordered theſe, notwithſtanding, to embark on board ſuch ſhips as were then in the harbour; and if the wind had ſerved, would have inſtantly ſailed, even with this ſmall force, truſting that he might be able to ſurpriſe ſome port on the oppoſite ſhore, and prepare a ſafe landing-place for the troops that were to follow. But while he continued windbound at Lillybæum, he was joined ſucceſſively by a number of legions, which he ordered to embark as faſt as they arrived; and, that they might be ready to put to ſea with the firſt fair wind that ſerved, ſent the tranſports to lie under an iſland near the mouth of the harbour.

Being in this ſtate of readineſs with ſix legions, or about thirty thouſand foot, together with two thouſand horſe; and the wind coming fair on the twenty-eight of December, or, as it is computed, on the twelfth of October, he himſelf went on board, and leaving orders for the troops that were ſtill in motion towards Lillybæum to follow him without delay, he ſet ſail for the neareſt land in Africa. Not knowing of any port to which he might ſecurely repair, he could not, as uſual, aſſign a place of general reſort in caſe of ſeparation, and only gave

gave orders to the fleet to keep close together; and deferred the choice of a landing-place till after he should have observed the coast, and seen in what part of it the enemy were least guarded against a descent. Soon after he got to sea a storm arose, which dispersed the fleet; he himself, with the ships that still kept him company, after being tossed four days in a passage of no more than twenty leagues, got under the land of the promontory of Mercury, and from thence, to avoid the forces of the enemy, which were stationed near Utica and round the bay of Carthage, steered to the southward.

The coast of Africa, from this cape or promontory to the bottom of the great Syrtes, over three degrees of latitude, or about two hundred miles, extends directly to the south. It abounds with considerable towns, which, on account of their commerce, were anciently called the Emporiæ; and by their wealth, tempting the rapacity both of the Numidians and of the Carthaginians, were long a subject of contention between these powers. Adrumetum lay on one side of a spacious bay, bounded by the head of Clupea on the north, and that of Vada on the south. The southern coast of this bay contained, besides Adrumetum, the following seaports: Ruspina, Leptis, and Thapsus; the bay itself extending from the first of these places to the last about thirty-six miles. Scipio had secured Adrumetum and Thapsus, being the extremity of this line, with considerable forces. In order to render the province unfit for the reception of an enemy, he had laid waste the country, and had collected all the provisions and forage into these and other places of strength for the use of his own army.

Considius being stationed at Adrumetum with two legions, and Virgilius with a proper force at Thapsus, the ports of Ruspina and Leptis, as well as many of the inland towns, were intrusted to the keeping of their own inhabitants. But these, on account of the general devastations lately committed by order of Scipio, were extremely

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tremely diſaffected to his party, and inclined to favour any enemy againſt him.

Cato was ſtationed at Utica as the laſt retreat of the Roman Senate, the centre of all their reſources, and the ſeat of their councils.

Scipio had collected the main body of his army near to the ſame place, ſuppoſed to be the principal object of any attempt that might be made from Italy.

Labienus and Petreius had ſeparate bodies, at proper ſtations, to guard the inlets of the coaſt round the bay of Carthage; and were ſo diſpoſed of, that they could eaſily join and croſs over land to the bay of Adrumetum upon any alarm of an enemy, from that ſide.

Varus had the direction of the fleet. He had kept the ſea during ſummer and on the approach of autumn, but had then withdrawn to Utica, and laid up his ſhips for the ſtormy ſeaſon.

Cæſar, however, according to his cuſtom of taking opportunities when his enemies were likely to be off their guard, venturing to ſea, even in this ſeaſon, ſeems to have had no information to direct him on his approach to the coaſt, beſides the general report that the enemy were ſtrongeſt and moſt to be avoided in the bay of Carthage. In this belief he paſſed the head-lands of Clupea and Neapolis, and ſtood in to the bay of Adrumetum. Being ſeen from the ſhore, he was followed by Cn. Piſo from Clupea, with three thouſand Numidian horſe, and was received at Adrumetum by Conſidius, with a force greatly ſuperior to that with which he himſelf had brought to the coaſt. But ſo little had he attended to the ſtrength of the enemy, or ſo much was he determined to brave it, that he landed near Adrumetum on the nominal firſt of January, or about the middle of October, with three thouſand foot and an hundred and fifty horſe. This hazardous ſtep his high reputation ſeemed to require or to juſtify. The enemy might not be appriſed of his preſent weakneſs, it being occaſioned to the accidental ſeparation of his fleet. They were

N. C. 6. Jul. Cæſar Dictator, M. Emil. Lepidus, M. Eq.

likely

likely to be awed by his name, and to remain at a diſtance long enough to let him be joined by the remainder of his army. In the mean time he ſupported the courage of his own people, by proceeding againſt the enemy with his uſual confidence.

The garriſon of Adrumetum, upon this ſudden appearance of a force which came to attack them, were thrown into ſome confuſion, and Conſidius, inſtead of taking meaſures to cruſh ſo inferior an enemy before he ſhould receive any reinforcement, thought of nothing but how to ſecure himſelf from ſurpriſe; ſhut his gates, manned his walls, and placed all the troops under his command at their poſts of alarm. Cæſar, to confirm him in this diſpoſition, ſent him a ſummons to ſurrender at diſcretion; and afterwards, at the ſuggeſtion of Plancus, who had been in habits of intimacy with Conſidius, endeavoured to corrupt or to gain him by an inſinuating meſſage; but this officer, being more a man of integrity than he had ſhewn himſelf to be an able general, ordered the bearer of the meſſage to be put to death, and ſent the letter unopened to Scipio.

Cæſar having received no return to his meſſage, and ſuſpecting that his attempt to corrupt the commander of the forces at Adrumetum might betray his weakneſs, after only one night's ſtay in this dangerous ſituation, determined, on the day after he landed, to remove to ſome place of greater ſecurity. With this view he marched to the ſouthward, and though haraſſed in his rear by the enemy's horſe, continued his march without any conſiderable interruption or loſs. As he advanced to Ruſpina, a deputation from the inhabitants of that place came forward to meet him, with offers of every accommodation it was in their power to ſupply, and of an immediate reception into their town. He encamped one night under their walls; but being inclined to ſee more of the coaſt, and not being in condition to divide his little force, he proceeded with the whole to Leptis. Here he was received with equal favour; and

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having entered the town, took meaſures to protect the inhabitants from the licentiouſneſs of his own people.

This was a convenient poſt for the reception of his tranſports; and a few of them accordingly, having ſome cohorts of foot and troops of horſe on board, it being now the third day after he himſelf had debarked, or about the twentieth of October, put in to the harbour of Leptis. By the report of perſons who came in theſe ſhips he learnt, that numbers of the fleet, after they had parted company, appeared to be ſteering for Utica; a courſe by which they muſt either run into the hands of the enemy, or loſe much time before they could correct their miſtake, or recover their way to the ſouthward.

In a ſtate of anxious ſuſpence, occaſioned by theſe circumſtances, Cæſar ſeems to have deliberated, whether it were not proper for him again to embark; and in conſequence of his doubts, probably, though under pretence of the want of forage, he ſtill kept his cavalry on board, and with great difficulty continued to ſupply them with freſh water from the land. But as ſoon as he determined to keep his footing in Africa, he landed his cavalry, and took the neceſſary meaſures to procure ſupplies of proviſions by ſea. He ſent back the empty tranſports to receive any troops that might be arrived at Lillybæum, and ordered ten galleys from the harbour at Leptis to cruize for the miſſing ſhips of his laſt embarkation. He diſpatched expreſſes to Sardinia and other maritime provinces, with orders to haſten the reinforcements of troops and the ſupplies of proviſions which were expected from thence; and having intelligence that the enemy had ſome magazines in the iſland of Cercina, near the coaſt of Africa, he ſent thither Criſpus Salluſtius, the celebrated hiſtorian, now ſerving in his army, to endeavour to ſecure thoſe magazines for his uſe.

Being determined to keep both the ports of Ruſpina and Leptis, which the enemy ſeemed to have abandoned to him, he was now,

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by the arrival of the cohorts which joined him at Leptis, in condition to garriſon the town with three thouſand men, while he himſelf returned with the remainder of thoſe who were landed, to keep his poſſeſſion, at the ſame time, of Ruſpina. This place being unprovided of every neceſſary for the ſupport of a garriſon, he determined to try what proviſions could be found in the neighbourhood to ſubſiſt his troops till they could be otherwiſe ſupplied, or enabled to penetrate farther into the country. For this purpoſe he advanced with the whole of his little army to forage, followed by all the carriages that could be aſſembled, and had them loaded with corn, wood, and other neceſſaries, to form ſome ſpecies of magazine for the troops he intended to place in the town. As ſoon as he had effected this ſervice, it appeared that he had taken the reſolution to go in perſon in ſearch of the tranſports, on board of which the greater part of his army was diſperſed. And with this view having poſted ten cohorts at Ruſpina, he himſelf, with the ſeven others, that made the whole of his ſtrength now on ſhore, went down to the harbour, which was about two miles from the town, and embarked in the night.

The troops that were to be left at Ruſpina, without the leader, in whom their confidence was chiefly repoſed, were aware of their danger; ſo few, ſurrounded with numerous armies who were likely to aſſemble againſt them. They had now been three days on ſhore, and the enemy had full time to be appriſed of their ſituation and of their weakneſs. The preſence of their general had hitherto ſupported their courage; they relied on his abilities to repair the effects whether of miſtake or temerity; but in his abſence they loſt all hopes, and expected to become an eaſy prey to their enemies.

Cæſar, however, fully determined to put to ſea, having paſt the night on board, ſtill continued at anchor; when at break of day being about to weigh, ſome veſſels came in ſight, and were known to be a part of the fleet which he ſo anxiouſly looked for. Theſe

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were ſoon followed by other ſhips which appeared ſucceſſively, and brought him the greater part of the ſix legions with which he had originally ſailed from Lillybæum. Being thus prevented in his intended excurſion, he returned to Ruſpina, and took poſt between the town and the ſhore.

In the mean time it appears, that Labienus and Petreius, commanding the horſe and light troops of Scipio's army, in the angle that is formed by the promontory of Clupea, between the bays of Carthage and Hadrumetum, having intelligence that Cæſar was landed, with the utmoſt diligence aſſembled their forces, and marched towards the coaſt from which they had received the alarm.

Cæſar had taken a defenſive ſtation behind the town of Ruſpina, the place which he choſe for the reſort and ſafe reception of his convoys and reinforcements by ſea; but he was far from limiting his plan of operations to the defence of this place. On the fourth or fifth day after his landing, although by his own account he had yet no intelligence of the enemy's motions, he thought proper to continue the alarm he had given, and marched from Ruſpina with a body of thirty cohorts, or about fifteen thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, to penetrate into the country to obſerve its ſituation, or to extend the ſource of his ſupplies. After he had begun his march for this purpoſe, and was about three miles from his camp, the parties that were advanced before him fell back on the main body, and informed him that they had been in ſight of an enemy. Soon after this report clouds of duſt began to riſe from the plain, and about noon an army appeared in order of battle. To obſerve them more nearly, Cæſar, after he had made the ſignal for the cohorts to form, and to be covered with their helmets, went forward with a ſmall party to view the enemy. He ſaw bodies of cavalry in every part of the field; and from the imperfect view which could be had of them, as the air was clouded with duſt, he ſuppoſed their line to conſiſt

intirely of horſe. He thought himſelf ſecure againſt ſuch an enemy, provided he could ſufficiently extend, his front and cover his flanks; and for this purpoſe he divided his ſmall body of horſe to the right and the left; and that he might not be outlined, diminſhed the depth to increaſe the length of his ordinary column. In making this diſpoſition, however, he had miſtaken the enemy's force; it did not conſiſt, as he ſuppoſed, intirely of cavalry, but of troops of horſe interſperſed at intervals with bodies of foot, and he had not obſerved that conſiderable detachments were ſent under cover of the hills to turn his flanks, and fall upon his rear.

Under theſe diſadvantages on the part of Cæſar, the action began in front by a ſcattered charge of the Numidian horſe, who came in ſquadrons from the intervals at which they were placed among the infantry, and advancing at full gallop, threw their javelins and darts, and preſently retired to their former ſituation. In this retreat, under cover of the infantry whoſe intervals they occupied, they inſtantly rallied, and prepared to repeat the charge.

While Cæſar's infantry was occupied in front with this unexpected mode of attack, his horſe were defeated on the wings; and the enemy, in conſequence of the diſpoſition they had made, were already on his right and left, even began to cloſe on his rear, and, by the ſuperiority of their numbers, were enabled to continue the impreſſion they made on every ſide; his men giving way, to ſhun the arrows and darts of the enemy, were preſſed from the flanks to the centre; ſo that they were forced into a circle, without any diſtinction of front or rear, and were galled with a continual diſcharge of miſſiles, which did great execution [1].

Cæſar, who ſo far had ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed and overreached, in this difficult ſituation, took the benefit of that confidence which his known ability and preſence of mind ever pro-

[1] Cæſaris copiis in orbem compulſis, intra cancellos omnes conjecti pugnare cogebantur.

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cured him from his troops. Recollecting that the enemy muſt have weakened their line in every part, by attempting to ſtretch it over ſo great a circumference, he prevailed on his legions again to extend their ranks, ordered the cohorts to face alternately to the right and the left, and making a front in both directions, charged the enemy on the oppoſite ſides, and drove them in both ways to a diſtance from the ground. Without attempting, however, to improve his advantage, or to urge the purſuit, he took the opportunity of the enemy's flight to effect his own retreat, and fell back to the camp behind Ruſpina, from which he had moved in the morning.

The ſpeedy march of Labienus and Petreius, from a diſtance which could not be leſs than eighty or a hundred miles, accompliſhed by the fourth or fifth day after the arrival of Cæſar, and their diſpoſition on the day of battle, to avail themſelves of their numbers and manner of fighting, was able and ſpirited. But the event is ſufficient to ſhow that the uſe of mere miſſile weapons in the open plain againſt troops who are armed and diſciplined for cloſe fight, although it may haraſs and diſtreſs an enemy, cannot have any deciſive effect.

In about three days after this encounter, Cæſar had intelligence that Scipio himſelf was advancing with the whole force of his infantry, conſiſting of eight legions, or about forty thouſand men, and four thouſand regular horſe: an army which he was not in condition to oppoſe in the field, and which obliged him, contrary to his uſual practice, to adopt a plan of defence. Ruſpina lay along the coaſt, and at the diſtance of two miles from the ſhore. As his army lay behind the town; covering part of the ſpace between it and the ſea with the fortifications of his camp, he threw up an intrenchment from his camp on one ſide, and from the end of the town on the other, quite to the ſhore; ſo that, by means of the town in front, the fortifications of his camp and theſe lines in flank, the whole ſpace between Ruſpina and the ſea was covered with works. And the harbour was thus ſecured from any attempts of the enemy.

enemy. In order to man and defend theſe fortifications, he landed his engines from the galleys, and brought the mariners to ſerve them on ſhore.

The choice of this ſituation, cooped up in a narrow place, expoſed to be deprived of any communication with the country, might, in caſe the enemy had ſeized their advantage, or in caſe the reinforcements which Cæſar had expected from the ſea, had by any accident been long delayed, have expoſed him to the greateſt calamities. He himſelf would not have neglected to hem in an enemy ſo poſted with a line of circumvallation; but the undertaking was too vaſt for thoſe who were oppoſed to him, and he was ſuffered in ſafety to wait the arrival of his reinforcements, and to collect ſome immediate ſupply of proviſions from the neighbouring country, as well as to receive convoys which he had ordered from every maritime province.

While Cæſar remained in this poſt, Scipio arrived at Adrumetum, and having halted there a few days, joined Labienus and Petreius in the ſtation they had choſen, about three miles from the town of Ruſpina. Their cavalry immediately over-ran the country, and interrupted the ſupplies which Cæſar derived from thence. The ſpace he had incloſed within his entrenchments being about ſix ſquare miles, was ſoon exhauſted even of forage or paſture, and his horſes reduced to feed on ſea weed, which was ſteeped in freſh water, in order to purge it as much as poſſible of its ſalt.

To encourage the hopes which Scipio entertained from all theſe circumſtances, the king of Numidia, with a powerful army, was on the march, and likely to join him before Cæſar could receive any conſiderable addition to his preſent force; but whatever might have been the conſequence of this junction, if it had really taken place, it was delayed for ſome time by one of thoſe ſtrokes of fortune to which human foreſight cannot extend. Publius Sitius, a Roman citizen,

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citizen, who had been an accomplice with Cataline in his deſigns againſt the republic, and who, on this account, had fled beyond reach of the Roman power, had aſſembled a band of warriors or lawleſs banditti, at the head of which he made himſelf of conſequence on the coaſts of Africa, and was admitted ſucceſſively to join the forces of different princes in that quarter. Being now in the ſervice of Bogud, king of Mauritania, and being diſpoſed to court the favour of Cæſar, or hoping to make his peace at Rome by means of a perſon ſo likely to be at the head of the Roman ſtate, he perſuaded the king of Mauritania to take advantage of Juba's abſence, and with ſuch troops, as he had then on foot, to invade the kingdom of Numidia. Juba being about to join Scipio near Ruſpina, when the news of this invaſion of his own country overtook him, found himſelf obliged not only to return on his march, but to call off from his allies great part of the Numidian light troops, who were already in their camp.

Scipio, though thus diſappointed of the great acceſſion of force which he expected to receive by the junction of Juba, and though even ſomewhat reduced in his former numbers, ſtill continued to act on the offenſive; and in order to brave his enemy, and to receive ſome ſpecies of triumph from ſuppoſed offers of battle, repeatedly formed his army on the plain between the two camps. In repeating theſe operations, he advanced ſtill nearer and nearer to Cæſar's entrenchments, and ſeemed to threaten his camp with an attack. In return to this inſult, or to take off its effects, Cæſar, knowing the ſtrength of his works, affected to hear of the enemy's approach with indifference; and without moving from his tent, gave orders for the ordinary guards, which lay without the entrenchments, not to be diſcompoſed, but as ſoon as the enemy approached them, to retire behind the parapet with the utmoſt deliberation; and Scipio, upon this reception, when ſeemingly moſt bent on aſſaulting the lines, being

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ſatisfied as uſual with this diſplay of his ſuperiority, returned to his camp.

During theſe operations, and while Juba was ſtill detained in Numidia by the diverſion which Sitius had occaſioned in his kingdom, Cæſar had frequent deſerters from the African army, and received deputations from different parts of the country, with profeſſions of attachment to himſelf as the relation of Marius, whoſe memory was ſtill recent and popular in that province. Among theſe advances, which were made to him by the natives of the country, he had a meſſage from the inhabitants of Acilla, a place ſituated about ten miles from the coaſt, and equally diſtant from Adrumetum and from Ruſpina, offering to come under his protection, and inviting him to take poſſeſſion of their town. The people of this place, like moſt other towns of the province, were extremely diſaffected to Scipio, on account of the ſeverities which he exerciſed, by laying waſte their poſſeſſions on the approach of Cæſar; and as they dreaded a repetition of the ſame meaſure, they were deſirous to put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt him. Cæſar accepted of their offer, and ſent a detachment of his army, who turning round the enemy's flank, after a long night's march entered the town without oppoſition. Conſidius having intelligence of what was in agitation at Acilla, ſent a detachment at the ſame time from Adrumetum to ſecure the place; but coming too late, and finding that the enemy had already entered the town, brought forward ſome more forces on the following day, and endeavoured, but in vain, to diſlodge them.

While Cæſar was thus endeavouring to extend his quarters in Africa, and to enlarge the ſource of his ſubſiſtence, Criſpus Salluſtius ſucceeded in the deſign upon which he had been ſent to the iſland of Cercina, and was able to furniſh a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions from thence. There arrived at the ſame time from Allienus, at Lylybæum,

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lybæum, a large convoy and fleet of tranſports, having on board two intire legions, the thirteenth and fourteenth, together with eight hundred Gauliſh cavalry, a thouſand archers and ſlingers, and a large ſupply of proviſions. As ſoon as theſe troops were landed, the tranſports were ſent back to Lillybæum, in order to receive the remainder of the army which was ſtill expected from thence. Theſe ſupplies and reinforcements at once relieved Cæſar's army from the diſtreſs which they ſuffered; and by ſo great an acceſſion of ſtrength, amounting to twelve thouſand men, put him in condition to break from the confinement in which he had ſome time remained, and to act on the offenſive.

The firſt object upon this change in his affairs, was to ſeize upon ſome riſing grounds in the neighbourhood of Ruſpina, which Scipio had neglected to occupy, and from thence to purſue ſuch advantage as he might find againſt the enemy. For this purpoſe, he decamped after it was dark, on the ſuppoſed twenty-ſixth of January or eighth of December, and turning by the ſhore round the town of Ruſpina, arrived in the night on the ground which he intended to occupy. This was part of a ridge, which runs parallel to the coaſt, at a few miles diſtance from the ſhore, and which, on the north of Ruſpina, turns in the form of an amphitheatre round a plain of about fifteen miles extent. Near the middle of this plain ſtood the town of Uzita, on the brink of a deep marſhy tract, which is formed by the water of ſome rivulets that fall from the mountains, and ſpread upon the plain in that place. Scipio had poſted a garriſon in the town, and had occupied the ridge on one ſide of the amphitheatre beyond the marſh, but had neglected the heights, of which Cæſar now took poſſeſſion. It ſeems, that on theſe heights there remained a number of towers, or a ſpecies of caſtles conſtructed by the natives in the courſe of their own wars. In theſe Cæſar was furniſhed with a number

number of ſeparate lodgments, which he joined by lines, in order to continue his communication with the camp he had left, and with the port of Ruſpina.

He had, in one night, made a conſiderable progreſs in theſe works, and being obſerved at day-break, Scipio, in order to interrupt him, advanced into the plain, and formed in order of battle, about a mile in the front of his own encampment. Cæſar, notwithſtanding this movement of the enemy, did not at firſt think it neceſſary to interrupt his works; but Scipio ſeeming to come forward with intention to attack him, while ſo great a part of his army was at work, he ordered the whole under arms, ſtill keeping the advantage of his ground on the heights. Some parties of cavalry and light troops came near enough to ſkirmiſh between the two armies, and Labienus being advanced on the right beyond the main body of Scipio's forces, Cæſar ſent a detachment round a village to attack him, and obliged him to fly in great diſorder, after having narrowly eſcaped being entirely cut off. This flight of Labienus ſpread ſo great an alarm over Scipio's army, that the whole, with precipitation, retired to their camp. Cæſar returned to his poſt, and without any farther interruption, continued to execute the works he had already begun. As ſoon as theſe were finiſhed on the following day, he again formed in order of battle, to return the defiance which the enemy had ſo often given him, while he lay in the lines of Ruſpina; and obſerving that Scipio remained in his camp, he marched on to the town of Uzita, which lay between the two armies. Scipio being alarmed for the ſafety of this place, at which he had depoſited ſome part of his magazines, advanced to ſuſtain the troops he had poſted in the town; and Cæſar, believing that an action was likely to follow, made a halt, with the town of Uzita before his centre, having both his wings extended beyond it to the right and the left. Scipio, not to extend his front beyond the walls of the town, drew up his army in four lines, conſiſting of

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many ſeparate bodies interſperſed with elephants; but as Cæſar did not chuſe to attack the town, ſupported as it was by Scipio's army, neither did Scipio chuſe to expoſe any part of his line by advancing beyond it. Both armies having remained in this poſture till ſun-ſet, returned at night to their reſpective camps.

Cæſar ſtill perſiſting in his deſign to oblige the enemy to hazard a battle in defence of Uzita, projected double lines of approach from his preſent camp to the town. As the place was acceſſible to the enemy, and when their army ſhould be drawn up in order of battle, might be made a part of their line, it was impoſſible for Cæſar to inveſt the town, or even to approach the walls without hazard of being attacked on his flanks from the field, as well as in the centre from the town itſelf. In order to cover the approach which he intended to make to the walls, he carried on from his camp on the hills two entrenchments on the right and the left, forming a lane of ſufficient breadth to embrace the town. Between theſe parallel lines his troops advanced to the walls with perfect ſecurity, and under cover from any attacks that might be made on their flanks. As ſoon as this lane was effected to within the neceſſary diſtance of the walls, he threw up in front a breaſt work oppoſite to the ramparts of the town, and from thence began to conſtruct the works that were uſually employed in the reduction of fortified places.

During the dependance of this ſiege, both parties received great reinforcements. Scipio was joined by the king of Numidia, who having repelled the enemy who attempted to invade his own kingdom, now came with three bodies of regular infantry, formed in the manner of the Roman legion, eight hundred heavy armed or bridled cavalry, with a great multitude of light or irregular troops. Cæſar's army, on the appearance of this new enemy, were much diſcouraged; but on ſeeing that Scipio, even after he was joined by the king of Numidia, ſtill remained on the defenſive, they reſumed

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ſumed their former confidence, and were themſelves ſoon after reinforced by the arrival of two more legions, the ninth and the tenth, who on their firſt approach to the coaſt, miſtook for an enemy ſome galleys which Cæſar had ſtationed off the harbour of Thapſus, and under this miſtake ſtood off again to ſea, where they ſuffered many days from ſickneſs, want of proviſions, and of water.

Theſe legions having been the principal authors of the late mutiny in Italy, are ſaid to have now come without orders, intending to evince their zeal, and to court their general's favour, at a time when their ſervice might be not only acceptable, but neceſſary to his ſafety. The principal hiſtorian of this war[34], however, relates only, that Cæſar having obſerved Tribunes and Centurions of theſe legions to have occupied intire tranſports with their own equipage, to the excluſion of the troops which were then ſo much wanted for the ſervice, he took this opportunity to execute a piece of juſtice, which he had thought proper to remit, or to defer on a former occaſion. That he diſmiſſed ſeveral officers of theſe legions from the ſervice, with the following terms of reproach: "For you, who have incited "the troops of the Roman people to mutiny againſt the republic, "who have plundered the allies, and been uſeleſs to the ſtate; who, "in place of ſoldiers, have filled tranſports with your ſervants and "horſes; who, without courage in the field, or modeſty in your "quarters, have been more formidable to your country than to her "enemies, I judge you unworthy of any truſt in the ſervice of the "republic, and therefore order you forthwith to be gone from the "province, and to keep at a diſtance from all the ſtations of the "Roman army."

The other incidents, which are dated by hiſtorians during the dependance of the ſiege of Uzita, do not ſerve to make us acquainted

[34] Hirtius.

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with its progreſs, or with the detail of its operations. The ſeaſon we are told was ſtormy, and Cæſar's army, in order to crowd the more eaſily on board of the tranſports, had left great part of their equipage behind them in Sicily, and were now without any covering, beſides their ſhields, expoſed to heavy rains and hail, accompanied with thunder and appearances of fire, which, to their great amazement, inſtead of the ordinary flaſhes of lightning, became ſtationary, and for a ſenſible time continued to flame on the points of their ſpears. While this ſtorm continued, the ground upon which they lay was overflowed with water, or waſhed with continual torrents from the hills. Cæſar, neverthelefs, perſiſted in the attack of Uzita, and ſeemed ſtill to flatter himſelf that the defence of this place would lay the enemy under ſome diſadvantage, which might furniſh him with an opportunity to decide the war. The armies were accordingly often drawn out in order of battle, and were preſent at partial engagements of their cavalry or irregular troops, but without any general action.

In the midſt of the great expectations which muſt have attended the operations of this ſiege, Cæſar had one of the many occaſions, on which he was ever ſo ready to commit his genius, his reputation, and his life, in acts of ſeeming temerity, which perſons of inferior ability may admire, but never can ſafely imitate. Varus, with a fleet of fifty galleys, had ſurpriſed and burnt the greater part of his ſhipping at Leptis, and was in chace of Acquila, who, with an inferior ſquadron, was flying before him to the ſouthward. Cæſar apprehended that the enemy, in conſequence of this advantage, if not ſpeedily checked, muſt ſoon be maſters of the ſea, ſo as to cut off all his ſupplies and reinforcements from the coaſts. He knew that reputation gained or loſt on ſmall occaſions, often decides of the greateſt affairs; and that adverſe circumſtances, which if ſuffered to accumulate, may obſcure the brighteſt fortune, can, if ſeaſonably encountered, by

daring efforts of reſolution and courage, be actually turned to advantage. He inſtantly therefore went in perſon to Leptis, from whence he put off in a barge, and having overtaken his own ſquadron, which was flying before the enemy, he ordered them to put about, and to ſteer directly againſt their purſuers. Varus was ſtruck with this unaccountable change in the conduct of his enemy, and ſuppoſing them to have come in ſight of ſome powerful ſupport, he fled in his turn, and crowding ſail, ſteered for the port he had left. Cæſar gave chace, overtook ſome of the heavieſt ſailors that fell aſtern, and forced the remainder to take refuge in the harbour of Adrumetum. Here he preſented himſelf with an air of defiance; and having given this turn to the ſtate of his affairs at ſea, and left peremptory orders to his fleet not to reſign the advantage which they had gained by the enemy's flight, he returned to the attack of Uzita. In ſuch actions the fortunate often ſucceed, becauſe the attempt appears to be impoſſible; and men of great ability may no doubt venture into the midſt of difficulties, with which perſons of inferior capacity are by no means fit to contend.

Cæſar, notwithſtanding that by this ſtroke of fortune he preſerved his communication with the ſea, and received conſiderable ſupplies from thence, as well as from the country around him, in which he was favoured by the natives; yet being greatly circumſcribed by the ſuperiority of the enemy's light troops, he ſuffered conſiderably in his camp from ſcarcity of proviſions; and being, in his preſent operations againſt Uzita, to fight with a numerous army in detail, behind the walls of a fortified town, without being able to engage them upon equal terms in any deciſive action, he took his reſolution to diſcontinue the ſiege, and remove to a more advantageous ſtation; or to undertake ſome enterpriſe, in which he was more likely to ſucceed. He accordingly decamped in the night, ſet fire to the wood and ſtraw that was amaſſed upon the ground, left the lanes he had fortified.

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fied with ſo much labour, and marching by the ſhore, placed his baggage between the column of the army and the ſea, and thus covered it from the enemy, who he expected were to follow him by the ridge of hills which overlooked the line of his march.

The retreat of Cæſar was ſufficient to confirm the leaders of the republican party, in the hopes they had formed of being able to wear him out by a dilatory war. They followed him accordingly by the heights, and having obſerved that he ſtopped at Agar, a town which he held by the affections of the natives, they took poſt on three ſeveral heights, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from his camp. In this poſition, they were not able to hinder him from making in the contiguous villages and fields a conſiderable acquiſition of proviſions and forage, which greatly relieved his army; but, to prevent his farther excurſions into the country, and to ſecure its produce to their own uſe, they ſent two legions, under the command of Caius Mutius Reginus, with orders to take poſſeſſion of the town of Zeta, which lay about twenty miles from Agar, and on the right at ſome diſtance beyond their preſent camp. Cæſar had intelligence from the natives, that theſe troops were frequently employed abroad in collecting proviſions and forage, and that they might eaſily be cut off, and the town be ſurpriſed. He accordingly formed a deſign for this purpoſe; and with a view to the execution of it, removed from the plain of Agar, and fortified a ſtrong camp on a height nearer to the enemy. Here leaving a ſufficient guard for his lines, he put the remainder of the army in motion in the night, paſſed by the enemy's ſtations, and ſurpriſed the town of Zeta, which he entered by break of day, while the greater part of the garriſon had left the place in perfect ſecurity, and were ſcattered in foraging parties over the neighbouring country. Having placed a ſufficient detachment to ſecure this new acquiſition, he ſet out upon his return, making a diſpoſition, not to paſs the enemy unobſerved, which was no longer practicable, but to force

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his way through any impediment they might oppoſe to his march. The night could no longer be of any advantage to him; he ſet out, therefore, by day, leading the governor of Zeta, with P. Atrius, who belonged to the aſſociation of Utica, his priſoners, together with ſome part of Juba's equipage, and a train of camels, loaded with plunder which he had taken in the place. CHAP. VII.

The enemy were by this time appriſed of his motions. Scipio was come out of his lines; and, not far from Cæſar's route, had poſted himſelf in order of battle. Labienus and Afranius, with a great power of cavalry and light infantry, had taken poſſeſſion of ſome heights under which he was to paſs, and were preparing to attack him on his flanks, and on his rear. Cæſar was aware of theſe difficulties; it was nevertheleſs neceſſary to encounter them. He truſted, that the head of his column muſt force its way; and he placed his whole cavalry to cover the rear of his march. When he came abreaſt of the enemy, being aſſailed, as uſual, by the African cavalry with peculiar efforts of agility and cunning, he made a halt; and in order, by ſome great exertion, if poſſible, to clear his way, and procure to his people ſome reſpite in purſuing the remainder of their march undiſturbed, he ordered the legions to lay down the loads which they uſually carried, and to charge the enemy. They accordingly put all the Africans to flight; but no ſooner reſumed their march, than they were again attacked, and repeatedly forced to renew the ſame operations. They had already been detained four hours in paſſing over a hundred paces, or leſs than half a quarter of a mile, from the place at which they were firſt attacked. The ſun was ſetting, and the enemy were in hopes of being able to oblige them to halt for the night on a field, which was deſtitute of water. Scipio, for this purpoſe, ſtill kept the poſition which he had taken in the morning, and from thence obſerved, and occaſionally ſupported, the operations of the light troops.

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Cæſar perceived the danger to which he muſt be expoſed, if he ſhould halt on this ground, and ſaw the neceſſity of continuing his march: but obſerving, that as often as the cavalry in his rear was engaged, whether they repulſed or gave way to the enemy, he was obliged to ſtop in order to ſupport them, or to wait till they had recovered their ſtation, he thought proper to change his diſpoſition, brought forward the horſe to the head of his column, and ſubſtituted a choſen body of foot in the rear, who, although under an inceſſant diſcharge from the enemy, continued to move, and enabled him, though ſlowly, to effect his retreat with a regular and uninterrupted pace. In this manner, notwithſtanding the great danger to which he had been expoſed, he regained his camp, near Agar, with a very inconſiderable loſs.

Having thus got poſſeſſion of Zeta, a poſt on the flank or rear of the enemy, Cæſar formed ſucceſſive deſigns on Vacca, Sarſura, and Tyſdra, places ſimilarly ſituated round the ſcene of the war. His deſign on the firſt of theſe places was prevented by the Numidians, who, having intelligence of his coming, entered before him, and reduced the town to aſhes. Both armies being in motion for ſome days, he forced Sarſura; but advancing to Tyſdra, with the ſame intention, he thought proper, upon obſerving the ſtrength of the place, not to make any attempt againſt it; and, on the fourth day, having returned to his ſtation near Agar, the enemy likewiſe reſumed their former poſition.

While Cæſar remained at this poſt, he received a reinforcement of four thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of the ſick, who had been left behind the army in Italy, and who now joined their legions, together with a body of four hundred horſe, and a thouſand archers and ſlingers. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, he formed a deſign on Tegea, which was occupied by a detachment of the enemy, ſupported by the whole of their army, encamped at the diſtance of a few miles behind the town; and having advanced, in hopes to force or ſurpriſe it, about eight

eight miles on the plain, he was obſerved by Labienus and Scipio, who came forward, at the ſame time, about four miles beyond their own ſtation, in order to ſuſtain their detachment. Theſe conſiſting of four hundred horſe, divided themſelves on the right and the left of the town; and the main armies being formed in order of battle, with this poſt between them, Cæſar gave orders, that the party of horſe, which ventured to ſhew themſelves without the walls of Tegea, ſhould be attacked. The events which followed this firſt encounter, brought into action ſeveral detached bodies, both of horſe and of foot, that were ſent from the different ſides to ſuſtain the parties engaged, but did not lead to any general or deciſive action; and both armies retired at night to their reſpective lines.

In many of theſe partial engagements which happened in this campaign, Cæſar's cavalry gave way to that of the Africans. In one of their flights Cæſar met an officer, who was running away with his party, and affecting to believe him under a miſtake, took hold of his bridle, "You are wrong," he ſaid, "for it is this way you muſt go "to the enemy." Even the legions ſtood greatly in awe of the Numidian irregulars, by whom they were, on many occaſions, ſurpriſed with ſome new feat of agility or cunning; and they were conſiderably intimidated by the number and formidable appearance of the elephants, which they knew not how to withſtand. To fortify the minds of his men, and to prepare them to meet ſuch antagoniſts, Cæſar had a number of elephants brought to his camp, armed and harneſſed like thoſe of the enemy. He exerciſed his horſes in preſence of theſe animals, taught his men in what places to ſtrike where the beaſt was vulnerable, and how to elude their fury. He likewiſe made ſome change in the uſual exerciſe of the legion, ſuch as might the better qualify his men to baffle or repel the artful and deſultory attacks of the Numidians; and as he frequently employed his regular troops in foraging parties, he inured them by degrees to depart from

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their uſual forms, without loſing their courage, and to recover from any caſual diſorder into which they might be thrown. To ſhow his own confidence in the ſuperiority of his men, he frequently made an offer of battle on equal ground; and, in the manner that was, in their turns, common to both parties, drew a ſpecies of triumph from his enemy's declining to fight.

In theſe operations the campaign drew on to the middle of February, and had laſted about five months; during this time Cæſar had ſurmounted very great difficulties, ariſing from the diſperſion of his fleet, the uncertainty of his communication with Italy, and the ſcarcity of proviſions in a country laid waſte or poſſeſſed by his enemies. He was now become maſter of many towns on the coaſt, and of a conſiderable extent of territory; but from the many objects which required his attention in different parts of the empire, he remained under great diſadvantage in ſupporting a dilatory war, in which it appeared that Scipio and Labienus were reſolved to perſiſt. In order, if poſſible, to break their meaſures, he formed a deſign upon Thapſus, their principal garriſon and ſea-port on the ſouthern boundaries of the province. With this view he decamped in the night from his ſtation near Agar, and directing his march to the ſouthward, arrived before Thapſus on the following day. As he had formerly, in order to ſecure his convoys againſt any attempts from thence, blocked up the harbour with his ſhips, he now ſeized all the avenues which led to the town, and inveſted it completely from the land.

Scipio and Juba, greatly intereſted to preſerve a place of ſo much conſequence, put their armies in motion, and, to counteract that of Cæſar, followed him by the route of the hills. Seeing him inveſt Thapſus, they took their firſt poſts on two ſeparate heights, about eight miles from the town. Cæſar, with his uſual induſtry and diſpatch, executed lines both of circumvallation and of countervallation. By theſe lines, which were in the form of a creſcent, terminating at both ends in the ſea, he embraced the town, and propoſed to encamp his army

army between them. Scipio was ſufficiently acquainted with the ground, to know, that there was near the harbour a narrow channel, or ſalt-pit, ſeparated from the ſea, by a ſecond beach or ſand-bank, which it was poſſible the enemy might not have obſerved, and by which he might ſtill have an entry to the town, or be able to throw in his ſuccours. He therefore advanced with his whole army; and while he made a feint to interrupt Cæſar in the works he was carrying on, ſent a party to occupy the ſand-bank, or to throw themſelves into the town of Thapſus by that communication. Cæſar, however, had already taken poſſeſſion of this paſſage, and ſhut it up with three ſeveral intrenchments or redoubts, ſo placed as to ſecure it at once againſt any ſallies from the garriſon, as well as attacks from the field.

The combined army, on being thus diſappointed of any communication with the town of Thapſus, remained all the day under arms, and gave the enemy an opportunity, which he often affected to deſire, of terminating the war by a battle. But Cæſar, either becauſe he had not ſufficiently fortified his intrenchments to ſecure his rear from the town, or becauſe he would not chuſe that moment to fight, when the enemy was prepared to receive him, made no advances to engage on that day.

Scipio, remaining on the ſame ground all night, took his reſolution to encamp, and at break of day appeared to be forming the uſual intrenchments. Cæſar had then probably completed his own works; and thinking the opportunity fair, or being determined not to ſuffer the enemy to effect a lodgment in his preſence, he made the uſual ſignal to prepare for action; and leaving a proper force to man his intrenchments againſt the town, drew out the remainder of his army to the field, ordered part of his fleet to get under ſail, to turn a head-land in the rear of the enemy; and as ſoon as the action began in front, to alarm them with ſhouts, or a feint;

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to land and to attack their rear. Having made theſe diſpoſitions, he put his army in motion, and being come near enough to diſtinguiſh the poſture of the enemy, obſerved, that their main body was already in order of battle, with the elephants diſpoſed on the wings; and that numerous parties were ſtill at work on the lines, within which they meant to encamp. He halted, and made a diſpoſition ſuitable to that of the enemy. His centre conſiſted of five legions, his wings each of four; the tenth and ſecond legions compoſed the right wing, the eighth and ninth compoſed the left. Five cohorts, together with the cavalry, were ſelected to ſupport the archers and ſlingers that were to begin the attack on the enemy's elephants. Cæſar himſelf went round every diviſion on foot, exhorted the veterans to be mindful of the high reputation which they had to ſupport, and recommended to the new levies to take example from thoſe who were already poſſeſſed of ſo much glory, and who were inſtructed by long experience, in the arts to be practiſed in the day of battle againſt an enemy.

While Cæſar was thus employed, the legions of Scipio appeared to reel; they at one time retired behind their imperfect works, again changed their purpoſe, and came back to their ground. Many of Cæſar's officers, and many of the veteran ſoldiers, well acquainted with this ſign of diſtraction and irreſolution, called aloud for the ſignal of battle. But he himſelf, poſſibly to whet their ardour, as well as to keep them in breath, again and again halted the whole line.

In this ſituation of the two armies, Cæſar is ſaid to have been ſeized with a fit of the epilepſy, to which he was ſubject; a diſeaſe which, although it attacks the ſeats of underſtanding and of ſenſe, and ſuſpends, for a time, all the exerciſes of them in the moſt alarming manner, does not appear from this example to impair the faculties, nor to be inconſiſtent with their higheſt meaſures, and their ableſt exertions.

ertions. The report, however, is not conſiſtent with the narration of Hirtius. This hiſtorian, although he allows that the troops, in the laſt part of their motion to engage, acted without any orders; and while Cæſar wiſhed them to advance more deliberately, that they forced a trumpet on the right to ſound the uſual charge, and that the whole line, without any other ſignal, overwhelming by force all the officers who ventured to oppoſe them, continued to ruſh on the enemy: yet he obſerves that Cæſar, inſtead of being out of condition to act, took his reſolution to excite an ardour which he could not reſtrain; and, in order that he might bring his whole army at once with united force into action, commanded all his trumpets to ſound, and himſelf, mounting on horſeback, rode up with the foremoſt ranks. The battle began on the right, where the enemy's elephants being galled with a ſhower of arrows and ſtones, reeled back on the troops that were poſted to ſuſtain them, trod part of the infantry under foot, and broke over the unfiniſhed intrenchments in their rear.

The left of Scipio's army being thus routed, the main body ſoon after gave way; and the whole fled to the camp which they had formerly occupied; but in their flight, being thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and ſeparated from their officers, they arrived at the place to which they fled, without any perſon of rank to rally or command them. In this ſtate of conſternation they threw down their arms, and attempted to take refuge in the camp of their Numidian ally. But this being already in poſſeſſion of the enemy, they continued their flight to the neareſt heights; and being without arms, awaited their fate in a ſtate of helpleſs deſpair. When they ſaw the troops that purſued them advance, they made ſigns of ſubmiſſion, and ſaluted the victors with a ſhout; but in vain. They were inſtantly attacked by the victorious army of Cæſar, who, though affecting clemency on former occaſions, now ſeemed to be actuated with a paroxiſm of rage and thirſt of blood; contrary to the orders

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and inreaties of their general, they put the whole of this unarmed and defenceleſs multitude to the ſword. They are ſaid, on this occaſion, to have ſeized the opportunity of ſatiating their revenge on ſome of their own officers who had offended them. One was actually murdered, another, being wounded, fled to Cæſar for protection; and many perſons of diſtinction, Senators and Roman Knights, obſerving their danger, thought proper to withdraw to ſome place of concealment, till the preſent fury of the troops ſhould abate.

In the beginning of this memorable action, the garriſon of Thapſus had ſallied, but were repulſed with loſs. When the conteſt was over, Cæſar, to induce the town to ſurrender, diſplayed the tróphies of victory; but had no anſwer. On the following day, he drew up his army under the walls of the town; and in that place pronounced his thanks to the legions for their behaviour, and, without any reproach for the diſorder and cruelty of the preceding day, declared what were to be the rewards which he intended, at a proper time, for the veterans; and, by ſome immediate mark of his favour, diſtinguiſhed a few who had ſignalized themſelves. He appointed Caius Rubellius, with three legions, to continue the ſiege of Thapſus, and Cn. Domitius, with two others, to reduce Tyſdra; and having ſent forward M. Meſſala, with a body of horſe on the road to Utica, he himſelf followed with the remainder of the army[35].

At Utica were aſſembled, from every part of the empire, all who were obnoxious to Cæſar, or who, from a zeal for the republic, had refuſed to ſubmit to his power. On the third day after the battle, towards night, a perſon who had eſcaped from the field of battle coming to Utica, this unhappy convention of citizens was ſtruck with the greateſt alarm. Under the effects of their conſternation, they met in the ſtreets, ran to the gates, and again returned to their habitations. They crowded together in the public places, and ſeparated by turns, and paſſed the night in extreme

[35] Hirt. de Bello Af.

confuſion.

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confuſion. Cato repreſented to them, that the accounts they received might be exaggerated, and endeavoured to compoſe their fears. As ſoon as it was day he called them together, and laid before them a ſtate of the place, of the works, military ſtores, proviſions, arms, and numbers of men; and having commended the zeal, which they had hitherto ſhown in defence of the republic, exhorted them now to make the proper uſe of the means they ſtill had of defending themſelves, or at leaſt of making their peace in a body: declared, that if they were inclined to ſubmit to the victor, he ſhould impute their conduct to neceſſity; but if they were determined to reſiſt, he ſhould reſerve his ſword for the laſt ſtake of the republic, and ſhare with them in the conſequences of a reſolution, which he ſhould love and admire. He contended, that they were now to conſider themſelves as aſſembled, not in Utica, but in Rome; "That the force of "the republic was yet great, and might ſtill, as on former occaſions, "riſe again from its ruins; that the forces of Cæſar muſt ſtill be diſ-"tracted or ſeparate, to make head againſt enemies who were ap-"pearing in different parts of the empire; that in Spain his own "army had deſerted from him, and the whole province had de-"clared for the ſons of Pompey; that Rome, the head of the com-"monwealth, was yet erect, and would not bend under the yoke of "a tyrant; that his enemies were multiplying while he ſeemed to "deſtroy them; that his own example ſhould inſtruct them; or "rather, that the courage which he exerted in the paths of guilt and "of infamy, ſhould animate thoſe who were about, either to die with "honour, or to ſecure for their country bleſſings in which they "themſelves were to ſhare." At this aſſembly a reſolution was accordingly taken to defend the city of Utica, and numbers of ſlaves, who were ſet free by their maſters for this purpoſe, were armed and inrolled. But it ſoon appeared, that the aſſembly conſiſted of perſons unable to perſiſt in this reſolution, and who were preparing ſeparately

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to merit the favour of the conqueror by an intire and early ſubmiſſion. They ſoon made a general profeſſion of this deſign, expreſſed their veneration of Cato; but confeſſed, that they were not qualified to act with him in ſo arduous a ſcene; aſſured him, that if they were permitted to ſend a meſſage to Cæſar, the firſt object of it ſhould be to intercede for his ſafety; and that, if they could not obtain it, they ſhould accept of no quarter for themſelves. Cato no longer oppoſed their intentions; but ſaid, that he himſelf muſt not be included in their treaty; that he knew not of any right Cæſar had to diſpoſe of his perſon; that what had hitherto happened in the war only ſerved to convict Cæſar of deſigns which were often imputed to him, and which he always denied. He will now, at leaſt, own, he ſaid, that his opponents had reaſon for all the ſuſpicions they ſuggeſted againſt him.

While matters were in this ſtate, a party of Scipio's horſe, which had eſcaped from the field of battle, appeared at the gates of the town, and were with difficulty, by Cato's intreaties, hindered from putting every Roman, who offered to ſubmit to Cæſar, as well as the inhabitants of the place, to the ſword. Being diverted from this act of violence, and furniſhed with ſome money for their immediate ſubſiſtence, they continued their retreat. Moſt of the Senators, who were preſent, took ſhipping, and eſcaped. Lucius Cæſar undertook to carry to his kinſman a petition from ſuch of the Roman citizens as remained; and ſaid to Cato, at parting, that he would gladly fall at the victor's feet to make *his* peace. To which Cato anſwered, "If I "were diſpoſed to make my peace with Cæſar, I ſhould repair to "him in perſon; but I have done him no wrong, I am not an ob-"ject of his pardon, and ſhall not requeſt what it were inſolence in "him to offer me as a favour." He, however, on this occaſion, obſerved to his own ſon, that it would not become him to leave his father. "At a fit time," he ſaid, "you will put yourſelf on the

"victor's

"victor's mercy; but do not take part in public affairs; the times do "not afford a ſtation in which it would be proper for you to act." "And why," ſaid the young man, "will you not take the benefit "of the victor's clemency for yourſelf, as well as for me?" "I was "born to freedom," he ſaid, "and cannot, in my old age, be re-"conciled to ſervitude. For you theſe times were deſtined; and it "may become you to ſubmit to your fate." Having paſſed the day in aiding his friends to procure the means of their eſcape, he went to the bath, and ſupped as uſual, without any marks of dejection or affectation of eaſe; and being retired to his chamber, after ſome time which he employed in reading, he killed himſelf. His attendants, upon hearing a noiſe which alarmed them, burſt open the door, and would have dreſſed the wound, but he tore it up with his hand, and expired in making this effort [36]. Every one, through the day, had been anxious to know what was the deſign which Cato covered under the appearance of ſo much concern for others, and of ſo little care for himſelf. On the firſt report of his death, multitudes crowded to the door of his quarters, and gave the moſt unfeigned demonſtrations of dejection and ſorrow. The colony of Utica, though originally hoſtile to his cauſe, and ſtill in the intereſt of Cæſar, ordered a public funeral, and erected his ſtatue in the place of interment.

Cato died in the vigour of life, under fifty; he was naturally warm and affectionate in his temper; comprehenſive, impartial, and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the love of mankind. But, in his conduct, probably became independent of paſſion of any ſort, and choſe what was juſt on its own account. He profeſſed to believe, with the ſect whoſe tenets he embraced, that it might or might not, in particular circumſtances, be expedient for a man to preſerve or lay down his life; but that, while he kept it, the only good or evil competent to him

[36] Dio. Caſſ. Appian. Plutarch. Hirtius de Bello Africano.

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consisted in the part which he took, as a friend or an enemy to mankind. He had long foreseen the dangers to which the republic was exposed, and determined to live only while he could counteract the designs that were formed against it [37]. The leader of the successful party thought proper to apologize for himself, by decrying the virtues of Cato; but the bulk of mankind, in his own and the subsequent ages, were equally pleased to extol them; and he is a rare example of merit, which received its praise even amidst the adulation that was paid to his enemies [38]; and was thought, by the impartial, equally above the reach of commendation or censure [39].

[37] Sed verè laudari ille vir non potest, nisi hæc ornata sunt; quod ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne fierent contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Cicer. ad Att. lib. xii. ep. 4.

[38] See the writings of Virgil and Horace.

[39] Cujus gloriæ neque profuit quisquam laudando, nec vituperando quisquam nocuit, quum utrumque summis præditi fecerint ingeniis. Frag. Livii ex Hieronym. Prolog. lib. xi. in Oseam.

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Fair Promontory

Utica

BAY of CARTHAGE

Promontory of Mercury

Carthage

Tunis

Clupea

Neapolis

BAY of ADRUMETUM

Adrumetum

Castra Labienus

Uzita

Acilla

Caesar's Camp

Leptis

Zeta

Tegea

Vacca

Thapsus

Tysdra

Vada

J. Bell Sculpt

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

By ADAM FERGUSON, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

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THE

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Arrival of Cæſar at Utica.——Wreck of the Republican Party.——Servility of the Roman People.——Magnificence and Adminiſtration of Cæſar.——His laſt Campaign in Spain.——Death of the elder of Pompey's Sons.——Cæſar's Return, Triumphs, Honours, and Policy in the State.——Spirit of the Times.——Source of the Conſpiracy againſt Cæſar.——Its Progreſs.——Death of Cæſar.

WHEN Cæſar was informed, on his march from Thapſus, that of all the principal men of the oppoſite party, Cato alone remained at Utica to receive him, he was at a loſs to interpret his conduct, and poſſibly might have found it difficult to determine how he

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ſhould deal with an antagoniſt, whom he neither could reconcile to his uſurpation, nor treat as a criminal. The character of generoſity towards his enemies, which Cæſar had aſſumed, laid him under ſome obligation, in point of conſiſtency, to treat the perſon of Cato with reſpect; and the opportunity he would have had, in that inſtance, of exerciſing his clemency with ſo much luſtre, could not have eſcaped him. In the buſieſt ſcene of his life he had not any party object, or any party quarrel to maintain; he had repeatedly ſacrificed perſonal animoſity to ambition; and when he took the field againſt the republic, he had few private reſentments to gratify: he knew that an affectation of reluctance in ſhedding the blood of Roman citizens, the reverſe of what remained ſo much an object of horror in the memory of Sylla, was the likelieſt means to cover the effects of this deſtructive war, and to reconcile the People to his government. In the bulk of his fellow citizens he had found either rubbiſh to be removed from the way of his ambition, or tools with which he might work in removing it; they were the dupes of his policy, or open to the imputations of ſiniſter deſigns or unreaſonable obſtinacy which he caſt on his opponents. In Cato, perhaps, alone, he found a meaſure of eſtimation, which, with all his abilities and proſperous fortune, he could not neglect, and a penetration which, without management for his perſon, treated his politics as a ſyſtem of villany deviſed for the ruin of the commonwealth. Cato therefore alone, of all his antagoniſts, he poſſibly hated beyond the poſſibility of a reconciliation *.

Cæſar was in reality, according to the repreſentation of his friend Curio, neither ſanguinary nor ſcrupulous of blood, but in the higheſt degree indifferent to both, and ready to do whatever was moſt likely to promote his deſigns. As he had already ſufficiently provided for

* Et cuncta terrarum ſubacta præter atrocem animum Catonis.

 the

the reputation of clemency, he now made a freer uſe of his ſword, and in proportion as he approached to the end of the war, or ſaw the means of extirpating thoſe who were moſt likely to diſturb his government, he dipped his hands with leſs ſcruple in the blood of his enemies. As he purſued Pompey into Egypt, under a certain impreſſion that the death of this rival was material to the eſtabliſhment of his power in Italy, ſo it is likely that he now haſtened to Utica as a place at which he might cruſh the remains of the republic. On hearing of the death of Cato, however, he made uſe of an expreſſion which ſerved to diſcover the reſolution he had taken with reſpect to him. "I muſt be allowed," he ſaid, "to envy this man "the ſplendour of his death, as he has refuſed me the honour of "preſerving his life." Having paſſed through Uzita and Adrumetum, which ſurrendered to him on his march, and being met by numbers who came to make their ſubmiſſion, he arrived at Utica in the evening, and continued all night without the gates.

Marcus Meſſala had already taken poſſeſſion of the town. Cæſar entered on the following day; and having ordered the people to attend him, made a ſpeech, in which he thanked the colony of Utica for their faithful attachment to his cauſe; but ſpoke of three hundred Roman citizens, who had contributed to ſupport the war againſt him, in terms which ſufficiently ſhewed that he was no longer to court the reputation of mercy. Appian ſays, that as many of them as fell into his hands were by his order put to death. Hirtius relates, that he only confiſcated their effects, and that this ſentence was afterwards changed into a limited fine, amounting in all to two hundred thouſand ſeſtertia, or about a million and a half ſterling, to be paid in three years, at ſix ſeparate payments.

From this general wreck of the republican party in Africa, the leaders continued their flight in different directions. Many who ſurrendered themſelves were ſpared; but moſt of thoſe, who, in their

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attempts to eſcape, fell into the enemy's hands, either killed themſelves, or by Cæſar's order were put to death [z]. Afranius and Fauſtus Sylla having joined a party of cavalry that fled by Utica from the field of battle, were intercepted by Sitius, and defending themſelves, with the loſs of many of their party, were taken. In a few days after this event, theſe priſoners, under pretence of a riot in the camp, were put to death.

Scipio, with Damaſippus, Torquatus, and Plætorius Ruſtianus, endeavoured to eſcape by ſea into Spain. After being toſſed ſome days with contrary winds, they ventured to put into Hippo, on the coaſt of Numidia, where they met with a ſquadron of Cæſar's fleet, commanded by Sitius. Their veſſel being boarded, they were aſked with impatience, Where is the general? Scipio himſelf made anſwer, *The general is well;* and in uttering theſe words ſtabbed himſelf, and went headlong into the ſea.

Juba, with Petreius, having eſcaped from the field of battle at Thapſus, lay concealed by day, and continued their flight in the night towards Zama, a place which, at the breaking out of the war, the king of Numidia had fortified, and made the reſidence of his women, and the repoſitory of his treaſure and moſt valuable effects. He knew that if he ſhould be taken captive by a Roman general, the conſequence was being led in triumph, and poſſibly afterwards put to death. He had therefore provided this retreat in caſe of an unfortunate iſſue to the war; intending it merely as a place at which he might die in ſtate. With this intention he had raiſed, near to the royal palace, a pile of wood on which he meant to conſume whatever could mark or adorn the victor's triumph; and it was his purpoſe, while he ſet theſe materials, and with them the whole city, on fire, to commit himſelf and his women to the flames.

[z] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliii. c. 12. Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Florus, Eutropius, Hirtius.

The

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The inhabitants of Zama had ſome intimation of this deſign, and, upon the approach of the king, not chooſing to celebrate by ſuch an offering the exit of a vanquiſhed prince, ſhut their gates and refuſed him admittance. They likewiſe had the humanity to refuſe ſending the women to him, on a ſuppoſition that he meant they ſhould be a ſacrifice to his jealouſy, or be involved in his ruin.

Juba finding himſelf thus diſobeyed, even by his own ſubjects, retired to one of his country ſeats; and having ordered a ſplendid entertainment, at the cloſe of it he and Petreius fell together by their own ſwords. The kingdom of Numidia was converted into a Roman province, and the government of it was committed to Salluſt the hiſtorian. The ſon of the king, yet an infant, was reſerved to make a part in the proceſſion of the victor's triumph[3]. The furniture and ornaments of his palaces were ſold, and produced a conſiderable ſum of money. Great contributions were raiſed at the ſame time in thoſe parts of Africa which had been already ſubjected to the condition of a Roman province. The inhabitants of Thapſus were made to pay fifty thouſand Roman ſeſtertia[4]; thoſe of Adrumetum, eighty thouſand; thoſe of Leptis and Tyſdra paid the quotas exacted from them in corn and oil.

Cæſar having, in this manner, cloſed a ſcene in which he had deſtroyed fifty thouſand of his opponents, who might be ſuppoſed to be the moſt obſtinate adherents of the republican party, and having joined to the empire a territory which, by the report afterwards made in the aſſembly of the People, was fitted to yield an annual tribute of three hundred thouſand medimni of grain, and three hundred thouſand weight of oil[5], he embarked at Utica, on the fifteenth of June, and in three days after he ſailed from thence, arrived in the iſland of Sardinia; a part of his dominions, ſaid Cicero,

[3] Plut. in Cæſ. [4] About 400,000 l. [5] Plut. in Cæſ.

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which he had not hitherto ſeen. Before his departure from Africa he had made the neceſſary arrangements reſpecting the army; and, although he had recently availed himſelf of the ſervices of the legions who had mutinied in Italy, and ſeemed to have forgotten their offence, yet he took the benefit of the preſent proſperous ſtate of his affairs to indulge his reſentment; and that they might not communicate with factious ſpirits in Italy, have leiſure to over-rate their ſervices, or to ſet an example to the reſt of the army of exorbitant demands, he ordered them to be broke and diſbanded in Africa. The remainder of the troops who had given him the victory in that country, he ordered, after receiving the neceſſary refreſhments, to proceed in the voyage to Spain, where he had ſtill ſome reſiſtance to apprehend from the ſons of Pompey.

Leaving the army therefore to purſue this courſe, Cæſar himſelf took ſhipping again in the iſland of Sardinia on the twenty-ninth of June; and, being ſome time detained by contrary winds, arrived at Rome on the twenty-ſixth of the following month[5]; having, ſince the time of his departure from Italy, on the expedition to Africa, in which he had ſo many difficulties to ſurmount, ſpent no more than ſix months.

The news of Cæſar's victory had been ſome time received. The principal ſupports of the republic had fallen at Thapſus and at Pharſalia; and as the ſons of Pompey, though favourably received by their late father's adherents in Spain, were not yet ſuppoſed to be in condition to reſiſt the victor, the revolution in his favour ſeemed to be complete, and every part of the Roman empire ſubjected to his power. Nothing now remained, but that he ſhould take poſſeſſion of that ſovereignty to which he aſpired, and in which, it ſoon after appeared, that to him there was a charm, even in the court that was paid to him, as well as in the poſſeſſion of power.

[5] Hirtius de Bell Afr. c. 86.

Whatever

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Whatever diſtreſs the ſurviving members of the commonwealth may have ſuffered on the loſs of their relations and friends, who had fallen in the late bloody tranſactions of this war, or whatever mortification they may have felt on the loſs of their own political conſequence, as partners in the empire of the world, no ſymptoms of averſion, or unwilling ſubmiſſion, appeared on the part of the People; all orders of men haſtened to pay their court to the victor, and, by their ſervile adulations, to anticipate the ſtate of degradation into which they were ſoon to be reduced.

In the name of the Senate and People a continual thankſgiving of forty days was decreed for the late victory at Thapſus. The power of Dictator was conferred on Cæſar for ten years, and that of Cenſor, which gave the ſupreme diſpoſal of honours and rank in the commonwealth, and which, on account of the abuſe to which it was ſubject, had been ſome time aboliſhed, was now under a new title, that of *Præfectus Morum*, reſtored in his perſon. At the ſame time the nomination of ſome of the officers of ſtate, formerly elected by the people, was committed to him. He was, in the exerciſe of theſe powers, to be preceded by ſeventy-two lictors, triple the number of thoſe who uſed to attend the Dictators, and he was to enjoy, for life, many of the inferior prerogatives, which, under the republic, ſerved to diſtinguiſh the firſt officers of ſtate; ſuch as that of giving the ſignals for the horſes to ſtart, or for the other ſports to begin at the games of the Circus; and that of delivering his opinion before any one elſe in the Senate. It was likewiſe ordered, that he ſhould have in the Senate a gilded chair of ſtate, placed next to that of the Conſul; and, as if it were intended to join ridicule with theſe extraordinary honours, it was decreed, that as the conqueror of Gaul, in his triumphs he ſhould be drawn by white horſes, to put him on a foot of equality with Camillus, to whom this diſtinction had been given, as the reſtorer of his country from its deſtruction by the anceſtors

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ceſtors of that nation; that his name ſhould be inſerted, inſtead of that of Catulus, as the perſon who had rebuilt the Capitol; that a car, like that of Jupiter, ſhould be placed for him in the ſame temple, and near to the ſtatue of the god himſelf; and that his own ſtatue, with the title of a demi-god, ſhould be erected on a globe repreſenting the earth.

It is ſaid that Cæſar refuſed many of the honours which were decreed to him; but in theſe, which he no doubt encouraged, or favourably received, he ſufficiently betrayed a vanity which but rarely accompanies ſuch a diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority of underſtanding and courage: Though in reſpect to the ability with which he rendered men ſubſervient to his purpoſe; in reſpect to the choice of means for the attainment of his end; in reſpect to the plan and execution of his deſigns, he was far above thoſe who were eminent in the hiſtory of mankind; yet in reſpect to the end which he purſued, in reſpect to the paſſions he had to gratify, he was one merely of the vulgar, and condeſcended to be vain of titles and honours, which he has ſhared with perſons of the meaneſt capacity. Inſenſible to the honour of being deemed the equal in rank to Cato and Catulus, to Hortenſius and Cicero, and the equal in reputation to Sylla, to Fabius, and to the Scipios, he preferred being a ſuperior among profligate men, the leader among ſoldiers of fortune, and to extort by force from his fellow citizens a deference which his wonderful abilities muſt have made unavoidable, even if he had poſſeſſed the magnanimity to deſpiſe it.

Cæſar, ſoon after the diſtinctions now mentioned were beſtowed upon him, addreſſed himſelf to the Roman Senate and People, in a ſpeech which, being ſuppoſed to proceed from a maſter, was full of condeſcenſion and lenity, but from a fellow citizen, was fraught with inſult and contumely. A ſpeech delivered on ſo remarkable an occaſion was likely to be in ſubſtance preſerved; and under the government

vernment of his ſucceſſors, by whom he was numbered with the gods, it was not likely to get abroad but with a view to do him honour. "Let no man," he ſaid, "imagine, that, under the favour "of my exalted ſituation, I am now to indulge myſelf in acts, or "even in expreſſions, of ſeverity; or that I am to follow the ex-"ample of Marius, of Cinna, of Sylla, or of moſt others, who, "having ſubdued their enemies, dropt, in the height of their for-"tune, that character of moderation under which they had formerly "enticed men to their party. I have appeared all along in my true "character, and now, in the height of my power, have no change "to make in my conduct[5]. The more my fortunes advance, the "more I will endeavour to uſe them properly. My ſole object, "while I endeavoured to riſe above my enemies, was to ſecure for "myſelf a ſituation in which I might exerciſe virtue with dignity "and ſafety; and I ſhall not now imitate the examples which I my-"ſelf have often condemned, nor fully the ſplendour of my victories "by an improper uſe of my power.

"As the favours of fortune are won by vigour, ſo they are pre-"ſerved by moderation, and ſhould be moſt carefully preſerved by "thoſe who enjoy the greateſt ſhare of them. I covet ſincere af-"fection and genuine praiſe; not the adulation that ſprings from "fear and hatred. Theſe are my ſerious thoughts, confirmed on "reflection; and you ſhall find me governed by them in all the "actions of my life. I do not mean to be your lord or your tyrant, "but your chief and your leader. When the State has occaſion for "my authority, you ſhall find in me a Dictator and a Conſul; but on "ordinary occaſions, no more than a private man[6].

"I have ſpared many who were repeatedly in arms againſt me. "I have ſhut my ears to informations of the hidden deſigns of

[5] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliii. c. 15, &c. [6] Ibid.

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" others, and have deſtroyed all letters and papers which could lead " to a detection of my ſecret enemies. To moſt of you I can have " no reſentment; and I do not incline to raiſe proſecutions againſt " thoſe who may think they have incurred my diſpleaſure. Live, " therefore, with me from this time forward in confidence, as chil- " dren with their father. I reſerve to myſelf the power of " puniſhing the guilty, as far as juſtice requires; but will protect " the innocent and reward the deſerving.

" Let not theſe appearances of military force alarm you. The " troops which are quartered in the city, and which attend my per- " ſon, are deſtined to defend, not to oppreſs the citizens; and " they will know, upon every occaſion, the limits of their duty.

" Uncommon taxes have lately been levied in the provinces and " in Italy, but not for my private uſe. I have in reality expended " my fortune, and contracted immoderate debts in the public ſervice; " and, while I myſelf have borne ſo great a part of the burden, am " likewiſe made to bear the blame of what others have exacted." He concluded with aſſurances, that the arrears which were due to the troops, and the other debts of the public [7], ſhould be paid with the leaſt poſſible inconvenience to the People.

In this ſpeech was conveyed, not the indignant and menacing ſpirit of Sylla, who deſpiſed the very power of which he was poſſeſſed; but the conſcious ſtate and reflecting condeſcenſion of a prince who admired and wiſhed to recommend his greatneſs. The Roman people, in former inſtances of uſurpation, had experienced ſanguinary and violent treatment, and they now ſeemed to bear with indifference the intire ſuppreſſion of their political rights, when executed by hands, that refrained from proſcriptions and murders. But as Cæſar ſeemed to think his preſent elevation the higheſt object of

[7] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliii. c. 15, &c.

human

human wiſhes, there were ſome who thought their preſent ſubjection the loweſt ſtate of degradation and miſery. "What ſhould I do in "ſuch times?" ſays Cicero to his correſpondent, "books cannot al-"ways amuſe me. I go into any company, affect to be noiſy, and "laugh, to conceal my ſorrow[8]."

The populace were gratified with ſhews, proceſſions, and feaſts, and with the gratuities that were given them in money. Cæſar had four ſeparate triumphs in one month. The firſt for his conqueſt of Gaul, at which Vercingetorix, the prince of the Arverni, by a cuſtom cruel and odious in all its parts, was led in chains, and afterwards put to death. The ſecond for his victory in Egypt, at which Arſinoë, the ſiſter of the queen, was exhibited in fetters, and by her youth and beauty excited a general compaſſion, which preſerved her life. A third for the defeat of Pharnaces, where the trophies, as has already been mentioned, were marked with the words, *I came*, *I ſaw*, *I vanquiſhed*. The laſt for the overthrow of the king of Numidia, in which the infant ſon of that prince was carried in proceſſion. This captive having received a literary education at Rome, became afterwards, according to Plutarch, an hiſtorian of eminence[9].

Although triumphs were not obtained for the defeat of fellow citizens, and nothing in theſe proceſſions had a reference to Pompey, yet the effigies of many conſiderable ſenators, who had fallen in the civil war, were carried before the victor's chariot.

In theſe proceſſions, Cæſar is ſaid to have carried to the treaſury, in all, ſixty thouſand talents in money[10]; two thouſand eight hundred and twenty two chaplets or crowns of gold, weighing twenty thouſand four hundred and fourteen pounds[11]. He at the ſame

[8] Cic. ad Familiar. lib. ix. ep. 26. Miraris tam exhiliratam eſſe ſervitutem noſtram. Quid ergo faciam?—ibi loquor quod in ſolum ut dicitur, et gemitum in riſus maximos transfero.

[9] Plut. in Cæſ. Dio. Caſſ.

[10] About 10,000,000 l.

[11] The Roman pondo conſiſted of ten ounces, about 800,000 l.

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time diſtributed to each private man of the army, five thouſand denarii or drachmas, about one hundred and ſixty one pounds ſterling: to each Centurion, double: to the Tribune, quadruple: to the People, an Attic mina of an hundred drachmas, or about three pounds four ſhillings and ſeven pence a man [12].

The ſoldiers, who walked in theſe proceſſions, in chanting their ballads and lampoons, took the uſual petulant liberties with their leader, alluded to the diſorders of his youth and to the crimes of his age; and ſhewed that they were not deceived by the profeſſions which he made of a zeal for the rights of the people. "If you obſerve the "laws," they ſaid, "you ſhall be puniſhed; but if you boldly tranſ-"greſs them all, a crown is your reward." Theſe appearances of freedom in the troops, perhaps, flattered the People with ſome image of the ancient familiarity of ranks which ſubſiſted in times of the republic; but the licence of mere ſoldiers of fortune brings too often the reverſe of freedom to the People; and in whatever manner thoſe of Rome were qualified to judge of their own ſituation, it is likely that the pageants, which now entertained them, were part of the means which Cæſar employed to reconcile them to his uſurpation, and to divert their thoughts from the proſpect of a military government with which they were threatened. Farther to ſecure theſe effects, he continued to multiply ſhews and public diverſions. He himſelf, at the cloſe of his triumphs, walked in proceſſion at the opening of magnificent edifices he had built, and in his return at night from this ceremony, attended by multitudes of the People, was lighted by torches borne on elephants [13]. At the ſame time he erected theatres, and exhibited dramatic performances in different parts of the city, and amply indulged the taſte of the populace for entertainments of every ſort. He introduced not only gladiators to

[12] Appian. Sueton.

[13] Dio. Caſſ. Suetonius.

fight

fight in ſingle combat, but parties on foot and on horſeback to engage in conſiderable numbers on oppoſite ſides, and to exhibit a ſpecies of battles. Among theſe, he ſhewed the manner of fighting from elephants, having forty of theſe animals properly mounted, and the manner likewiſe of fighting at ſea, having veſſels on a piece of water which was formed for the purpoſe. In moſt of theſe ſhews, the parties who were engaged, being captives or malefactors condemned to die, gave a ſerious exhibition of the utmoſt efforts they could make in real fight.

Among the other articles of ſhew and expence which compoſed the magnificence of theſe entertainments, are mentioned the blinds or awnings of ſilk, a material then of the higheſt price, which were ſpread over the public theatres to ſhade the ſpectators from the ſun, and to enable them undiſturbed, from under theſe delicate coverings, to enjoy the ſights of bloodſhed and horror which were preſented before them. Two human ſacrifices, we are told, were at the ſame time offered up in the field of Mars, by prieſts ſpecially named for this ſervice. Of this ſhocking exhibition, the hiſtorian does not explain the occaſion [14]. The whole was attended by a feaſt, to which the People were invited, and at which twenty thouſand benches or couches were placed for theſe numerous gueſts [15]. So great was the concourſe from the country to this entertainment, that multitudes lay in the ſtreets, or lodged in booths erected for the occaſion. Many were trampled under foot, and killed in the crowds. Among thoſe who periſhed in this manner, two Roman Senators are mentioned.

This method of gaining the people, by flattering their diſpoſition to diſſipation and idleneſs, was already familiar at Rome. It had been employed under the republic in procuring favour, and in purchaſing votes by thoſe who aſpired to the offices of ſtate. It was now extended by Cæſar to effect the revolution he had in view, and to recon-

[14] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliii. c. 24.

[15] Plut. in Cæſar.

cile

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cile the populace of Rome, who had for ſome time governed the empire, to the loſs of their political conſequence, in being deprived of a power which they were no longer worthy to hold. It is probable, that the arms of Cæſar were not more ſucceſsful in ſubduing thoſe who oppoſed him in the field, than theſe popular arts were in gaining the conſent of his ſubjects to the dominion he was about to aſſume.

From this time forward, Cæſar took upon himſelf all the functions of government, and while he ſuffered the forms of a Senate and popular aſſemblies to remain, availed himſelf of their name and authority without conſulting with either, affixing without ſcruple the ſuperſcription of particular Senators to the decrees or edicts, which he ſent abroad into the provinces[16]. "My name," ſays Cicero, "is "often prefixed to public deeds which are ſent abroad, as having "been moved or drawn up by me, and which come back from Ar-"menia or Syria as mine, before I have ever heard of them at "Rome. Do not imagine I am in jeſt; for I have letters from per-"ſons, whoſe names I never heard of before, thanking me for the "honour I have done them in beſtowing the title of king[17]."

Equally abſolute in the city as in the provinces, Cæſar placed whomever he thought proper on the rolls of the Senate; and, without regard to birth, declared ſome to be of Patrician rank. He recalled ſome who had been driven into exile for illegal practices, and reinſtated in their ranks many whom the Cenſors had degraded[18]. In all

[15] It is well known, that the Senatûs Conſulta bore the names of the Senators by whom they were propoſed.

[17] Ante audio Senatûs conſultum in Armeniam et Syriam eſſe perlatum, quod in meam ſententiam factum eſſe dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re eſſe factam. Atque hoc nolim me jocare putes, nam mihi ſcito jam, a regibus ultimis allatas eſſe literas, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod ſe mea ſententia reges appellarerim; quos ego non modo reges appellatos, ſed omnino nato neſciebam. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. ix. ep. 15.

[18] At this time, he with much difficulty was perſuaded, at the interceſſion of the Senate, to permit the return of Caius Marcellus, who at Athens, on his way into Italy, was, upon motives which have not been explained, aſſaſſinated by one of his own attendants. This Marcellus was Conſul, U. C. 703.

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the elections, he named half the magiſtrates, or in a mandate, addreſſed to the Tribes, took upon him to direct the People whom they were to chuſe [19]. In the exerciſe of ſo much power, he became reſerved and difficult of acceſs, familiar only with perſons whom he himſelf had raiſed, and who had talents amuſing or ſerviceable, and without any pretenſions to alarm his jealouſy [20]. Nevertheleſs, if the Romans could have overlooked what was offenſive in his manner, or illegal in the powers which he had thus uſurped, many of his acts were in themſelves, as might have been expected from ſo able a perſonage, worthy of a great prince, and tending to reform abuſes, as well as to facilitate the ſummary proceedings of the deſpotical power he had aſſumed.

Among the firſt acts of Cæſar's reign, the law of Sylla, by which the children of the proſcribed had been excluded from holding any office in the ſtate, was repealed. The judiciary law, which had undergone ſo many alterations, and which, in its lateſt form, admitted ſome of the inferior claſs of the People [21] on the roll of the judges or jurymen, was now reformed, ſo as to limit the exerciſe of the judicature to the Senators and Knights. A ſcrutiny was made into the titles of thoſe who had been in the practice to receive corn at the public granaries, and their numbers were greatly reduced [22]. Of the corporations which had been multiplied for factious purpoſes, many were aboliſhed, and the original companies of the city alone

[19] The words of Cæſar's mandate were, "Cæſar Dictator tribui, &c. &c. commendo vobis illum, &c. &c. ut veſtro ſuffragio ſuam dignitatem teneat. Sueton. in Cæſ.

[20] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. iv. ep. 9. Ib. lib. vi. ep. 14.

[21] The Tribuni Ærarii.

[22] The leaders of faction under the republic, and no one probably more than Cæſar himſelf, in order to encreaſe the numbers of their partizans, had augmented this liſt, and it was undoubtedly become a great abuſe. Dion Caſſius ſays, it was at this time reduced by Cæſar to one half. Suetonius ſpecifies the numbers from three hundred and twenty thouſand to one hundred and fifty thouſand. Plutarch and Appian ſtate the reduction, ſo as to be underſtood of the numbers of the whole people, in comparing the muſter taken before the civil war with the one now made.

§ were

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were permitted to remain. Many puniſhments, for the better reſtraining of crimes, were increaſed. To the ordinary puniſhment of murder, was joined the confiſcation of the whole eſtate; to that of ſome other crimes, the confiſcation of one half. The kalendar was reformed upon the principles eſtabliſhed by the Egyptian aſtronomers. The reckoning by lunar months, and the uſe of irregular intercalations, which had been frequently made for party and political purpoſes, had ſo deranged the terms, that the feſtivals to be obſerved by reapers did not happen in harveſt, or thoſe of the vintage in autumn. To reſtore them therefore to their proper dates in the kalendar, no leſs than an intercalation of ſixty-ſeven days, or above two months was required. This intercalation was made in the preſent year, between the months of November and December, ſo that the name of December was transferred from the time of the autumnal Equinox, to that, where it ſtill remains, of the winter ſolſtice.

Under the government of Cæſar, ſumptuary laws were framed to reſtrain the expence of the table; and he himſelf expreſſed great zeal to correct the abuſe which prevailed in this article. Being ſenſible that Italy was greatly depopulated by the diſtractions of the commonwealth, and by the devaſtations of the late civil war, he took meaſures to reſtore the numbers of the people, both by detaining the natives of Italy at home, and by inviting foreigners to ſettle. He gave premiums to thoſe who had families: he ordered, that no citizen above twenty nor under ten, except belonging to the army, ſhould remain out of Italy above three years at a time; and that the ſons of Senators, except in the family or retinue of public officers, ſhould not go abroad: that all landholders in Italy ſhould employ no leſs than one third freemen on their lands; that all practitioners of liberal arts, particularly foreign phyſicians ſettling at Rome, ſhould be admitted on the rolls of the People; and at the ſame time he extended the privilege of Romans to whole cities and provinces in dif-

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ferent parts of the empire [23], by theſe means increaſing the number of Roman citizens, or at leaſt increaſing the number of thoſe who were to bear this title. Senſible that he himſelf had become dangerous to the republic, by having his power as a provincial officer improperly prolonged, he took meaſures to prevent a ſimilar danger to the government, of which he himſelf had now acquired the poſſeſſion, limiting the duration of command in the provinces, if with the title of Proprætor to one year, or with that of Proconſul to two years; a regulation, in which he ſhewed how well he underſtood the nature of the ladder by which he himſelf had mounted to his preſent elevation, and how much he deſired to withhold the uſe of it from any one elſe who might be diſpoſed to tread in his ſteps, or to diſpute his continuance in the height he had gained.

While Cæſar, on a ſuppoſition that he himſelf was to hold the reins of government, was providing for the ſecurity of the power he had eſtabliſhed in the capital, and on a ſuppoſition that he had no enemy left in the field, or that the remains of the adverſe party in the provinces might be extinguiſhed by his officers, was betaking himſelf to civil affairs and to popular arts, he had reports from Spain which convinced him, that his own preſence might ſtill be neceſſary to repreſs a party, which began to reſume its vigour under the ſons of Pompey. He had ſent Didius, with the fleet and army, from Sardinia, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Spain; but this ſervice was found to be more difficult than was at firſt apprehended. He had himſelf, in appearance, reduced this province; but many humours had broke out in it, while he was afterwards ſo much occupied in other parts of the empire. Even the troops which had joined his ſtandard, mutinied during the uncertain ſtate of his fortunes in Theſſaly and Egypt; and though, upon the death of Caſſius Longinus, and the

[23] Dio. Caſſ. Sueton. Appian.

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ſucceſſion of Trebonius, their diſcipline was in appearance reſtored; yet conſciouſneſs of the heinous offence they had committed againſt Cæſar made them doubt of his forgiveneſs; and, joined with the inclination and reſpect which they yet entertained for the family of Pompey, determined them to take part againſt him. They had opened a ſecret correſpondence with Scipio, while he was yet at the head of a powerful army in Africa, and encouraged him to ſend a proper officer into Spain to take the command of ſuch forces as could be raiſed in the province.

Young Pompey was ſent for this purpoſe. In his way, he put into the iſland of Majorca, and was there ſometime detained by ſickneſs, or remained in expectation that he might prevail on the natives to eſpouſe his cauſe. The troops on the continent, in the mean time, even before Pompey arrived to take the command of them, declared themſelves openly againſt Cæſar, and erazed his name from their bucklers. They obliged his lieutenant Trebonius to fly from their quarters, and owned T. Quintus Scapula and Q. Apronius for their generals.

In this poſture of affairs, young Pompey arrived in Spain, took the command of this army, and either received or forced the ſubmiſſion of the principal towns. He was likewiſe ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of all the Roman ſettlers in the province who retained any zeal for the republic, and by the remains of former armies who had been levied by his father, eſpecially ſuch of that army which had ſerved under Afranius on the Segra, as were left in Spain; and by many officers of rank, who, having eſcaped from Theſſaly or Africa upon the late calamities of their party, had taken refuge in this country. Among theſe, Labienus and Varus, with as many as could be ſaved from the maſſacre at Thapſus, were aſſembling anew under the ſtandard of Pompey. The two brothers, Cnæus and Sextus, were joined together, and ſupported by the name of their father,

father, which was ſtill in high veneration; they had aſſembled thirteen legions. Among theſe, were two legions of native Spaniards, who had deſerted from Trebonius; one that was raiſed from the Roman coloniſts; and a fourth, which had arrived from Africa, with the elder of the two brothers [24].

Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius or Didius [25], the officers of Cæſar, being unable to make head againſt this force, remained on the defenſive, and by the reports which they made to their commander, repreſented the neceſſity of his own preſence in the province.

The continuance of the Dictatorial power in Cæſar's perſon, had ſuperſeded the uſual ſucceſſion in the offices of ſtate. Lepidus ſtill remained in his ſtation of general of horſe; and, with a council of ſix or nine Præfects being left to command at Rome, Cæſar ſet out in the autumn for Spain. He ordered troops from Italy to reinforce thoſe already employed in this ſervice, and, in twenty-ſeven days after his departure from Rome, arrived at Saguntum [26].

Upon the news of Cæſar's approach, Cnæus Pompeius had aſſembled all his force on the Bœotis, poſted his brother Sextus with a proper garriſon at Corduba, and himſelf endeavoured to reduce Ulia, a town which ſtill held out againſt him in that neighbourhood. Cæſar's firſt object, upon his arrival in Spain, was to preſerve this place from falling into the enemy's hands. For this purpoſe, he detached eleven cohorts under the command of L. Julius Paciæcus, with orders, if poſſible, to throw themſelves into the town. The night, in which they marched for this purpoſe, being ſtormy and dark, they paſſed the firſt poſts of the beſiegers unnoticed. When near the gates, they were challenged; but the officer who led the van,

[24] Hirtius de Bell. Hiſp.
[25] Dio Caſſ. ibid. c. 31.
[26] App. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. or as Strabo writes, at Obulio, lib. iii. p. 160.

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having anſwered in a low voice, that they were a detachment ordered to the foot of the wall in ſearch of ſome entry, by which, under the cover of the night, they might ſurpriſe the garriſon, they were ſuffered to paſs; and preſenting themſelves at one of the gates, upon a ſignal that had been agreed upon, they were admitted into the town.

While Cæſar thus reinforced the garriſon of Ulia, he himſelf, to make a diverſion in their favour, marched up to Corduba, cut off a party that had been ſent from thence to obſerve his motions, and threatened the town with a ſiege. Sextus, who was in the place, being alarmed, ſent preſſing repreſentations to his brother, who accordingly abandoned his lines before Ulia, and marched to his relief. Both armies encamped on the Guadalquivir [27]. The parties that were ſent forward by them to ſcour the country, or to cover their quarters, were engaged in daily ſkirmiſhes. But the two brothers being in poſſeſſion of the principal ſtations, and in condition to protract the war, continued to act on the defenſive. Cæſar, on his part, made ſome movements in order to diſconcert them, and to find, if poſſible, an opportunity of coming to action; but the country being hilly, and the towns generally built upon heights, every where furniſhed ſtrong poſts for the enemy, and prevented his making any progreſs. The winter at the ſame time approached, and expoſed his army to conſiderable hardſhips from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and from the ſcarcity of proviſions. Under theſe diſadvantages, he undertook the ſiege of Allegua, and on the twentieth of February, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged that town to ſurrender [28].

C. J. Cæſar, Dict. 310. M. E. Lepidus, M. E. Coll. U. C. 708.

Our accounts of theſe operations, which are aſcribed to Hirtius, and which, with his other performances, are annexed to Cæſar's Commentaries, being leſs perfect than other parts of the collection, all we

[27] The Bœtis.

[28] Hirtius de Bell. Hiſp.

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can distinctly learn from them is, that after a variety of different movements, which gave rise to frequent skirmishes, the armies in the month of March came to encamp in the plain of Munda, about five miles from each other; that Cæsar was about to leave his station, when in the morning of his intended departure, he had intelligence, that the enemy had been under arms from the middle of the preceding night, and were meditating some attempt on his camp. This intelligence was followed by the sudden appearance of their army on some elevated grounds near the town of Munda; but as they shewed no disposition to come into the plain, Cæsar, after some hesitation, advanced to attack them.

In the army of Pompey, together with the flower of a warlike people, the natives of Spain, were assembled many veterans of the Roman legions, inured to blood; many Roman citizens of rank, now pushed to despair, or warned, by the fate of their party at Thapsus, not to expect safety from the mercy of a victorious enemy, and not to have any hopes, but in their swords. Under these impressions, they waited for Cæsar's approach with a proper countenance, and on the first onset repulsed and put to flight the troops by whom they were attacked. In this extremity, Cæsar ran into the ranks of his own men; said, *they were delivering him over to boys*; laid hold of a sword and a shield, and calling out that *this then should be the last day of his life, and of their services*, took a place in the ranks as a mere legionary soldier. In this manner he renewed the action, and being reduced to the necessity of animating his men with the example of his own personal valour, committed his fortune and his life to the decision of a contest, in which his ability as an officer could no longer have any share; but while the event was still in suspence, Bogud, an African, commanding a body of horse in his service, having made an attempt to pierce into Pompey's camp, drew Labienus from his post in the field to cover it. This accident turned the fortune

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tune of the day. The troops, who till then valiantly ſuſtained Cæſar's attack, believing that Labienus deſerted them, inſtantly fled in diſorder. The ſlaughter from thence forward turned as uſual intirely againſt thoſe who fled. Thirty thouſand fell upon the field, and among them three thouſand Roman citizens of high condition, with Labienus and Attius Varus at their head. Seventeen officers of rank were taken, with thirteen Roman eagles or legionary ſtandards.

Cæſar acknowledged, that having on other occaſions fought for victory, he had now been obliged to fight for his life. He had a thouſand men killed, and five hundred wounded, before the enemy gave way. Part of the vanquiſhed army retired into the town of Munda, part into the camp, and in their reſpective poſts prepared to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Cæſar, on the approach of night, took poſſeſſion of all the avenues by which either might eſcape; and it is ſaid, that the troops he employed in this ſervice, inſtead of traverſes of earth or ſtone to obſtruct the highways, raiſed up mounds of the dead bodies.

Early in the morning of the following day, Cæſar, having left the town of Munda in this manner blocked up or inveſted, ſet out for Corduba, which Sextus, the younger of the two brothers, upon the news of the battle, had already abandoned.

Cnæus, on ſeeing the rout of his own army, fled with a ſmall party of horſe on the road to Carteia [23]. Here he had collected moſt of his ſhipping and naval ſtores; but the news of his defeat having arrived before him, the people were divided in their inclinations. Part had already ſent a deputation with an offer of their ſervices to Cæſar; part ſtill adhered to the family of Pompey, and from theſe oppoſite diſpoſitions had proceeded to actual violence and bloodſhed

[23] Now Gibraltar.

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in the ſtreets. Pompey himſelf was wounded in one of their ſcuffles, and expecting no ſafety in a place, in which ſo many of the inhabitants had declared againſt him, he took ſhip, and put to ſea with thirty galleys. He was purſued by Didius, who commanded Cæſar's ſquadron at Gades; and being obliged in a few days to ſtop for a ſupply of water, of which he had been ill provided at his ſudden departure from Carteia, he was overtaken, moſt of his ſhips deſtroyed, and he himſelf obliged to ſeek for ſafety on ſhore. Soon after he landed, he diſmiſſed his attendants, or was deſerted by them; and falling into the hands of the enemy, though greatly weakened by his wounds and loſs of blood, he continued to defend himſelf, until he was overpowered and ſlain. His head, according to the barbarous cuſtom of the times, was ſent to the conqueror, and expoſed at Hiſpalis.

In the preceding tranſactions of the war, every circumſtance contributed to the fall of the republic, and to the ſucceſs of Cæſar. In the very outſet of the conteſt, half the nobility, ruined by prodigality and extravagance, had been deſirous of anarchy and confuſion. Citizens high in civil rank, and with fortunes intire, were generally glad to forego their political conſequence in exchange for eaſe and ſafety. Even the arms which ſhould have protected the commonwealth, were in the hands of mere ſoldiers of fortune, who were inclined to favour that ſide from which they looked for the eſtabliſhment of military government; they fought to procure great power and eſtates for themſelves, not to preſerve laws which gave property and the ſecurity of wealth to others. Many of the Senators indeed perceived the impending ruin, and were prevailed upon to make ſome efforts for the preſervation of the ſtate, but on moſt occaſions too haſtily deſpaired of their cauſe. It was not thought honourable or ſafe for a citizen to ſurvive his freedom. Upon this principle,

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the friends of the republic, while they eſcaped from the enemy, periſhed by their own hands.

Soon after the action at Munda, Scapula, one of the officers lately at the head of the republican party in Spain, turned the practice of ſuicide into a kind of farce. Having retired to Corduba from the field of battle, he ordered a magnificent pile of wood to be raiſed and covered with carpets; and having given an elegant entertainment, and diſtributed his money among his attendants and ſervants, he mounted to the top of this fabric, and while one ſervant pierced the maſter with his ſword, another ſet fire to the pile. Thus the victories of Cæſar were completed by his enemies; and while he gained a freſh ſtep at every encounter, they who oppoſed him went headlong, and abandoned their country to its ruin.

The province of Spain, under a proper conduct of its force and reſources, if it had not been able to ſtop at once the career of Cæſar's victories, was ſurely ſufficient to have given him more trouble than any other part of the empire. Its natives brave, and addicted to war, were inferior to the Romans only in policy and diſcipline. They had been averſe to the party of Cæſar, and would not, even in its higheſt proſperity, prefer it to the cauſe they had originally eſpouſed. Being mixed with the remains of Roman armies which had been broken and diſperſed in the field, they ſtill maintained every place of defence againſt the conqueror; and, within the walls of cities to which they retired, defended themſelves to the laſt extremity.

Cæſar, having been employed part of the ſpring and the following ſummer in ſubduing this ſcattered enemy, prepared to leave the province. He aſſembled the principal inhabitants at Hiſpalis; and having upbraided them with their animoſity to himſelf and to the Roman people, he put them in mind of his early connection with their country, as Quæſtor and as Prætor, and of his repeated good

offices in the capacity of Senator and magiſtrate; having made a proper eſtabliſhment for the government of the province, he ſet out for Italy [29], and arrived at Rome in October [30]. Although it was contrary to the practice of former ages to admit of triumphs where the vanquiſhed were fellow-citizens, he took a triumph for his late victory at Munda; and the more to amuſe the People who, whatever be the occaſion, are captivated with ſuch exhibitions, he appointed ſeparate triumphs, on the ſame account, to Q. Fabius Maximus, and to Didius, who had acted under him in that ſervice.

Theſe triumphs, over the ſuppoſed laſt defenders of the public liberty, and over the periſhing remains of the family of Pompey, ſo long reſpected at Rome, inſtead of the feſtivity which they were intended to inſpire, where attended with many ſigns of dejection. But none took upon him to cenſure, or was qualified to ſtem, the torrent of ſervility by which all orders of men were carried. The ſame ſucceſſion of games and entertainments were ordered as in the former year. The Senate and People indeed had no longer any conceſſions to be added to thoſe already made to the conqueror, and it was difficult to refine on the language of adulation, which they had ſo amply employed in former decrees; but ſomething to diſtinguiſh the preſent ſituation of affairs, to ſhow the ardour of ſome to pay their court, and to diſguiſe the diſcontent and the ſorrow of others, was thought neceſſary on the preſent occaſion. A thankſgiving was appointed, and ordered to continue for fifty days. The anniverſary of the twentieth of April, the day on which the news of the victory at Munda was received at Rome, was ordered to be for ever celebrated with games of the

[29] Antony had ſet out from Rome to meet Cæſar; but to the great ſurpriſe and alarm of every body, returned unexpectedly to Rome. Cicero ad Att. xii. 18.

It was known afterwards, that Antony returned under the ſurpriſe of an order given by Cæſar to oblige him to pay for houſes, &c. bought at Pompey's ſale. Cicer. Phil. ii. 29 Ibid. xxxi. 29.

[30] Velleius Paterculus.

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circus [31]. Even they who felt a ſecret indignation at the elevation of a ſingle perſon to act as lord of the commonwealth, concurred, in appearance, with theſe reſolutions in honour of Cæſar [32]. They thought that the full cup was moſt likely to nauſeate, and that extreme provocation was moſt likely to rouſe, the ſpirits of free men, if any yet remained.

In the conceſſions which were made to Cæſar, whether ſuggeſted by his friends or by his enemies, there was no attempt to preſerve any appearance of the republic, or to veil the preſent uſurpation. The Senate, in preſenting their ſeveral decrees, waited upon him in a body as ſubjects to acknowledge their ſovereign; were received by him on his chair of ſtate, and in all the form of a royal ceremony, ſtretching forth his hand to each as they approached. While he carried the external ſhow of his elevation to this height, Pontius Acquila, one of the Tribunes, being ſeated in the exerciſe of his office, had ſuffered him, in one of his proceſſions, to paſs, without riſing from his place. This he greatly reſented. "Muſt I," he ſaid to thoſe who attended him, "reſign the government to this Tribune?" And for ſome days, in granting requeſts or petitions, he affected to guard his anſwers ironically, by ſaying, "Provided that Pontius Acquila "will permit [33]." The Conſulate was offered to him for ten years, but he declined it, as he deſtined this and the other offices of State for the gratification of his friends. He himſelf had aſſumed the title of Conſul in his late triumph, and immediately after reſigned it to Q. Fabius Maximus.

Such, from henceforward, was to be the manner of conferring honours under the monarchy of Rome. Families had become noble in conſequence of being admitted into the Senate, or in conſequence of having borne any of the higher offices of State, ſuch as that of

[31] Dio. Caſſius. [32] Plutarch. in Cæſ. [33] Sueton. in Cæſ. c. 78.

Conſul

Conſul or Prætor. Inſtead of titles, they recited the names of anceſtors who had been in theſe offices, and inſtead of enſigns armorial, erected the effigies or images of ſuch anceſtors. Cæſar, that he might have more frequent opportunities to gratify his retainers, paid no regard to the cuſtomary eſtabliſhment of the Senate, and increaſed its numbers at pleaſure, by inſerting in the rolls perſons of every deſcription, to the amount of nine hundred. He augmented the number of Prætors to fourteen, and that of Quæſtors to forty; and even, without requiring that his friends ſhould paſs through theſe offices, rewarded them at pleaſure with the titular honours of Conſular, Prætorian, Patrician, &c. [34]; and extended his munificence likewiſe to the provinces, by admitting aliens ſeparately, or in collective bodies, to the privilege or appellation of Roman citizens.

In the midſt of appearances, which ſeemed to throw a ridicule on the antient forms of the republic, as well as to ſubſtitute a military government in their ſtead, Cæſar named himſelf, together with Mark Antony, as Conſuls for the following year. This compliment paid to the civil eſtabliſhment, by condeſcending to bear the name of legal office, though very illegally aſſumed, flattered the citizens with hopes that he meant to govern under ſome form of a republic [35]. Nothing, however, followed from theſe appearances; the ſtate which he affected, his dreſs, his laurel wreath, the colour and height of his buſkins, the very ſeal which he choſe to make uſe of, being the impreſſion of a Venus armed, in oſtentation of his ſuppoſed celeſtial extraction; the numerous guards and retinue, exceeding two thouſand men, with which he was conſtantly attended [36]; the ſatisfaction with which he ſeemed to receive the forced ſervility of thoſe whom his ſword had ſubdued, betrayed a mind which, though poſſeſſed of real ſuperiority, had not ſufficient elevation to diſdain the falſe appearances of it.

[34] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliii. c. 47. [35] Appian. [36] Cicer. ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 52.

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On the laſt day of the year, Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been a few months Conſul, died before he had vacated the office; and about noon of the ſame day, Cæſar, who had aſſembled the Tribes, ordered them to take the form of the Centuries, and to elect Caninius Conſul for the remainder of the day. Plutarch ſays, That Cicero exhorted the People to be ſpeedy in paying their court to this new Conſul: "for this magiſtrate may be out of office before we can reach him." Cicero himſelf, referring to this farcical election, writes in a letter to one of his friends, "We have had a Conſulate, during which no "one either ate or drank, and yet nothing extraordinary happened; "for ſo great was the vigilance of this officer, that he never ſlept all "the time he was in office. You may laugh at theſe things," he ſays; "but if you were here, you would cry [37]."

U. C. 709. C. J. Cæſar, Dict. 4to. M. E. Lepidus, M.E.C. Octavius, Mag. Eq. Cn. Domitius Calvinus in ſequentem annum deſignatus non initit.

On the following day, Cæſar, with all the powers and enſigns of Dictator, took poſſeſſion of the Conſulate in conjunction with Antony. He intended, after having held this office for a few days in his own perſon, to reſign it in favour of Dolabella, though a young man, ſtill far ſhort of the legal age. The execution of this intention, however, was ſome time delayed at the requeſt of Mark Antony, who, being jealous of Dolabella, endeavoured to obſtruct his preferment.

Cæſar himſelf paſſed the winter in aſſiduous application to civil affairs, and in forming projects to embelliſh the capital, and to aggrandiſe the empire. He made ſome regulations for the better government of the city. Under this title may be reckoned his prohibiting the uſe of litters, of purple, and of pearls, except to perſons of a certain rank, and to them only at great feſtivals, and on re-

[37] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. vii. ep. 30. Ita Caninio Conſule ſcito, nemine prandiſſe. Nihil tamen eo Conſule mali factum eſt. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia qui toto ſuo Conſulatu ſomnum non viderit. Hæc tibi ridicula videntur: non enim adis. Quæ ſi videris lachrymas non teneres.

markable

markable occaſions; together with his reviving the antient ſumptuary laws reſpecting the expence of the table. For the better execution of theſe laws, he appointed inſpectors of the markets, with orders to ſeize all illicit articles of proviſion; and if any thing of this ſort were known to eſcape the inſpectors, he ſent officers to ſeize them from the tables on which they were ſerved. To check the luxury of the times in other articles, he impoſed duties on the importation of foreign commodities.

Under the ordinary pretence, that the laws were become too voluminous, he ordered them to be digeſted into a code, with a view to ſimplify and to reduce them into a narrower compaſs; in this meaſure attempting a reformation which mankind, in certain ſituations, generally wiſh for, but which no man can accompliſh without the poſſeſſion of abſolute power.

In the ſame ſpirit of deſpotical government, with which Cæſar abridged the laws, he acted at once as legiſlator and as a judge. As inſtances of his ſeverity in the latter capacity, it is mentioned, that he annulled a marriage, becauſe it had been contracted no more than two days after the woman had parted from a former huſband; and to this he joined his puniſhing Senators for extortion in the provinces, by expulſion from the Senate.

His mind, at the ſame time, entertained projects of great variety and extent. To drain the great marſhes which rendered the air ſo unhealthy, and ſo much land unſerviceable in the neighbourhood of Rome; to cut acroſs the iſthmus of Corinth, to erect moles, and form harbours on the coaſt of Italy; to make highways acroſs the Apennines; to build a new theatre that ſhould exceed that of Pompey; to erect public libraries, and make a navigable canal from the Anio and the Tiber to the ſea at Teracina; to build a magnificent temple to Mars. Theſe projects are juſtly mentioned as meritorious in the ſovereign of a great empire; and it muſt be confeſſed, that

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power would be but a wretched poſſeſſion, if there were not ſomething of this ſort to be done after the toils of ambition were over.

The meaſure which of all others contributed moſt to the honour of Cæſar, did we ſuppoſe him intitled to the powers he aſſumed, was the general indemnity which he granted to all who had oppoſed him. Some he even employed in the adminiſtration of government, and promoted in the State. He placed Caius Caſſius and Marcus Brutus, for this year, on the liſt of Prætors, and entruſted them with the higher juriſdiction of the city. To the widows of many who died in oppoſition to himſelf, he reſtored their portions, and gave their children part of their patrimony [38]. He replaced the ſtatues of Sylla and of Pompey, which the populace, in flattery to himſelf, had thrown down; "and by this means," ſays Cicero, "he firmly eſta-" bliſhed his own."

It appeared, on many occaſions, that Cæſar meant to contraſt his own conduct with that of Sylla [39]; his own clemency with the bloody executions performed by the other. The compariſon, no doubt, is curious, and muſt occur to every perſon who reads their ſtory. Sylla had been excited, by extreme provocations, to turn his arms againſt a party in poſſeſſion of the capital, and he drew his ſword to puniſh injuries done no leſs to the republic than to himſelf. While he was maſter of the State, he acted indeed like a perſon who did not care how odious he rendered deſpotical power, for he did not mean to retain it. But he mixed, with the reſentment of a perſonal enemy, the high views of a noble citizen, who propoſed to reform the State by clearing it of many corrupted and dangerous members. When he had accompliſhed this purpoſe, he diſdained the pageantry

[38] Sueton. Dio. lib. xliii.

[39] Quonium reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam quem imitaturus non ſum. Hæc nova ſit ratio vincendi, ut miſericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Cicer. ad Att. lib. ix. ep. 7.

of

of high ſtation, was above receiving the adulation which proceeds from ſervility, or wiſhing to enjoy a continual precedence in the management of affairs, which requires no extraordinary capacity. Embarked by fortune on a tempeſtuous ſea, when he had conducted the veſſel ſafe into port, he quitted the helm; and after having been maſter, was not afraid to place himſelf among his countrymen as a fellow-citizen; and in this ſtate of equality his greatneſs of mind ſecured to him a diſtinction, which no degree of precedency, and no meaſure of prerogative, could have beſtowed.

To this character that of Cæſar, in many particulars, may be fairly conſidered as a contraſt. He himſelf had ſtirred up the diſorders which produced the civil war in which he engaged. He had no injuries either public or private to reſent; his affected clemency, in ſparing a few captives, in the beginning or in the courſe of his operations, was belied by the wantonneſs with which he entered on a war, in which the blood of many thouſands of his fellow-citizens was to be unneceſſarily ſhed[40]. If he had been reluctant in the ſhedding of blood, his mercy would have appeared, in avoiding ſo deſtructive a conteſt, not in oſtentatiouſly ſparing a few of the many whoſe lives his wanton ambition brought into hazard. His clemency ſhould have appeared at the Rubicon, not at Corfinium; in leaving his country to enjoy its liberties, not merely in ſparing thoſe whom no man in his ſenſes would deſtroy, a people who were willing to ſubmit, and whom he deſired to govern.

Cæſar uſed to ridicule the reſignation of Sylla as an act of imbecility[41], and was himſelf fond of precedence as well as of power. The degree of vanity which he is ſaid to have indulged, in accepting the frivolous honours which were now conferred upon him by acts of the Senate, is indeed ſcarcely credible. Among theſe is mentioned a

[40] It is ſaid that 400,000 Romans periſhed in this conteſt.

[41] Syllam neſciſſe literas qui dictaturam depoſuerit. Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. lib. lxxvii.

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decree that he ſhould have precedency of all magiſtrates, and the privilege of being always dreſſed in the triumphal robes; of having a gilded chair of ſtate, and a place of diſtinction at all the public games; that he ſhould be allowed to depoſit a ſuit of armour in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, an honour appropriated to thoſe who, like Romulus, had killed, with their own hands, a leader of the enemy; that his lictors ſhould have their faſces always bound with laurel; that himſelf, in coming from the Latin feſtivals, ſhould enter the city on horſeback; that he ſhould have the title of Father of his Country, and be ſo deſigned on the coins; that the anniverſary of his birth-day ſhould be kept as a feſtival; that ſtatues ſhould be erected to him in all the towns of Italy, and in the temples of the city; that the ſtatues, without any conſideration of his titles to theſe honours, ſhould be adorned with the civic and obſidionary crowns; the firſt a badge worn by thoſe who had ſaved a fellow-citizen in battle, the ſecond by thoſe who had delivered the city itſelf from a ſiege [41].

The Senate and People obſerving, that theſe diſtinctions were agreeable to Cæſar, ſubjoined, that his robe ſhould be cut in imitation of that of the ancient kings of Rome; that he ſhould have an eſcort of Knights and Senators; that it ſhould be permitted to ſwear by his deſtiny; that all his decrees, without exception, ſhould be ratified; that, at the end of five years, a feſtival ſhould be held in honour of him, as of a perſon of divine extraction; that an additional college of Prieſts ſhould be eſtabliſhed to perform the rites which were inſtituted for that occaſion; that, in all gladiatorian ſports, whether at Rome or in the provincial towns, one day ſhould be dedicated to him; that a crown of gold, ſet with gems, like thoſe of the Gods, ſhould be carried before him into the Circus, attended with a thenſus or car like that on which the idols of the Gods were carried; that he

[41] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 4.

ſhould

ſhould have the title of Julian Jove, have a temple erected for himſelf, in conjunction with the Goddeſs of Clemency; and, to complete the ridicule of theſe inſtitutions, that Mark Antony ſhould be appointed the prieſt of this ſacred fane [43].

From theſe particulars, which, to characteriſe the ambition of the perſon to whom they refer, and the manners of the age, are ſelected from thoſe mentioned by the original hiſtorian [44], it was no longer to be doubted, that Cæſar wiſhed to eſtabliſh a monarchy on the ruins of the republic. He himſelf was extremely artogant in his behaviour, and ſo unguarded in his expreſſions, as to ſay, That the republic was but a name, that his words ſhould be carefully obſerved, for that he meant every word ſhould have the force of a law.

To ſo much arrogance and affectation of kingly ſtate, joined to abſolute power, nothing was wanting but the title of King. This Cæſar himſelf evidently appeared to have the vanity to deſire. His retainers and flatterers, on different occaſions, endeavoured to ſurpriſe the People into a conceſſion of it; but notwithſtanding the powers of Sovereign, which he exerciſed without controul, and the honours of Divinity, which were decreed to him by general conſent, his influence was not ſufficient to reconcile the Roman People to the name of King. One of his emiſſaries, willing to ſuggeſt the propriety of beſtowing this title, or to inſinuate Cæſar's purpoſe of aſſuming it, had bound the head of one of his ſtatues with a royal fillet. The Tribunes Marullus and Cæſetius, affecting great zeal for the honour of Cæſar, as well as for the majeſty of the Roman State, made inquiry after the author of an inſinuation ſo derogatory to both; and receiving information of the guilty perſon, in order to check ſuch inſinuations for the future, ſent him to priſon. This officious interpoſition of the Tribunes, though pretending to vindicate Cæſar himſelf from ſo odious anim-

[43] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 6. [44] Ibid.

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putation, he received with marks of diſpleaſure; and hearing theſe officers extolled as the reſtorers of the public liberty with the appellation of the *Bruti*, "Brutes indeed," he ſaid they were; but took no farther notice of the matter.

Soon after this incident, ſome one, or a few in the aſſembly of the People, ſaluted him with the title of King. But on hearing, inſtead of acclamations, a general murmur of diſlike, he ſilenced this unſeaſonable piece of flattery, ſaying, That his name was *Cæſar*, and not *King*. Here too the Tribunes again interpoſed, and raiſed proſecutions againſt the authors of ſuch treaſonable expreſſions. But in this inſtance Cæſar loſt his patience, and complained in the Senate, that factious men, under the pretence of diſcharging the public office of magiſtracy, propagated inſinuations injurious to his character, and tending to alarm the People with falſe apprehenſions. Such offences, he ſaid, merit capital púniſhment; but he ſhould be ſatisfied with degradation from their office. This ſentence was accordingly inflicted; and from thenceforward it was not doubted, that Cæſar aſpired to the title, as well as the power of a monarch.

This opinion was ſtill farther confirmed, when, on the ſixteenth of February [45], at the *Lupercalia* (a feſtival, which being continued down from barbarous ages, ſerved as a monument of primæval ſimplicity and rudeneſs), the ſame piece of flattery, in making tender of a crown, was renewed by Antony, then in the office of Conſul, and the chief confident of Cæſar.

It was the cuſtom in this feſtival of the Lupercalia, for the firſt officers of State, and the firſt of the Nobles, to preſent themſelves naked in the ſtreets, carrying thongs of undreſſed hide, with which they ran through the crowd, and ſtruck at thoſe who happened to be placed within their reach. The ſtroke was thought a remedy, in

[45] Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 34.

particular,

particular, for barrenneſs in women; and numbers of this ſex crowded in the way to receive it.

In the ceremony now to be performed, Mark Antony bore his part as Conſul; and Cæſar ſat on his gilded chair of ſtate in his triumphal robes to behold the ſpectacle. Antony ſtopped before him, and preſented him with a royal crown, ſaying, "This crown the Roman "People confer upon Cæſar by my hands." A few of the ſpectators ſeemed to applaud; but Cæſar, perceiving that the People in general, by their ſilence, gave ſigns of diſpleaſure, puſhed away the crown with his hand; and upon this action, received from the People, by an univerſal ſhout of applauſe, an unqueſtionable explanation of their former ſilence.

To try the effect of a moderation which was ſo much applauded, Antony threw himſelf upon the ground at Cæſar's feet, repeated his offer of the crown, and hoped that the People might join him in preſſing the acceptance of what was ſo modeſtly refuſed; but with no better ſucceſs than in the former attempt.

That the merit of this refuſal, however, might not be forgotten, or that the offer might be held equal to the actual inveſtiture of the crown, an entry was made in the Faſti or public records, by the directions of Antony, "That the Conſul having, by the order of the Roman "People, preſented a crown, and offered to confer the majeſty of "King on Caius Julius Cæſar, perpetual Dictator, he had declined "to receive it[45]."

The Roman republic had, for ſome time, ſubſiſted a very diſorderly ſtate; the People having dominion over many other nations, ſcarcely admitted any ſpecies of government among themſelves. The inhabitants of Rome, aſſuming the prerogatives of the collective body of Roman citizens, who now not only extended over all Italy, but were diſperſed throughout the empire, generally aſſembled in tumults, whoſe

[45] Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 34.

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proceedings nothing but force could regulate, and at every convulſion gave an immediate proſpect of military government. All who wiſhed to preſerve the republic, endeavoured to extend the prerogatives of the Senate, and to prevent, as much as poſſible, theſe ill-formed aſſemblies of the People from deliberating on matters of State; and it might, no doubt, have been ſtill better for the empire, if the ſpirit of legal monarchy could at once have been infuſed into every part of the commonwealth; or if, without further pangs or convulſions, the authority of a prince, tempered with that of a Senate, had been firmly eſtabliſhed. But men do not at once change their habits and opinions, nor yield their own pretenſions upon ſpeculative notions of what is ſuited to the ſtate of the ircountry. Cæſar aſpired to dominion in order to gratify his perſonal vanity, not to correct the political errors of the times; and his contemporaries, born to the rights of citizens, ſtill contended for perſonal independence and equality, however impoſſible it might be longer to preſerve any ſpecies of republic at the head of ſuch an empire.

Ever ſince the expulſion of Tarquin, the name of King had been odious at Rome. The moſt popular citizens, as ſoon as they became ſuſpected of aſpiring to kingly power, became objects of averſion, and were marked out as a prey to the deteſtation of their country. Thus fell Manlius Capitolinus, the Gracchi, Apuleius, and others who were loaded with this imputation.

The Romans, accuſtomed to ſee vanquiſhed kings the ſport of popular inſolence, led in triumph, put to death; or, if ſuffered to live, made to languiſh in poverty and neglect—accuſtomed to ſee kings, who were their own allies, ſubmitting their cauſe to the judgment of the Roman People, or ſuing for favour, conſidered monarchy itſelf as an appurtenance of ſervility and barbariſm; and the project to give a king to the Romans as an attempt to degrade them into barbarians and ſlaves.

The

CHAP. I.

The maxim, which forbids aſſaſſination in every caſe whatever, is the reſult of prudent reflection, and has a tendency to allay the jealouſy, and to mitigate the cruelty of perſons, who, by violent uſurpations, which laws cannot reſtrain, have incurred the reſentment of mankind. Even tyrants, it is ſuppoſed, are cruel from fear, and become merciful in proportion as they believe themſelves ſecure; it were unwiſe, therefore, to entertain maxims which keep the powerful in a continual ſtate of diſtruſt and alarm. This prudential morality, however, was intirely unknown in the antient republics, or could not be obſerved, without ſurrendering the freedom for which the citizens contended. Amongſt them the People were obliged to conſider, not what was ſafe, but what was neceſſary; and could not always defend themſelves againſt uſurpations, neither by legal forms, nor by open war. It was thought allowable, therefore, to employ artifice, ſurpriſe, and ſecret conſpiracy againſt an uſurper; and this was ſo much the caſe at Rome, that no names were held in greater veneration, than thoſe of citizens who had aſſaſſinated perſons ſuſpected of views dangerous to the commonwealth; or who, by any means whatever, rendered abortive the projects of adventurers who attempted to arm any party againſt the legal conſtitution of their country.

Cæſar, having attempted to join the title of King with the powers of perpetual Dictator, had reaſon to diſtruſt a People who were actuated by ſuch conceptions. He was an object of private as well as of public reſentment, having uſurped the government over thoſe whom he had cruelly injured; over the fathers, the brothers, and ſons of thoſe who had fallen by his ſword. He accordingly, for ſome time, had the precaution to keep a military guard attending his perſon; but, grown familiar with thoſe he had offended, and ſecure in his perſonal courage, he dropt this precaution, and began to reign with the confidence of a lawful monarch. Although he had incurred ſo much reſentment, he diſdained to ſtand in awe of it, and ventured to join the

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confidence of innocence with the higheſt meaſures of guilt. This conduct indeed was uncommon, and the effect of a daring courage, but unworthy of the penetration and ſkill with which he had hitherto conducted his affairs. It may ſerve to confirm, what has been already been obſerved, that, amongſt the many accompliſhments which he poſſeſſed, and together with the abilities which rendered him ſuperior to every direct oppoſition, he was actuated by a vanity which bordered on weakneſs. Miſled, perhaps, by this paſſion, he perſiſted in his emulation to the glory of Sylla, and would ſhow to the world, that he who had not reſigned his power could walk the ſtreets of Rome, unattended, with as much ſafety as the other, who had had the magnanimity to reſtore the conſtitution of his country; joined to this weakneſs, he had too mean an opinion of thoſe who compoſed the commonwealth, greatly ſunk indeed in their political characters, but not fallen into that ſtate of perſonal weakneſs, which his ſecurity and contempt of them ſeemed to imply.

Above ſixty citizens of noble extraction were found, who thought their late condition as members of the republic could ſtill be recovered. Some had been ſtunned with their fall, but not quite overwhelmed; others, who, on ſpecious pretences, had aſſiſted in obtaining the victories of Cæſar, deteſted the monarchy which he was pleaſed to aſſume. In the firſt period of the civil war many imagined, that the conteſt was to end in ſubſtituting one party for another, not in the intire ſubverſion of the republican government; and they were inclined, as ſoon as fortune ſhould declare in favour of either party, to be reconciled with thoſe that prevailed [46]. But when it evidently appeared, that Cæſar, by ſuppreſſing the laſt remains of oppoſition to himſelf in every part of the empire, meant to eſtabliſh a monarchy in his own perſon, a ſecret indignation filled the breaſts of thoſe who, upon a foot of family

[46] Cicero ad Familiar.

conſequence, or perſonal ability, had any pretenſions to political importance. To ſuch perſons the dominion of an equal appeared inſufferable. Many of them affected ſervility, in conferring the extravagant honours which had been decreed to Cæſar, as the maſk of a ſullen diſpleaſure, which, conſcious of a tendency to betray itſelf, took the diſguiſe of the oppoſite extreme.

The queſtion reſpecting the expedience of monarchical government, did not enter into the deliberations of any one. If it had been urged, that a King was neceſſary; it would have been aſked, Who gave the right to Cæſar? If the People in general were corrupt, were the bankrupts, and outlaws, and ſoldiers of fortune that formed the court of Cæſar unblemiſhed? If the great, the able, and experienced citizens, who were qualified to ſupport the republic, were now no more, by whoſe ſword had they periſhed? or who was to blame for the ruin that had befallen the commonwealth? If the corrupt arts, the treaſons, the murders, encouraged or executed by Cæſar, had made a change of government neceſſary, the firſt act of that new government, for the inſtruction of mankind, ought to have been to puniſh the author of ſo many diſorders and crimes, not to reward him with a crown.

Many of Cæſar's officers, and the neareſt to his perſon, were as much in this mind as any other citizens; and on this ſuppoſition, ſo familiar was the thought of proceeding to the laſt extremities againſt him, that, when Antony came to meet Cæſar on his return from Spain, Trebonius ventured to ſound his inclinations reſpecting a deſign on Cæſar's life[46]. Although Antony did not adopt the meaſure, he did not betray Trebonius, nor did he appear to be ſurpriſed at the propoſal. It was afterwards ſuggeſted, that Antony ſhould be invited to a ſhare in the conſpiracy; and the propoſal was dropt

[46] Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 14.

only

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only on account of the refuſal which he had already given to Trebonius; ſo readily was it believed, that every noble Roman would rather ſhare in the government of his country, as an independent citizen, than as a retainer to the moſt ſucceſsful uſurper.

It is well known, that a conſpiracy accordingly was, at this time, formed againſt the life of Cæſar, although the firſt ſteps and the conſultations of the parties are no where minutely recorded. The principal authors of it were Caius Caſſius and Marcus Brutus, then Prætors in the city; Decimus Brutus and Trebonius, who had both ſerved in high rank under Cæſar himſelf, and of whom the firſt was deſtined by him to the command in Ciſalpine Gaul, and to the Conſulate in the following year.

Caius Caſſius was early noted for a high and impetuous ſpirit. It is obſerved, that, being a boy when Sylla was at the height of his power, he ſtruck the ſon of the Dictator for having ſaid, That his father was the maſter of the Roman People. The tutor of young Sylla having carried a complaint to Pompey, the boys were called, and queſtioned on the ſubject of the quarrel, "Do but repeat your words "again," ſaid Caſſius; "and in this preſence I will ſtrike you." He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Syria by collecting the remains of the unfortunate army of Craſſus, with which he repelled the attempt of the Parthians on that province. He followed Pompey in the civil war, and commanded a ſquadron of the fleet on the coaſt of Sicily at the time of the battle of Pharſalia. From thence he went into Aſia, with a profeſſed intention to wait for the arrival of the victor from Alexandria, and to drop all further oppoſition againſt him; but even then, according to Cicero, would have put Cæſar to death, if he had not debarked on a different ſide of the Cydnus, from that on which he was at firſt expected to land [47].

[47] Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 11.

Marcus

CHAP. I.

Marcus Brutus was the nephew of Cato by his ſiſter Servilia; and ſo much the favourite of Cæſar, who was ſaid to have had an intrigue with his mother, that he was by ſome ſuppoſed to be his ſon. The father of Brutus, in the civil wars of Sylla, had been on the ſide of Marius, and having fallen into Pompey's hands, was by him put to death. The ſon retained ſo much reſentment on this account, that he never accoſted or ſaluted Pompey till after the civil war broke out; when, thinking it neceſſary to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the public cauſe, he joined him in Macedonia, and was received with great marks of diſtinction. This young man, either on account of his uncle Cato, or on account of the expectation generally entertained of himſelf, was held in the higheſt eſtimation. Being taken priſoner at the battle of Pharſalia, he was not only protected by the victor, but ſent into the province of Ciſalpine Gaul with the title of Governor; where, during the war in Africa againſt Scipio and the king of Numidia, he remained, perhaps, rather under ſafe cuſtody than in high confidence with Cæſar. He was this year, together with Caius Caſſius, who married his ſiſter, promoted to the dignity of Prætor; and though of leſs ſtanding than Caſſius, had the precedence by the partiality of Cæſar. This circumſtance was ſuppoſed, at the time that Brutus and Caſſius were actually framing their conſpiracy, to have occaſioned a breach between them.

Caſſius is reputed to have been the prime mover in the deſign againſt Cæſar's life; and to have been the author of anonymous calls to vindicate the freedom of Rome, which were poſted up or dropt in public places; and which, from the prevailing ſpirit of diſcontent, found a ready acceptance. Labels were hung upon the ſtatues of the antient Brutus; and billets were dropt, in the night, upon the judgment-ſeat of the Prætor of this name, exciting him to imitate his anceſtors, by reſtoring the republic; "You ſleep, you are not Brutus:" and on the ſtatues of his

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ſuppoſed anceſtor, the elder Brutus, was written, "Would you "were alive!" Theſe expreſſions of a ſecret diſaffection, and prognoſtics of ſome violent deſign, either eſcaped the attention of Cæſar, or were deſpiſed by him; but were eaſily underſtood by perſons who looked for a deliverance from the indignities to which they felt themſelves expoſed. While Caſſius and Marcus Brutus entered into a formal concert on this ſubject, numbers pined under the want of that conſideration to which they thought themſelves born; many were provoked by particular inſtances of vanity or arrogance in the preſent Dictator[48]; and upon the leaſt hint of a deſign againſt him, were ready to join. "I am ſorry you ſhould be ill at ſo critical a "time," ſaid Brutus to Legarius. "I am not ill," ſaid the other, "if you have any intentions worthy of yourſelf[49]."

Great numbers daily acceded to the plot, of whom the following, beſides Brutus and Caſſius, are the principal names upon record: Cæcilius and Bucolianus, two brothers, Rubrius Rex, Q. Ligarius, M. Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Naſo, Pontius Acquila. Theſe had ever been on the ſide of the Senate, or adherents of Pompey. The following had acted in the war under Cæſar; Decimus Brutus, C. Caſca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minucius, and Baſilus[50]; they are ſaid in all to have amounted to ſixty[51]. Cicero was known to deteſt the

[48] Cæſar had, about this time, a viſit from the queen of Egypt, who lived with him at his gardens on the Tiber (Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv.). Many who overlooked his uſurpation, and the violence he did to the conſtitution of his country, were ſcandalized at the intimacy in which he lived with this woman. Being accuſtomed to the diſtinctions of a court, and conſidering Cæſar as the monarch, ſhe treated the citizens, who were ſtill admitted to him on a foot of equality, as dependents and ſubjects. He himſelf, with all his ſtate, was polite. As an apology for having made Cicero wait too long in his anti-chamber, he accoſted him with ſaying, "How can I hope to be tole-"rated, when even Marcus Tullius Cicero "is made to wait? If any one could forgive "it, he would; but the world muſt deteſt "me." Cleopatra, it is probable, made no ſuch apology when ſhe gave cauſe to complain of her arrogance.

[49] Sueton. in Cæſare.

[50] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

[51] Sueton. in Cæſare.

†

uſurpation

uſurpation of Cæſar; to mourn over the fall of the commonwealth, over the humiliation of the Senate, and the diminution of his own political conſequence; but he was not conſulted in this deſign. The authors of it relied on his ſupport, in caſe they ſhould be ſucceſsful; but thay knew too well his ingenuity in ſuggeſting ſcruples and difficulties, to bring him into their previous deliberations on ſo arduous an enterprize.

The conſpirators, in forming their project, generally ſounded the minds of perſons before they made any formal or direct propoſal. Brutus being in company with Statilius, Favonius, and Labio, propoſed, among other problematical queſtions, ſome doubts concerning the expediency of aſſaſſinating tyrants. Favonius obſerved, that ſuch actions led to civil war, and that this was worſe than uſurpation. Statilius ſaid, that no wiſe man would engage in ſo hazardous an enterprize to ſerve a parcel of knaves and fools. Labio contended warmly with both; and Brutus changing the ſubject, thought no more of Statilius or Favonius, but communicated the deſign to Labio, who immediately embraced it.

As ſo many were concerned, and as they remained ſome time in ſuſpence as to the proper time and place for the execution of their purpoſe, it is ſingular that the conſpiracy ſhould have come to ſuch a height undiſcovered. But Cæſar did not encourage informers; his great courage preſerved him from the jealouſies by which others in leſs dangerous ſituations are guided. He truſted to his popularity, to his munificence, to the profeſſions of ſubmiſſion which were made to him, and to the intereſt which he ſuppoſed many to have in the preſervation of his life. He had not only diſmiſſed the guards, which at his return to Rome had attended him; and was commonly preceded only by his Lictors and the uſual retinue of his civil rank; but had ſuffered the veterans to diſperſe on the lands which had been aſſigned to them, unfurniſhed Italy of troops, and had

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tranſported the greater part of the army into Macedonia, reſerving only a ſmall body under Lepidus in the ſuburbs of Rome. His own mind, though fond of appearances of ſuperiority, it is probable, was eaſily ſatiated with the pageantry of ſtate. His thoughts became vacant and languid in the poſſeſſion of a ſtation to which he had ſtruggled through ſo much blood; and his active mind ſtill urged him to extenſive projects of war and conqueſt [53]. He accordingly planned a ſeries of wars which were not likely to end but with his life. He was to begin with revenging the death of Craſſus, and reducing the Parthians. He was next to paſs by Hyrcania and the coaſts of the Caſpian Sea into Scythia; from thence, by the ſhores of the Euxine Sea, into Sarmacia, Dacia, and Germany; and from thence, by his own late conqueſts in Gaul, to return into Italy [54]; for this purpoſe he had already ſent forward into Macedonia ſeventeen legions and ten thouſand horſe [55].

As Cæſar was likely, whatever may have been the extent of his projects, to be employed ſome time in the execution of them, he thought proper to anticipate the election of magiſtrates at Rome, and to arrange, before his departure, the whole ſucceſſion to office for ſome years. Dion Caſſius ſays, that his arrangement was made for three years; Appian, for five years. It is certain, that he fixed the ſucceſſion to office for two ſubſequent years. Hirtius and Panſa were deſtined to the Conſulate in the firſt; Decimus Brutus and Plancus in the ſecond [56]. He continued to increaſe the number of magiſtrates, that he might have more opportunities to gratify his retainers and friends. The Quæſtors, as has been mentioned, he augmented to forty, the Ædiles to fix, the Prætors to ſixteen. Among the latter he named Ventidius, a native of Picenum, who had been taken and led in triumph, while the people of that diſtrict, with the other

[53] Dio. Caſſ. Appian. Plutarch.
[54] Plutarch. in Cæſare.
[55] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.
[56] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 6.

Italians, on account of their claim of being inrolled as citizens, were at war with Rome. Ventidius had ſubſiſted by letting mules and carriages. In the purſuit of this buſineſs he had followed the army of Cæſar into Gaul; and becoming known to that general, was gradually truſted and advanced by him. His career of preferment continued up to the dignity of Conſul, and he himſelf, as has been formerly obſerved, came at laſt to lead, in the capacity of a victorious general, a proceſſion of the ſame kind with that in which he had made his firſt entry at Rome as a captive.

This arrangement, in which Cæſar, by anticipating the nomination of magiſtrates, precluded the citizens from the uſual exerciſe of their rights of election, made the ſubverſion of the republic more felt than any of the former acts of his power, and gave the leaders of the conſpiracy a great advantage againſt him. The proſpect of his approaching departure from Rome, which was fixed for the month of March, urged the ſpeedy execution of their purpoſe. The report of a reſponſe or prediction, which ſome of the flatterers of Cæſar had procured from the college of Augurs, bearing that the Parthians were not to be ſubdued but by a king [57], appeared to be the prelude of a motion to veſt him, in his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, with the title, and with the enſigns of royalty, to be borne, if not in the city, at leaſt in the provinces [58].

A meeting of the Senate being already ſummoned, for the Ides, or fifteenth, of March, the propoſal to beſtow on Cæſar the title of King, as a qualification enjoined by the Sybils to make war on the Parthians, was expected to be the principal buſineſs of the aſſembly. This circumſtance determined the conſpirators in the choice of a place for the execution of their deſign. They had formerly deliberated, whether to pitch upon the Campus Martius, and to ſtrike their blow

[57] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 15.

[58] Zonaras, lib. x. c. 14.

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in the preſence of the Roman People aſſembled, or in the entry to the theatre, or in a ſtreet through which Cæſar often paſſed in the way to his own houſe [59]. But this meeting of the Senate ſeemed now to preſent the moſt convenient place, and the moſt favourable opportunity. The preſence of the Senate, it was ſuppoſed, would render the action of the conſpirators ſufficiently awful and ſolemn; the common cauſe would be inſtantly acknowledged by all the members of that body; and the execution done would be juſtified under their authority. If any were diſpoſed to reſiſt, they were not likely to be armed; and the affair might be ended by the death of Cæſar alone, or without any effuſion of blood beyond that which was originally intended.

It was at firſt propoſed that Antony, being likely to carry on the ſame military uſurpations which Cæſar had begun, ſhould be taken off at the ſame time; but this was over-ruled. It was ſuppoſed that Antony, and every other Senator and citizen, would readily embrace the ſtate of independence and perſonal conſideration which was to be offered to them; or if they ſhould not embrace it, they would not be of ſufficient numbers or credit to diſtreſs the republic, or to overſet that balance of parties in which the freedom of the whole conſiſted. It was ſuppoſed that the moment Cæſar fell, there would not be any one left to covet or to ſupport an uſurpation which had been ſo unfortunate in his perſon. "If we do any thing "more than is neceſſary to ſet the Romans at liberty," ſaid Marcus Brutus, "we ſhall be thought to act from private reſentment, and to "intend reſtoring the party of Pompey, not the republic."

The intended aſſembly of the Senate was to be held in one of the receſſes of Pompey's theatre. It was determined by the conſpirators, that they ſhould repair to this meeting as uſual, either ſeparately, or

[59] Sueton. in Cæſare. [60] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 15.

in

in the retinue of the Conſuls and Prætors; and that, being armed with concealed weapons, they ſhould proceed to the execution of their purpoſe as ſoon as Cæſar had taken his ſeat. To guard againſt any diſturbance or tumult that might ariſe to fruſtrate their intentions, Decimus Brutus, who was maſter of a troop of gladiators, undertook to have this troop, under pretence of exhibiting ſome combats on that day to the people, poſted in the theatre, and ready at his command for any ſervice [61].

During the interval of ſuſpence which preceded the meeting of the Senate, although in public Bruttus ſeemed to perform all the duties of his ſtation with an unaltered countenance; at home he was leſs guarded, and frequently appeared to have ſomething uncommon on his mind. His wife Porcia ſuſpected that ſome arduous deſign reſpecting the State was in agitation; and when ſhe queſtioned him, was confirmed in this apprehenſion, by his eluding her inquiries. Thinking herſelf, by her extraction and by her alliance, intitled to confidence, ſhe bore this appearance of diſtruſt with regret; and, under the idea, that the ſecret which was withheld from her, muſt be ſuch as, upon any ſuſpicion, might occaſion the torture to be employed to force a confeſſion; and ſuppoſing that ſhe herſelf was diſtruſted more on account of the weakneſs than of the indiſcretion of her ſex, ſhe determined to make a trial of her own ſtrength, before ſhe deſired that the ſecret ſhould be communicated to her. For this purpoſe ſhe gave herſelf a wound in the thigh, and while it feſtered, and produced acute pain and fever, ſhe endeavoured to preſerve her uſual countenance, without any ſign of ſuffering or diſtreſs. Being ſatisfied with this trial of her own ſtrength, ſhe told her huſband the particulars, and with ſome degree of triumph added, "*Now you may* "*truſt me; I am the wife of Brutus and the daughter of Cato; keep* "*me no longer in doubt or ſuſpence upon any ſubject in which I too muſt*

[61] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 15.

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" *be ſo deeply concerned.*" The circumſtance of her wound, the pretenſions which ſhe otherwiſe had to confidence, drew the ſecret from her huſband, and undoubtedly from thenceforward, by the paſſions which were likely to agitate the mind of a tender and affectionate woman, expoſed the deſign to additional hazard of a diſcovery and of a failure.

But the morning of the Ides of March, the day on which this conſpiracy was to be executed, arrived, and there was yet no ſuſpicion. The conſpirators had been already together at the houſe of one of the Prætors. Caſſius was to preſent his ſon that morning to the people, with the ceremony uſual in aſſuming the habit of manhood; and he was, upon this account, to be attended by his friends into the place of aſſembly. He was afterwards, together with Brutus, in their capacity of magiſtrates, employed, as uſual, in giving judgment on the cauſes that were brought before them. As they ſat in the Prætor's chair they received intimation that Cæſar, having been indiſpoſed over-night, was not to be abroad; and that he had commiſſioned Antony, in his name, to adjourn the Senate to another day. Upon this report, they ſuſpected a diſcovery; and while they were deliberating what ſhould be done, Popilius Lenas, a Senator whom they had not entruſted with their deſign, whiſpered them as he paſſed, " I pray that God may proſper what you have in view. Above all " things diſpatch." Their ſuſpicions of a diſcovery being thus ſtill further confirmed, the intention ſoon after appeared to be public. An acquaintance told Caſca, " You have concealed this buſineſs from " me, but Brutus told me of it." They were ſtruck with ſurpriſe; but Brutus preſently recollected that he had mentioned to this perſon no more than Caſca's intention of ſtanding for Ædile, and that the words which he ſpoke probably referred only to that buſineſs; they accordingly determined to wait the iſſue of theſe alarms [61].

[61] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

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CHAP. I.

In the mean time Cæſar, at the perſuaſion of Decimus Brutus, though once determined to remain at home, had changed his mind, and was already in the ſtreets, being carried to the Senate in his litter. Soon after he had left his own houſe, a ſlave came thither in haſte, deſired protection, and ſaid he had a ſecret of the greateſt moment to impart. He had probably overheard the conſpirators, or had obſerved that they were armed; but not being aware how preſſing the time was, he ſuffered himſelf to be detained till Cæſar's return. Others, probably, had obſerved circumſtances which led to a diſcovery of the plot, and Cæſar had a billet to this effect given to him as he paſſed in the ſtreets; he was intreated by the perſon who gave it inſtantly to read it; and he endeavoured to do ſo, but was prevented by the multitudes who crowded around him with numberleſs applications; and he ſtill carried this paper in his hand when he entered the Senate.

Brutus and moſt of the conſpirators had taken their places a little while before the arrival of Cæſar, and continued to be alarmed by many circumſtances which tended to ſhake their reſolution. Portia, in the ſame moments, being in great agitation, expoſed herſelf to public notice. She liſtened with anxiety to every noiſe in the ſtreets; ſhe diſpatched, without any pretence of buſineſs, continual meſſages towards the place where the Senate was aſſembled; ſhe aſked every perſon who came from that quarter if they obſerved what her huſband was doing. Her ſpirit at laſt ſunk under the effect of ſuch violent emotions; ſhe fainted away, and was carried for dead into her apartment. A meſſage came to Brutus in the Senate with this account. He was much affected, but kept his place [61]. Popilius Lænas, who a little before ſeemed, from the expreſſion he had dropped, to have got notice of their deſign, appeared to be in earneſt converſation with Cæſar, as he lighted from his carriage. This left the

[61] Plut. in Bruto.

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conſpirators no longer in doubt that they were diſcovered; and they made ſigns to each other, that it would be better to die by their own hands than to fall into the power of their enemy. But they ſaw of a ſudden the countenance of Lænas change into a ſmile, and perceived that his converſation with Cæſar could not relate to ſuch a buſineſs as theirs.

Cæſar's chair of ſtate had been placed near to the pedeſtal of Pompey's ſtatue. Numbers of the conſpirators had ſeated themſelves around it. Trebonius, under pretence of buſineſs, had taken Antony aſide at the entrance of the theatre. Cimber, who, with others of the conſpirators, met Cæſar in the portico, preſented him with a petition in favour of his brother, who had been excepted from the late indemnity; and in urging the prayer of this petition, attended the Dictator to his place. Having there received a denial from Cæſar, uttered with ſome expreſſions of impatience at being ſo much importuned, he took hold of his robe, as if to preſs the intreaty. *Nay*, ſaid Cæſar, *this is violence.* While he ſpoke theſe words, Cimber flung back the gown from his ſhoulders; and this being the ſignal agreed upon, called out to ſtrike. Caſca aimed the firſt blow. Cæſar ſtarted from his place, and in the firſt moment of ſurpriſe, puſhed Cimber with one arm, and laid hold of Caſca with the other. But he ſoon perceived that reſiſtance was vain; and while the ſwords of the conſpirators claſhed with each other, in their way to his body, he wrapped himſelf up in his gown, and fell without any farther ſtruggle. It was obſerved, in the ſuperſtition of the times, that in falling, the blood which ſprung from his wounds ſprinkled the pedeſtal of Pompey's ſtatue. And thus having employed the greateſt abilities to ſubdue his fellow citizens, with whom it would have been a much greater honour to have been able to live on terms of equality, he fell, in the height of his ſecurity, a ſacrifice to their juſt indignation; a ſtriking

example

example of what the arrogant have to fear in trifling with the feelings of a free people, and at the ſame time a leſſon of jealouſy and of cruelty to tyrants, or an admonition not to ſpare, in the exerciſe of their power, thoſe whom they may have inſulted by uſurping it.

When the body lay breathleſs on the ground, Caſſius called out, that there lay the worſt of men[62]. Brutus called upon the Senate to judge of the tranſaction which had paſſed before them, and was proceeding to ſtate the motives of thoſe who were concerned in it, when the members, who had for a moment ſtood in ſilent amazement, roſe on a ſudden, and began to ſeparate in great conſternation. All thoſe who had come to the Senate in the train of Cæſar, his Lictors, the ordinary officers of State, citizens and foreigners, with many ſervants and dependants of every ſort, had been inſtantly ſeized with a panic; and as if the ſwords of the conſpirators were drawn againſt themſelves, had already ruſhed into the ſtreets, and carried terror and confuſion wherever they went. The Senators themſelves now followed. No man had preſence of mind to give any account of what had happened, but repeated the cry that was uſual on great alarms for all perſons to withdraw, and to ſhut up their habitations and ſhops. This cry was communicated from one to another in the ſtreets. The people, imagining that a general maſſacre was ſomewhere begun, ſhut up and barred all their doors as in the dead of night, and every one prepared to defend his own habitation.

Antony, upon the firſt alarm, had changed his dreſs, and retired to a place of ſafety. He believed that the conſpirators muſt have intended to take his life, together with that of Cæſar; and he fled in the apprehenſion of being inſtantly purſued. Lepidus repaired to

[62] Cic. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 1. Nequiſſimum occiſum eſſe.

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the ſuburbs, where the legion he commanded was quartered; and uncertain whether Cæſar's death was the act of the whole Senate, or of a private party, waited for an explanation, or an order from the ſurviving conſul, to determine in what manner he ſhould act[63]. In theſe circumſtances a general pauſe, and an interval of ſuſpence and ſilence, took place over the whole city.

[63] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

CHAP. II.

General Conſternation on the Death of Cæſar.——Tamultuary Aſſembly of the People.——Declarations of Cinna and Dolabella.——Appearance of Brutus and Caſſius in the Forum.——Their Return to the Capitol.——Meeting and Debate in the Senate.——Act of Oblivion.——Speech of Brutus to the People.——Funeral of Cæſar.——Inſurrection of the People.——Policy of Antony.——Appearance of Octavius.——His difference with Antony.——Both have Recourſe to Arms.——Aſpect of Things.——Antony proceeds to expel Decimus Brutus from the Ciſalpine Gaul.

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IN the general conſternation, occaſioned by the death of Cæſar, the authors of this important event appeared to be no leſs at a loſs what to do, than the other members of the Senate, on whom it was brought by ſurprize. The danger of executing the firſt part of their deſign had appeared ſo great, that they looked no farther, or they imagined that with Cæſar's life every difficulty would be ended; and that the Senate and People, reſtored to their authority and privileges, would naturally recur to their uſual forms. Finding themſelves deſerted in the Senate, and not knowing to what dangers they might ſtill be expoſed, they wrapped up the left arm in their gowns; a preparation which the Romans, in the habit of uſing a ſhield, generally made when alarmed with any proſpect of violence.

The Conſpirators thus in a body, with their ſwords yet ſtained with blood, went forth to the ſtreets proclaiming ſecurity and liberty, and inviting every one to concur with them in reſtoring the commonwealth. They were joined by many who, though not acceſſary to the conſpiracy, choſe to embark with them in the preſent

ſtate

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ſtate of their fortunes. Of theſe are particularly mentioned, Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Acquinas, Dolabella, Murcus, Peticus, and Cinna. But obſerving that the People in general did not ſhew any hearty approbation of their cauſe; and knowing that, beſides the legion which Lepidus commanded in the ſuburbs, there were in the city multitudes of veterans, who having received grants of land from Cæſar, either had not yet gone to take poſſeſſion of them, or having been at their ſettlements, had returned to pay court to their patron before his departure from Rome; and ſuſpecting that Antony, now the ſole Conſul and ſupreme officer of State, was likely to exert the powers of a magiſtrate againſt them; and being on every ſide beſet with dangers of which they knew not the extent, they determined to take refuge in the Capitol, and with the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, who had already taken poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, to wait the iſſue of this general ſcene of ſuſpence.

Multitudes of the people, obſerving that the perſons who had occaſioned this general alarm were themſelves on the defenſive, and no way inclined to extend the effuſion of blood, ventured forth into the ſtreets, and many crowded together in the forum or ordinary place of reſort[1]. The firſt perſon that took any public part upon this occaſion was Cinna, the ſon of him who had been a leader of the Marian party, brother-in-law of Cæſar, and now, by his nomination, advanced to the dignity of Prætor. This relation of the deceaſed, to the ſurpriſe of every one, tore the Prætor's gown from his own ſhoulders; declared that in this act he then abdicated his office, as having been unwarrantably obtained by the nomination of an uſurper; and he proceeded to make a harangue to the People, in

[1] Appian ſays, that the friends of the conſpirators, by diſtributing money, endeavoured to form a party among the populace The neceſſity of this expedient, if real, is ſufficient to ſhew how deſperate the attempt was of reſtoring democratical government to the inhabitants of Rome, compoſed of the refuſe of Italy, and of the provinces collected to enjoy the rewards of idleneſs and faction.

which he repreſented Cæſar as a tyrant, extolled the conſpirators as the reſtorers of liberty to their country, and propoſed that they ſhould have the proper ſafeguards to their perſons, and be invited to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of the People.

Dolabella, who had been nominated by Cæſar to ſucceed in the office of Conſul, which he himſelf was about to vacate, thinking that the intended ſucceſſion was now open to him upon Cæſar's death, reverſed the firſt part of Cinna's conduct, by aſſuming the robes and enſigns of Conſul, to which he had no title; but joined with the abdicated Prætor in applauding the authors of Cæſar's death, expreſſed his wiſh that he himſelf had been a partner in the glory of their action, joined with Cinna, in propoſing that theſe reſtorers of liberty ſhould be invited to the aſſembly of the People, and that the anniverſary of the preſent day ſhould be obſerved for ever, as a feſtival ſacred to the reſtoration of the commonwealth.

The partizans of Cæſar, yet unacquainted with the extent of their own danger, had abſented themſelves, and the aſſembly conſiſted chiefly of perſons to whom theſe propoſals were agreeable. The motions that were now made by the late Prætor and the ſuppoſed Conſul accordingly prevailed, and the leaders of the conſpiracy were invited to deſcend from the Capitol. But of this invitation only Marcus Brutus and Caſſius took the benefit. Having joined the aſſembly, they ſeverally addreſſed themſelves to the multitude with an air of dignity and conſciouſneſs of merit, as being the procurers of that liberty which the people were now to enjoy, and by which they were enabled to judge for themſelves. They contraſted the late uſurpation of Cæſar [a] with the free conſtitution of the republic; obſerved, that with reſpect to themſelves, unſupported as they were with any military force, they could have no intention to ſupplant the uſurper in the poſſeſſion

[a] Appian de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 21.

of

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of his power, and could have no object beſides the reſtoration of the laws and the freedom of their country. And they exhorted the audience, in terms rather popular, than really applicable to the preſent ſtate of affairs, to make the ſame uſe of their deliverance from an uſurped and violent domination which their anceſtors, at the expulſion of Tarquin, had made of a ſimilar event. They ſpecified the merit which many perſons had in this enterpriſe, particularly that of Decimus Brutus, who had furniſhed the company of gladiators, which, in entering on this buſineſs, made the principal part of their ſtrength; and obſerved, that, notwithſtanding the ſplendid fortune to which Decimus Brutus might have aſpired under Cæſar's influence, he had preferred the rights of his fellow-citizens, and the reſtoration of the commonwealth. They turned the attention of the audience on the caſe of Sextus Pompeius, the only ſurviving ſon of the great Pompey, now unjuſtly deemed an outlaw and a rebel *. "In the perſon of this young man," they ſaid, "you have the laſt of "a noble family, who, in the conteſt for freedom, have ſacrificed "themſelves for the republic, even he is ſtill beſet by the emiſſaries of "the late uſurper, who, pretending public authority, are armed for his "deſtruction with ſwords, yet red with the blood of his father and of "his brother." They moved the People, that ſo unjuſt a war ſhould be inſtantly ſuſpended, and that this young man ſhould be reſtored to the rights of his anceſtors; that the Tribunes Cæſetius and Marullus, being unjuſtly degraded by Cæſar, in violation of that ſacred law, which he himſelf, upon much leſs grounds, had made his pretence for a civil war, ſhould now be reſtored to all their dignities.

In theſe fond anticipations of freedom, the authors of this attempt to reſtore the republic, enjoyed for once the fruits of their labour,

* This young man having abſconded for ſome time after the defeat and death of his brother at Munda, had again appeared in Spain at the head of a conſiderable force, and defeated Aſinius Pollio, who had been employed by Cæſar againſt him.

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and ſpoke to a numerous aſſembly of the Roman People, ſeemingly unreſtrained and unawed by military force. The city, however, had not yet recovered from the conſternation with which the People was ſeized: the preſent aſſembly was not ſufficiently attended by perſons, on whom the conſpirators could rely for their ſafety. It was thought moſt prudent, therefore, that Brutus and Caſſius ſhould return to their friends in the capitol, and that from this place they ſhould treat of an accommodation with Antony, and with the other leaders of the oppoſite party.

On the following day, Antony, ſeeing that the reſtorers of the commonwealth remained in the capitol, and abſtained from violence againſt any of the ſuppoſed friends or adherents of Cæſar, ventured abroad from his lurking place, and reſumed the dreſs and enſigns of Conſul. In this capacity he received a meſſage from the conſpirators, deſiring a conference with himſelf and with Lepidus. Antony, though, in times of relaxation and ſecurity, extravagant, diſſipated, and in appearance incapable of ſerious affairs[3]; yet in arduous ſituations he generally belied theſe appearances, was ſtrenuous, cautious, and able. He did not yet perceive how far the party of Cæſar was or was not extinguiſhed with its leader. The only military force in Italy was at the diſpoſal of Lepidus, of whom he was jealous. In his anſwer therefore he aſſumed an appearance of moderation and regard for the commonwealth, and referred every queſtion to the Senate, which he had already ſummoned to aſſemble.

In expectation of this meeting of the Senate, all parties were buſy in conſultations, and in ſoliciting ſupport to their intereſt. The friends of the conſpirators were in motion all night viſiting the Senators, and preparing meaſures for the following day. The veterans of Cæſar, both officers and legionary ſoldiers, apprehending that the

[3] If I am not miſtaken, ſays Cicero, upon this occaſion, he minds eating and drinking even more than miſchief. (Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 3. quem quidem ego æpularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.)

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grants of land lately made to themſelves might be recalled, went to and fro in the ſtreets, and made application wherever they had acceſs, with repreſentations and threats. They even provided themſelves with arms, and prepared to overawe the Senate by their numbers.

In the courſe of the ſame night, Lepidus had marched into the city with the legion he commanded, and took poſſeſſion of the Forum. To the People who aſſembled around him he lamented the death of Cæſar, and inveighed againſt the authors of this unexpected event. By this declaration, he encouraged the partizans and retainers of the late Dictator to come abroad, and rendered the ſtreets and paſſages exceedingly dangerous for thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be of the oppoſite party. Cinna, who, to evince his zeal for the reviving republic, had reſigned the office of Prætor conferred upon him by Cæſar, was attacked on his way to the Senate, and narrowly eſcaped with his life.

Antony, in that buſy night, had, by his credit with Calpurnia the widow of Cæſar, got poſſeſſion of all his memorials and of all his writings, and had ſecured an immenſe ſum of money, which had been depoſited by him in the temple of Ops [4].

On the following day, being the eighteenth of March, the Senate aſſembled, as ſoon as it was light, in the temple of the Earth. The veterans beſet the doors [5]. Dolabella preſented himſelf, uſhered in by the Lictors, and took poſſeſſion of one of the Conſuls chairs. Antony being ſeated in the other, moved the Aſſembly to take into conſideration the preſent ſtate of the commonwealth. He himſelf profeſſed great zeal for the republic, and a diſpoſition to peace [6]. The greater part of thoſe who ſpoke after Antony juſtified or extolled the act of the conſpirators, and moved that they ſhould have public

[4] Cicero ſays, ſepties Millies H. S. about ſix millions ſterling, Philip. ii. c. 37. 4000 Talents. Plut. in Anton.

[5] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 14. Nonne omni ratione veterani qui, armati aderant, cum preſidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?

[6] Ibid. Philip. i. c. 1.

thanks and rewards for their ſervices. This they ſupported by a charge of uſurpation and tyranny againſt Cæſar. Upon this point, however, Antony thought proper to interpoſe; reminded the Senators how nearly many of them were concerned in this queſtion. "They who "are to vote in it," he ſaid, "will pleaſe to obſerve, that if Cæſar ſhall "be found to have acted with legal powers, his acts will remain in "force; if otherwiſe, all the proceedings that took place during his "adminiſtration muſt be erazed from your records; and his body, "as that of a traitor and a tyrant, made faſt on a hook, muſt be "dragged through the ſtreets, and caſt into the Tiber. This ſen-"tence would affect the remoteſt parts of the empire, or would ex-"tend, in its application, farther perhaps than we ſhould be able to "enforce it by our arms. Part indeed is in our power. Many of "us hold offices, or are deſtined by Cæſar's nomination to offices, "either at home or abroad. Let us begin with diveſting ourſelves "of what we now hold; and with renouncing our expectations for "the future. After we have given this proof of our diſintereſted-"neſs, our allies abroad will liſten to us, when we ſpeak of recalling "the favours granted to them by the late Dictator."

By this artful turn, which was given by Antony to the ſubject now under deliberation, many, who in the late arrangements made by Cæſar, held places in the Senate or magiſtracy, or, who were by his appointment deſtined to ſucceed to high offices at home or abroad, were greatly diſconcerted. Some of thoſe who were actually in office, as retainers of the late uſurpation, reſigned their powers, and laid down the enſigns of magiſtracy on the ſteps where they ſat; but Dolabella, who, in conſequence of a deſtination made, though not fulfilled by Cæſar, had recently aſſumed the Conſular robes, and who, being under the legal age, had no hopes of being re-elected by the free voice of the People, notwithſtanding his declaration in favour

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of the authors of Cæſar's death, pleaded for the neceſſity of ſuſtaining all the acts and decrees of that uſurper.

While the Senators were engaged in debate on the terms of their firſt reſolution, relating to the act of the conſpirators and the death of Cæſar, the People, who had aſſembled in great multitudes in the market place, became impatient to know what was paſſing, and preſſed on the doors of the temple where the Senate was met, with ſome attempts to force or break them open [7]. On this occaſion, Antony and Lepidus thought proper to go forth, under pretence of appeaſing the tumult; but with a real intention to obſerve what, in this critical ſtate of affairs, was the prevailing diſpoſition of the People, with a full reſolution to be governed in their own meaſures, by what ſeemed to be the will of the multitude. Finding the humour of the majority, and the diſpoſition of the troops ſuch as they deſired, menacing and ſanguinary againſt the conſpirators, they endeavoured to enflame their paſſions, employing ſigns and geſtures of indignation, rather than words, which could not be heard. Among other expreſſions of this nature, Antony laid open his boſom, to ſhew the armour with which he had thought neceſſary, in the Senate, and amidſt ſo many concealed enemies, to guard his life. By this, and other ſigns which he made, he inſinuated that Cæſar had fallen in conſequence of his exceſſive confidence, and of the clemency with which he had ſpared thoſe who became his murderers.

From this ſcene, which paſſed in the ſtreets, Antony returned to the Senate; and [8] the debate being reſumed, Dolabella alleging the confuſion which muſt ariſe from a general ſuſpenſion of magiſtracy, and the diſorders attending general elections at ſo critical a time, inſiſted, that all the magiſtrates now in office ſhould continue. Cicero pleaded for a general amneſty and oblivion for the paſt; enumerated

[7] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. [8] Ibidem.

the

the evils which had been brought on the republic, by the contentions and by the vindictive ſpirit of party; propoſed that none ſhould be queſtioned for Cæſar's death, nor any one be called to account for any violence committed under his authority; that the arrangements made by Cæſar ſhould remain; that every one deſtined to office, ſhould in his turn ſucceed according to that deſtination; and that all the proviſions made for the army ſhould be fully ſecured to them [9].

After ſome oppoſite opinions on the queſtion had been delivered, Antony concluded the debate with a tone of more authority than he had hitherto aſſumed. "While you deliberated," he ſaid, "on "the conduct which you were to hold with reſpect to the conſpi- "rators, I choſe to be ſilent; but when you changed the queſtion, "and propoſed to condemn the dead, I ventured only to make one "objection, which being removeable by yourſelves, ought to have "been the leaſt of all your difficulties. And yet I find it is ſuffi- "cient to ſtop all your proceedings! What are we to think of the "remaining objections? The whole fabric of the empire reſts at "this moment on eſtabliſhments made by Cæſar; at home on the "arrangements he has made in the ſucceſſion to office; abroad on "the grants of poſſeſſions or immunities made by him to princes, "cities, corporations, and provinces, and on the ſeveral conditions "he has, in return, ſtipulated with them on behalf of the Roman "People. Imagine then, upon the ſubverſion of what he has eſta- "bliſhed, what ſcenes of confuſion muſt follow. It is true, con- "fuſion at a diſtance may not affect you; but the ſcene in Italy will "be ſufficient to occupy your utmoſt attention. Will the veterans, "do you think, who have not yet laid down their arms, or not "loſt the uſe of them, of whom many thouſands are now in this "city, will they allow themſelves to be ſtripped of the grants which

[9] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 34.

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" were made to them in reward of long, dangerous, and faithful
" ſervices? You have heard their voice laſt night in the ſtreets. You
" have heard their menaces againſt the authors of our preſent diſ-
" treſſes. Will they behold with patience the body of their favourite
" leader dragged with ignominy in the ſtreets? Will they bear with
" an indignity, which, though done to his memory, muſt involve a
" forfeiture of all that they themſelves have received, or a diſap-
" pointment of all they expect in reward of their ſervices? Will
" the Roman People in general ſubmit to have the principal author
" of their preſent greatneſs ſtigmatized by your decrees as a cri-
" minal, and to have his aſſaſſins rewarded with honours?—The
" propoſal to me, in all its parts, appears wild and impracticable.
" Let the conſpirators, if you will, eſcape with impunity, provided
" they are ſenſible of the favour that is ſhewn to them; but talk
" not of rewards to them; nor, under pretence of cenſuring the con-
" duct of your late Dictator, wildly open a ſcene of confuſion, by
" ſubverting all your preſent eſtabliſhments. My opinion is, that
" the acts of Cæſar, without exception, ſhould be ratified, and that
" all affairs ſhould be ſuffered to move on in the channels in which
" he has left them. On theſe preliminary conditions I will ſubmit
" to an accommodation, and agree that we think no more of the
" paſt."

In delivering this ſpeech, Antony having perceived ſo powerful a ſupport in the legion which now had poſſeſſion of the Forum, in the veterans, and in the promiſcuous multitudes of people who were aſſembled round the doors of the Senate, expreſſed himſelf with aſſurance and great vehemence. A decree was accordingly paſſed, by which all proſecutions, on account of Cæſar's death, were prohibited; all his acts, for the ſake of peace, were confirmed; all his plans ordered to be carried into execution; and all the grants of land,

land, which had been made by him to the veterans, ſpecially ratified [9].

This decree being to be carried to the People for their aſſent on the following day, and the accommodation of parties being ſo far advanced, the conſpirators intimated an inclination to addreſs themſelves to the People; and were inſtantly attended by great numbers, who aſſembled to hear them on the aſcent of the capitol [10]. Brutus ſpoke from the ſteps. He explained the motives upon which his friends and himſelf had thought proper to betake them to their preſent retreat; and, in ſpeaking on this ſubject, complained of the outrage which had been offered to Cinna, who, though not concerned in the death of Cæſar, was attacked, for having been ſuppoſed to approve of what they had done. He enumerated the diſtreſſes which had afflicted the commonwealth, from the time at which Cæſar commenced hoſtilities to the preſent hour; "A period, during which "the beſt blood of the republic," he ſaid, "was continually ſhed-"ding, in Spain, in Macedonia, and in Africa, to gratify the am-"bition or vanity of a ſingle man. Theſe things however," continued he, "we conſented to overlook, and in ſuffering Cæſar to "hold the higher offices of ſtate, became bound, by our oath of fide-"lity, not to call any of his paſt actions in queſtion. If we had like-"wiſe ſworn to ſubmit ourſelves to perpetual ſervitude, our enemies "might have ſome colour for the accuſation of perjury, which we "are told is now laid to our charge; but the propoſal of any ſuch "engagement we ſhould have rejected with indignation, and we "truſt that every Roman citizen would have done ſo alſo. Sylla, "after having gratified his revenge againſt many who were no doubt "his own enemies, at the ſame time that they were enemies of the "public, at laſt reſtored the commonwealth; but Cæſar, without

[9] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

[10] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 1.

"any

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" any pretence, beſides the gratification of his own ambition, con-
" tinued, in the city and in the provinces, to uſurp all the powers
" of the empire. The treaſury he treated as his property, and the
" magiſtrates of Rome as his creatures, to be placed or diſplaced at
" his pleaſure. One of the laſt acts of his life, in preparing for his
" departure from Rome, was to fix the ſucceſſion of magiſtrates for
" ſeveral years; in order that in his abſence you might not, by
" chuſing your own officers, recover the habit of exerciſing that free-
" dom, and of enjoying thoſe rights, of which he meant to deprive
" you for ever."

From this account of Cæſar's uſurpation, Brutus proceeded to ſpeak of the grants which had been made to the veterans. " He
" acknowledged the long and faithful ſervices which thoſe men had
" performed againſt the enemies of the commonwealth in Gaul, in
" Germany, and in Britain; approved of the proviſion which had
" been made for them, and aſſured them of his concurrence in car-
" rying this proviſion into full execution. At the ſame time he la-
" mented the ſufferings of thoſe who had been ſtripped of their an-
" cient poſſeſſions, to make way for thoſe new grants; propoſed that
" they ſhould have a compenſation from the Treaſury, and hoped
" that the juſtice of the commonwealth would be employed in
" equally protecting the rights of every citizen."

This ſpeech was received with applauſe; and on the following day the act of oblivion being confirmed by the People, and the children of Antony having been ſent " as hoſtages to the capitol, the conſpirators came down from thence, and were received with loud acclamations. After parties had ſaluted each other with mutual congratulations and expreſſions of friendſhip, Caſſius retired to ſup with Antony, and Brutus with Lepidus. The republic appeared

[11] Cicer. Philip. i. c. 1.

to

to be thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed. The nobles in general expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the preſent ſituation of affairs, and extolled the authors of Cæſar's death as the reſtorers of freedom to their country. Many, however, who had ſhared in the late uſurpation, having taſted of military power, and being unable to acquieſce in the condition of mere citizens, however dignified, or to accommodate themſelves to the reſtraints and formalities of legal government, were likely to prove bad members of the reviving republic. Antony in particular conſidered himſelf as the ſucceſſor of Cæſar, and could not for a moment ceaſe to think how he might graſp the ſovereignty, and diſpoſe of all the dignities and emoluments of the ſtate.

The Senate had weakly, under the ſhew of moderation, reſolved to confirm Cæſar's will, and to ratify all his acts, both public and private; they had decreed that the remains of Cæſar ſhould be honoured with a public funeral, which was to be conducted in the manner which his friends ſhould think proper.

Antony was prepared to take advantage of theſe circumſtances, towards preſerving the party of Cæſar both in the army and in the city, not doubting that, while this party remained, he himſelf ſhould remain at its head. For this purpoſe, he publiſhed Cæſar's will, in which he knew that there were many clauſes likely to gratify the People, and to inflame their minds againſt his aſſaſſins. Among theſe, were a legacy of money to be diſtributed to the inferior citizens, at the rate of twenty-five Attic drachmas, about two pounds ten ſhillings a man[12]; or, according to Octavius, quoted by Dion Caſſius, 300 H. S. about the ſame ſum; together with an aſſignment of his gardens on the river, as public walks for the ſervice and pleaſure of the People. Many legacies were likewiſe bequeathed to private perſons. The inheritance, with the name of Cæſar, was deviſed to Octavius, grandſon to

[12] Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. ii.

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his ſiſter Julia. The ſucceſſion, in caſe of the failure of this young man, was deviſed to Decimus Brutus, who, at the ſame time, together with Mark Antony, was made guardian to the young Cæſar, and executor of the will.

Upon the publication of this will, the partizans of Antony took occaſion to extol the munificence and generoſity of Cæſar towards the Roman people, to blacken the conduct of the conſpirators, repreſenting tha tof Decimus Brutus, in particular, as equal to parricide; and Antony, in this manner, having ſecured the public attention and favour, proceeded to celebrate the funeral with all the honours that were due to a public benefactor, and to a common parent of the People.

Cæſar's body, in the general conſternation, had been left for ſome hours on the ſpot where it fell. It was at laſt borne on a litter by a few ſlaves to his own houſe. In this confuſion, one of the arms, all over bloody, was left hanging over the ſide of the litter; and this circumſtance, though at the time in appearance unnoticed, yet remained with a deep impreſſion on the minds of thoſe who beheld it. On examining the body, there were found twenty-three wounds, ſufficiently ghaſtly, although no more than one or two were mortal. Antony determined to exhibit this ſpectacle to the People, accompanied with that of the robes, which were pierced and torn in the ſtruggle with which Cæſar fell, and all over ſtained with his blood. He likewiſe ordered a ſolemn dirge to be performed, with interludes of muſic, agreeable to the practice at Roman funerals, and ſuited to that particular occaſion. He himſelf prepared to ſpeak the oration; and a day being fixed for the ſolemnity, a pile was raiſed in the Campus Martius, near to the tomb of Julia, the daughter of the deceaſed, and the wife of Pompey. Although it was intended that the body ſhould be conſumed on this pile in the Campus Martius, the funeral oration was to be ſpoken from the Roſtra in the Forum,

and

and a couch was placed there, adorned with ivory and gold, on which was laid the corpſe, with an effigy of the deceaſed, covered with purple, and over it a trophy, on which was to be hung the robes in which he was killed. The whole of this pageant was covered up, and adorned with a gilded canopy of ſtate. In bearing it to the Forum, the pall was carried by magiſtrates then in office, or by perſons who had paſſed through the higheſt ſtations of the commonwealth. But in the proceſſion, the ſtreets were ſo crowded, that no order could be kept, and multitudes who ought to have paſſed in regular proceſſion, hurried by the ſhorteſt ways to the place at which the obſequies were to be performed [13].

Antony began the funeral oration, with an apology for intruding on the patience of many, who poſſibly took no particular concern in the cataſtrophe of Cæſar's life. "Had Cæſar been a private man," he ſaid, "I ſhould have proceeded to his funeral in ſilence; but one "who has died in the firſt ſtation of the republic, is entitled to pub-"lic notice. And my own ſtation as Conſul, were I qualified for the "taſk, would have impoſed on me a ſpecial duty on this occaſion; "but in this inſtance, the eulogium of the dead muſt proceed from a "higher authority than mine. The Senate and the people of Rome "have ſpoken, and they have left to me only the taſk of repeating "what they have ſaid." After theſe words, he read over the decrees of the Senate and People, enumerating the titles, dignities, honours, and powers, which had been conferred on Cæſar. He ſpoke of the luſtre of his family, the graces and accompliſhments of his perſon, and of his ſingular abilities; gave a general account of the wars in which he had been engaged; his ſplendid ſucceſſes, and the acceſſion of glory and of empire he had procured to the Roman ſtate: and when he had gained ſo far on the attention of his audience, he addreſſed himſelf to the popular part in particular. "When you were

[13] Sueton. in Cæſar.

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" oppreſſed," he ſaid, " by a faction that engroſſed all the powers " and dignities of the commonwealth, Cæſar generouſly interpoſed " in your behalf. When this faction had withdrawn themſelves from " the allegiance that was due to the government of their country; " and when they had actually armed firſt the provinces of Spain, " afterwards Macedonia, Greece, Aſia, Africa, and all the eaſtern " parts of the empire againſt you, he braved the ſtorms of winter and " the ſuperior force of the enemy; he diſperſed the cloud which had " gathered over your heads; he carried the glory of your arms into " Aſia, Africa, Egypt, and yet a third time into Spain. His enemies " every where experienced his valour in battle, and his clemency in " victory. He pardoned many who were repeatedly in arms againſt " him; and when he dreaded the effects of an exceſſive lenity towards " thoſe who appeared to be incorrigible, he ſought for pretences to " pardon his enemies, under the ſhew of gratifying his friends."

" On the ſubject of his adminiſtration in the ſtate, I need not " make any obſervation to you. You were witneſſes of his conduct. " Deſcended of your ancient kings, he had more glory in refuſing a " crown that was offered to him, than they had in wearing it with " all its honours.—You loved him—you ſet him at the head of your " prieſthood—at the head of your army—at the head of the re- " public;—you declared his perſon ſacred as that of your Tribunes " —you declared him the father of his country—you ſhewed him " to the world, adorned with the enſigns of ſovereign power—your " Dictator—your guardian, and the terror of your enemies. But he " is no more.—This ſacred perſon is now breathleſs before you. " The father of his country is dead: not, alas! of diſeaſe—not of " the decline of years—not by the hands of foreign enemies—not " far from his own country—but here within your walls, and in the " Roman Senate, in the vigour of health, in the midſt of all his de- " ſigns for your proſperity and glory. He who often repelled the

" ſwords of his enemies, has fallen by the hands of treacherous
" friends, or by the hands of thoſe whom his clemency had ſpared.—
" But what availed his clemency? what availed the laws with which
" he ſo anxiouſly guarded the lives of his fellow citizens? His own
" he could not guard from traitors. His mangled body, and his grey
" hairs clotted with blood, are now expoſed in that Forum which he
" ſo often adorned with his triumphs; and near to that place of pub-
" lic debate, from which he ſo often captivated the people of Rome
" with his eloquence[*]."

At this paſſage, it is ſaid that Antony began to change the tone of lamentation into that of rage; that he raiſed his voice to indignation and threats, but that he was checked by a general murmur of the Senators; and that he thought proper again to ſoften his expreſſions. " The Gods," he ſaid, " are maſters of the fortunes of men. It is
" our part to forget the paſt, to look forward to the future, to cul-
" tivate peace among ourſelves, and to accompany this hero with
" ſongs of praiſe to the manſions of the bleſt." Having ſpoke theſe words, he tucked up his robe, and diſengaged his arms as for ſome vehement action; and ſtanding over the bier in which the effigy was laid, uncovered it; but, as ſtarting from the ſight, or ſtruck into ſilence, he held up the torn and bloody garment to view, ſunk again into a ſorrowful tone, and prayed that it were poſſible for him to redeem that precious life with his own. Being interrupted with a general cry of lamentation from the People, he made a pauſe to hear the interlude. At a paſſage of the ſong, in which Cæſar was perſonated in the following words, " For this I ſpared, that they might
" murder me;" a general cry of indignation burſt from the multitude; and, at the ſame time, the effigy of the dead, with all its wounds and ſtains of blood, being raiſed to view, the People could no longer be reſtrained. Part ran to avenge his blood on the perſons

[*] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 49.

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of the conſpirators, and part tore up the benches and tribunals of the magiſtrates, diſmantled the Senate-houſe, brought into heaps the ſpoils of the ſuppoſed enemies of Cæſar, and forgetting the preparations which had been made for a funeral pile in the field of Mars, brought the moſt precious combuſtible materials they could find to light a fire in the Forum, on which to conſume the body of the dead.

From this beginning, the People continued during the whole night to bring freſh materials. The officers who had attended the proceſſion, ſtripped off the robes in which they were dreſſed, and caſt them in the flames. Women crowded to the pile, and threw upon it, as a ſacrifice to the manes of the dead, the ornaments of their own perſons, the gorgets and the prætextas of their children. The People, in general, appeared to be ſeized with an epidemical phrenzy, of which, neither the degree of their attachment to Cæſar in his lifetime, nor the manner in which they had received the firſt accounts of his death, had given any adequate expectations: they ran through the ſtreets denouncing vengeance on his enemies, and proceeded to violence againſt every perſon who was repreſented as ſuch. Helvius Cinna being miſtaken for Cornelius of the ſame name, who, on the preceding day, had declared his approbation of the conſpiracy, was put to death by the populace, his body torn in pieces, and his head carried in proceſſion on the point of a ſpear [45]. The perpetrators of this murder being led by the retainers and dependants of Cæſar's family, ſnatched lighted brands from the funeral pile, and attacked the houſes of Brutus, Caſſius, and the other conſpirators. They even attempted to demoliſh Pompey's theatre, in which Cæſar had been killed, and lighting many fires at once in different parts of the city, threatened the whole with immediate deſtruction.

[45] Sueton. in Cæſ. Plut. Ibid. Appian. Dio. Caſſ. &c.

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In theſe riots, though projected by Antony, the public diſorder was carried to a greater height than he had wiſhed or foreſeen. His intention was to incite a popular cry againſt the authors of Cæſar's death, and to check the Senate in any oppoſition they were likely to give in the execution of his own deſigns. But when the crimes which were committed began to reflect diſhonour on the party of Cæſar, and when all perſons of property were alarmed, and the city itſelf was threatened with ruin, he found himſelf obliged, with the authority of magiſtrate, to interpoſe and put an end to tumults of ſo dangerous a nature. For this purpoſe, in concert with Dolabella, he iſſued an edict, prohibiting the populace to aſſemble in arms on any pretence whatever, and poſted guards in different parts of the town to ſecure the obſervance of it.

Antony having by theſe means reſtored the peace of the city, and diſperſed all the crowds which had aſſembled, except that which ſtill remained at the place of Cæſar's funeral, where the populace continued for ſome time to feed the pile, he made a journey to the country, and remained in Campania great part of April and May. During this time, he was aſſiduous in his viſits to the quarters and new ſettlements of the veterans, on whom he was for the future to rely for ſupport in the pretenſions, which it is probable he had already conceived, and which were much too high for the ſafety of the commonwealth. In his abſence, one Ematius, who had formerly aſſumed the name of Marius, and under this popular deſignation had been buſy in diſturbing the public peace, and who, upon this account, had by the late Dictator himſelf been driven from the city, now again appeared, affected to lead in the riotous honours which were paid to the memory of Cæſar, and, attended by the populace, erected an altar or monument on the ſpot where the corpſe had been burnt, and drew multitudes thither as to a place of devotion. On this occaſion, Dolabella, who had offended many of the more reſpectable

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ſpectable citizens, by aſſuming, without any regular authority, the dignity of Conſul, now recovered their favour by a vigorous exerciſe of his power againſt this impoſtor, gave orders that Ematius ſhould be put to death, many of his accomplices thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and the monument or altar they had erected ſhould be razed to the ground [15].

By theſe executions, the peace of the city ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed, and even the commonwealth itſelf in ſome meaſure reſtored. Both the Conſuls affected the character of ordinary magiſtrates, ſhewed a proper deference to the Senate, and in all things endeavoured to give ſatisfaction to the friends of the republic. Antony, upon his return to the city, conſulted the principal Senators upon every motion which he propoſed to make, and referred the determination of every queſtion to the free diſcuſſion of that body. He affected to have no ſecrets; and though empowered by the late act of the Senate to carry into execution the different articles of Cæſar's will, and to complete all his intended arrangements, he did not, under this deſcription, propoſe any meaſure but what was generally known and approved [16].

In purſuance of this ſyſtem of moderation, it was propoſed by Antony, that Sextus, the remaining ſon of Pompey, who under the authority of the late Dictator had been declared an outlaw, ſhould be reſtored to his country, and have a compenſation in money for the loſſes which had been ſuſtained by his family: and, to provide likewiſe for the future ſafety of the commonwealth, as well as for that of private perſons, it was propoſed that a law ſhould be enacted to aboliſh for ever the name and power of Dictator. At the ſame time, all the honorary votes which had paſſed in favour of Brutus and Caſſius; and every act which had a tendency to mitigate the

[15] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 50 & 51. App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

[16] Cicero Philip. i. c. i.

animoſity

animoſity of Cæſar's party, to pacify the veterans, and to incline them, without any further diſturbance, to ſettle on the lands which had been allotted to them, had his concurrence.

The Senate, in order to terminate as ſoon as poſſible every occaſion of public uneaſineſs or alarm, although they greatly diſapproved of the reward that was given to the army, for having, in a manner, ſubdued the republic, and had reaſon to dread the precedent, yet haſtened to the performance of all Cæſar's engagements, in order to deprive the veterans of any pretence for multiplying their demands, or remaining together in arms.

Theſe circumſtances had a very favourable aſpect, and the ſtorm, which threatened the city and the commonwealth, appeared to be laid. Many had foretold, that the permiſſion of a public funeral to Cæſar would have dangerous conſequences; and during the late tumults and riots thought themſelves ſufficiently juſtified in theſe predictions. But their apprehenſions now appeared to have been groundleſs, and the authors of the late moderate counſels, in which the Senate was induced to temporiſe, and to make conceſſions in ſuch matters as were of leſs moment, in order to appeaſe the animoſity of parties, and to obtain their conſent in matters of more conſequence, were now highly applauded.

All the conſpirators, in the height of the late diſorders which aroſe on account of Cæſar's funeral, had withdrawn from the city, and, under different honourable pretences which were furniſhed them by the Senate, continued to abſent themſelves from Rome. Many of them had been formerly named to the government of provinces, and now proceeded to take poſſeſſion of their lots. Decimus Brutus, in this capacity, repaired to the Ciſalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Aſia, and Tullius Cimber to Bythinia.

Marcus Brutus had been appointed to the government of Macedonia, and Caſſius to that of Syria; but the two laſt being actually in

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office as Prætors, could not take poſſeſſion of provinces until the expiration of their year, nor could they regularly abſent themſelves from the city, without ſome decree from the Senate to diſpenſe with their attendance as officers of ſtate. Under the preſent favourable aſpect of public affairs, and after the Conſuls had given ſuch evident proofs of their reſpect for the commonwealth, it was ſuppoſed that the authors of the late revolution might now return in ſafety to the capital; and Cicero himſelf, on this occaſion, was ſo confident of the perfect reſtoration of peace to the republic, that in writing to Atticus, he aſſures him, that "Brutus may now walk the ſtreets of "Rome with a crown of gold on his head." In this, however, with all his penetration, he had over-rated the profeſſions, and miſtaken the deſigns of Antony. This profligate adventurer, the more dangerous that he was ſuppoſed by his debaucheries, diſqualified for any deep or arduous deſign, had aſſumed the diſguiſe of moderation and deference to the Senate, merely to conceal his intentions, until he had formed a party on which he could rely. He had ſo far impoſed on the public, by affecting to be alarmed with danger to his own perſon from the riots which he was employed to ſuppreſs after the funeral of Cæſar, that the Senate permitted him to arm his friends; and ſuffered him, under their own authority, to aſſemble a powerful body of men, amounting to ſome thouſands, chiefly compoſed of officers who had ſerved under the late Dictator, and who now ſubmitted to act as the guards of Antony's perſon [18]. Being thus ſtrengthened, when the return of Brutus and Caſſius was mentioned to him, he betrayed the falſehood of his former profeſſions. "They cannot be ſafe," he ſaid, "in the midſt of ſo many of "Cæſar's retainers and friends [19]."

Antony was greatly awed by the abilities of Brutus and Caſſius, by the reſpect which was paid them by the public, by their credit

[18] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. [19] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 1.

with

with the Senate, and by their determined reſolution to maintain its authority. In order, therefore, to fortify himſelf againſt them, he maintained a continual correſpondence with the veterans of the late Cæſar's army, courted their attachment, and ſtated himſelf as their protector and leader. In this capacity, he made his viſit to their ſettlements in Campania, where, it has been obſerved, he paſſed the greater part of the months of April and May. At his return, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more, by entering into a concert with Lepidus, who, in the quality of ſecond in command to Cæſar, or general of the horſe to the Dictator, remained at the head of all the military forces in Italy. He engaged himſelf to obtain for Lepidus the dignity of chief Pontiff; and, in order to cement the union of their families, propoſed a marriage of his own daughter with the ſon of this officer. He had been averſe to the promotion of Dolabella; and, at the death of Cæſar, would have oppoſed his aſſuming the dignity of Conſul, if he had not been prevented at firſt, by the uncertainty of his own ſituation, and afterwards by the countenance which this intruder into public office began to receive from the Senate. In theſe circumſtances, to diſpute the acceſſion of Dolabella, would be to throw him intirely into the hands of the republican party; he thought proper therefore to diſguiſe his inclinations, and took meaſures to gain him, or at leaſt to ſet him at variance with the authors of the late conſpiracy. For this purpoſe, he made a tender of his ſervices to procure him an appointment to command in any of the more advantageous provincial ſituations.

Notwithſtanding that Caſſius was already appointed to the government of Syria, Antony, according to agreement, undertook to ſupport the pretenſions of Dolabella, and to aid him in ſupplanting Caſſius at the meeting of the Senate, which was to be held in the firſt of June. Having in this manner, with great induſtry and application, ſtrengthened himſelf by his coalition with Lepidus and Do-

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labella, the one at the head of the army, the other his own colleague in the principal office of the ſtate; and having ſecured the attachment and ſupport of the veteran ſoldiers recently ſettled in Italy, he no longer kept any terms with the Senatorian party, or with the friends of the republic. Having formerly obtained a reſolution of the Senate to confirm all the acts, and to maintain the arrangements which had been deviſed by Cæſar, and being maſter of the papers and memorials in which theſe were contained, he brought extracts and quotations from them in ſupport of his ſeveral propoſals, without producing the originals; and in this form commenced, in the name of the dead, a reign more arbitrary than that of the living Cæſar had been. As he had never communicated to any one the papers or memorials from which theſe authorities were drawn, he expunged or he inſerted whatever he thought proper, or even, without taking this trouble, framed his quotations on every ſubject to the purpoſe which he meant to ſerve. He made Cæſar's memorials to teem with intended laws and acts of the Senate, and of the People; with grants and forfeitures of lands; with the pardon of crimes and recalls from baniſhment; with orders for levying contributions from princes, ſtates, and private perſons; with compoſitions to be exacted from towns and corporations, for the ranſom of their poſſeſſions, liberties, and franchiſes; and even with diſtinct reſolutions and deciſions relating to matters which took their riſe after Cæſar's death [20]. His wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, likewiſe availed herſelf of this valuable mine, and ſold offices and commiſſions, together with intire provinces and kingdoms [21], to thoſe who were willing to pay her price.

Among the acts of Antony, during this Conſulate, is mentioned, a change which he made in the judiciary law, by which he obtained,

[20] Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 38.

[21] Ibidem ad Atticum, lib. xiv. ep. 12.

that

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that a certain number of Centurions ſhould be entered on the rolls of the judges, in place of the revenue officers [22] whom Cæſar had excluded. Relying on this and other artifices, which procured him the ſupport of the army, he roſe every day in his preſumption; and while he incited Dolabella to perſiſt in ſupplanting Caſſius in the province of Syria, he himſelf propoſed to ſupplant Brutus in his nomination to the government of Macedonia. By this appointment, he meant to place himſelf at the head of the army, which Cæſar, to be in readineſs for his Aſiatic or Parthian expedition, had tranſported into Macedonia; and it appeared afterwards to be his deſign, as ſoon as he had obtained the command of this army, to procure an appointment to ſuperſede Decimus Brutus in the province of Ciſalpine Gaul, and, under pretence of expelling him from thence, to retranſport this army again into Italy.

In order to obtain acts for ſo much of theſe purpoſes as he was then about to execute, he ſummoned all the members of the Senate [23] to aſſemble on the firſt of June. He had brought into the city, to overawe this aſſembly, great numbers of the veterans, on whom he himſelf, beſides confirming the ſettlements which had been aſſigned to them by Cæſar, had beſtowed conſiderable favours. At this meeting of the Senate, few of the members, who were inclined to oppoſe the Conſul, thought that they themſelves could with ſafety attend. Even Hirtius and Panſa, though named for the Conſulate of the following year, and protected by the dignity which belonged to that deſtination, thought proper to abſent themſelves [24].

At a call of the Senate, ſo ill attended, Antony obtained for himſelf, without oppoſition, the government of Macedonia, with the command of the army which had been deſtined for Aſia, but which, from Cæſar's death, had remained in that province. He at the ſame time

[22] Tribuni Ærarii. [23] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 6. [24] Ibid. Philip. i. c. 2.

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obtained for Dolabella the province of Syria to the exclusion of Cassius; and by these several acts stated himself and his colleague as in open enmity with the leaders of the republican party, whom they had lately affected to court, but whom they now proceeded to strip of the preferments and honours which had been assigned to them by the commonwealth.

Under pretence of making compensation to Cassius and Brutus for the loss of the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, of which they were now deprived, Antony procured them appointments which they considered as an additional insult; that of Brutus, to inspect the supplies of corn from Asia; and that of Cassius, to superintend the supplies of the same kind which were brought from Sicily.

While the Senate complied with Antony in his demands on these several subjects, they endeavoured to restrain his abuse of the supposed will and memorials of Cæsar. For this purpose they appointed a committee of their own number to inspect the contents of those papers, and to attest the reality of such notes and instructions as were to be carried into execution under the authority of the Senate. Antony, however, paid no regard to this appointment, nor even suffered the committee to meet in discharge of the duty for which they were named.

About this time[25], and alarmed by these violences, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, departed from Rome. He had, before the death of Cæsar, intended to withdraw into Greece, under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, and had obtained Cæsar's consent, and the leave of the Senate for that purpose. On Cæsar's death, having hopes that the republic was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain in the city; but being now satisfied

[25] The middle of June.

that

that theſe hopes were vain; or, in his own terms, obſerving, *that, although the tree had been cut down on the ides of March, its roots were yet intire, and made vigorous ſhoots*, he reſumed his former deſign of abſenting himſelf; and inſtead of applying to the Senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly appointed governor of Syria, a commiſſion of lieutenancy, which he was to employ as a pretence for croſſing the Ionian ſea. In execution of this deſign he arrived in the twenty-ſixth of June at Antium, where he found Brutus, with his wife Porcia, and mother Servilia, with other perſons of diſtinction. He gave it as his opinion, that Brutus and Caſſius ſhould accept of the commiſſions aſſigned to them as inſpectors of the ſupplies of corn from Sicily and Aſia, and ſhould repair to their ſeveral provinces for that purpoſe. While the company were yet deliberating on this ſubject, they were joined by Caſſius, who, upon Cicero's repeating what he had ſaid, anſwered, with a ſtern countenance, That he would not go into Sicily, nor accept as a favour, what was intended as an affront. He complained, that opportunities had been loſt of rendering effectual the firſt and principal ſtep which had been taken to deliver the commonwealth, and was inclined to blame Decimus Brutus for ſome part of this neglect. Cicero cenſured the conduct of the whole party, for not having ſecured the completion of a buſineſs that was ſo ſucceſsfully begun. "You "ought," he ſaid, "immediately, upon the death of Cæſar, to "have aſſumed the government, to have called the Senate by your "own authority, and to have taken advantage of the ſpirit that was "generally raiſed among the People for the recovery of their legal "conſtitution."

In the reſult of this conference, Brutus and Caſſius, as well as Cicero, took their reſolution to depart from Italy; and the two former, with ſo much reſentment of the indignity which they had ſuffered in their appointment to inſpect the importation of corn, that they en-

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gaged Servilia [27] to employ her influence in having this appointment expunged from the public acts or records of the Senate. Before their departure, they wrote a joint letter to Antony, conveyed in expressions that were guarded and polite; but demanding an explanation of the terms in which they stood with him, and of the purposes for which he had assembled the veterans of Cæsar in such numbers at Rome. Some time after this letter was sent, they drew up a joint edict or manifesto, setting forth the cause of their absence from the capital, and protesting against the violence which was daily offered to the constitution of the republic.

In answer to this letter, and to the paper with which it was followed, Antony issued a manifesto full of invective and contumely, and which he transmitted, under a formal address, to the Prætors Brutus and Cassius, accompanied with a letter in the same style. The originals of these several papers are lost; but in reply to the last, we find addressed to Antony, and signed by Brutus and Cassius, the following original preserved among the letters of Cicero:

"Brutus and Cassius, Prætors, to Antony, Consul, &c.

"We have received your letter, which, like your manifesto, is "full of reproach and of threats, and very improper from you to "us. We have done you no injury; and if we were inclined to "hostilities, your letter should not restrain us. But you know our "resolutions, and you presume to threaten us, to the end that our "pacific conduct may be imputed to fear. We wish you all the "preferments and honours which are consistent with the freedom "of the commonwealth. We have no desire to quarrel with you; "but we value our liberties more than we value your friendship. "Consider well what you undertake, and what you can support. Do "not be encouraged so much by the length of Cæsar's life, as warned "by the short duration of the power he usurped. We pray to God, "that your designs may be innocent; or, if they be not innocent,

[27] The mother of Brutus.

"that

" that they may be as little hurtful to yourſelf as the ſafety of the " commonwealth can permit [27]."

Theſe altercations led to an open breach. The Prætors wrote to Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, and Cimber, to put their ſeveral provinces in a ſtate of defence, and to make what further proviſion they could of men and money as for a certain war. Cicero, in continuing his voyage to Greece, had arrived on the ſixth of Auguſt at Leucopetræ, beyond Rhegium; and had ſet out from thence; but being put back, was met by ſome citizens at Rhegium, juſt arrived from Rome, who brought him copies of the edicts or manifeſtos iſſued by Caſſius and Brutus, with a report, that a full meeting of the Senate was expected on the firſt of September; that Brutus and Caſſius had ſent circular letters requeſting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his deſigns; that the cauſe of the republic, having ſo favourable an aſpect, his own departure was cenſured, and his preſence was earneſtly wiſhed for.

Upon theſe repreſentations, Cicero took his reſolution to return to Rome, and arrived again at Pompeii, on the nineteenth of Auguſt [28]. Here, among the accounts of what had paſſed in the Senate on the firſt of that month, he was informed that Piſo, the father of Calpurnia, and father-in-law of the late Cæſar, had, notwithſtanding this connection and his intereſt in the remains of the late uſurpation, vigorouſly oppoſed the meaſures of Antony; and, on that occaſion, had acquired great diſtinction as a man of ability, and as an upright citizen; but that not being properly ſupported in the Senate, he had declined any further ſtruggle, and had abſented himſelf on the following day.

Cicero, though not greatly encouraged by theſe reports, continued his journey to Rome; and having arrived, on the laſt of Auguſt,

[27] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 3. Dated 4th of Auguſt.

[28] Cicer. ad Att. lib. xvi. ep. 7.

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found that the expectations which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions were void of foundation; and that the outrages he was likely to commit were ſuch, as to make it extremely unſafe for any diſtinguiſhed friend of the republic to come in his power. For this reaſon, Cicero, on the firſt of September, ſent an excuſe to the Senate, pleading the ill ſtate of his health, which obliged him to remain ſhut up in his own houſe. Antony conſidered his abſence from the Senate as an affront to himſelf, or as giving too much countenance to the ſuſpicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impreſſion he burſt into rage, and ſent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he perſiſted in his ſuppoſed contumacy, to pull down his houſe about his ears; the ordinary method of forcing thoſe to ſubmiſſion, who ſhut themſelves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from the ſentence of the law. He was diſſuaded, however, from any attempt to execute his threat; and being himſelf abſent from the Senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his ſeat, and, in the abſence of the Conſul, delivered that oration which is intitled the firſt Philippic. In this ſpeech he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his preſent return, in terms ſtrongly reflecting on the conduct and adminiſtration of the preſent Conſul.

Antony, in his turn, greatly exaſperated by the accounts he received of Cicero's ſpeech, prepared to reply at a ſubſequent meeting of the Senate; and delivered himſelf accordingly with great acrimony againſt his antagoniſt. Theſe mutual attacks thus made in the abſence of the parties, produced from Cicero that famous oration which is intitled the ſecond Philippic; a model of eloquence in the ſtyle of antient invective; but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations ſuppoſed to be made in his preſence, never was at all delivered, and is to be conſidered as a mere rhetorical pleading in a fictitious caſe. The offence, however, which was given

by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue, till it ended with Cicero's life.

While the Consul Antony in this manner threw off the mask of a legal magistrate, and acted in some measure as a person who succeeded to the military usurpation erected by Cæsar, a new actor appeared on the stage of public affairs, from whose youth nothing important, it was thought, could, for some time, be expected. This was Caius Octavius, the grand nephew of Julius Cæsar, by his niece Attia, and the son of Octavius, who, in the course of State-preferments, had arrived at the dignity of Prætor; and in this rank, having governed the province of Macedonia, died suddenly on his return from thence. His widow, the mother of this young man, married Philippus, a citizen of moderate parts, but upright intentions. In the house of Philippus the young Octavius was brought up, and passed his early years, while his grand-uncle was engaged in the most active parts of his life, and while he was insinuating himself by intrigues, or forcing his way at the head of armies to the sovereignty of the Roman empire. Elevated by his connection with this relation to a high situation, and to higher views, he had followed him in the late campaign against the sons of Pompey in Spain, and was intended, though a minor, to succeed Lepidus, under the Dictator, as general of the horse.

Upon the return of Cæsar into Italy, and after the army destined for the war in Asia had been transported into Macedonia, the young Octavius was sent to Apollonia, as a place at which he might continue his studies, and his military exercises, and be in the way to join the army, and to attend his uncle in the projected expedition to the East.

After Octavius had been about six months at Apollonia, a messenger arrived in the beginning of the night with accounts of Cæsar's death, bearing, that he had fallen in the Senate; but without deter-

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mining whether he fell by the hands of a few, or in the execution of a general reſolution of the whole body. The young man was greatly dejected and perplexed in his thoughts. The military men then about him adviſed him to repair to the quarters of the army in Macedonia, and to put himſelf at their head. But his ſtep-father Philippus, and his mother Attia, in their letters, had cautioned him againſt this or any other ambitious reſolution; they adviſed him to return into Italy in the moſt private manner, and warned him to avoid giving any umbrage to the partizans of the republic, who had now got the aſcendant at Rome, and would not allow any perſon whatever to tread in the dangerous ſteps of his late uncle.

Octavius accordingly embarked for Italy; and as he knew not what might be the diſpoſition of the troops who were then ſtationed at Brundiſium, he choſe to land at Lupia, a place at ſome little diſtance, and on the ſame coaſt. Here he received farther accounts from Rome, with particulars of the conſpiracy; the proceedings of the Senate; accommodation of the parties; the tumults that aroſe at Cæſar's funeral; the will, and his own ſhare in it: but his friends ſtill perſiſted in recommending a private ſtation, and adviſed him even to drop his pretenſions to the name and inheritance of Cæſar. But this young man, though only turned of eighteen, took upon him to decide for himſelf in this matter. He ſent an officer to ſound the diſpoſition of the garriſon at Brundiſium; and finding that they were inclined to revenge the death of their late favourite leader, and that they reſented the other proceedings of the republican party, he proceeded in perſon to Brundiſium in the moſt public manner, and was met at the gates by the troops, who received him with all the honours thought due to the ſon of Cæſar.

From this time forward, Octavius aſſumed the name and deſignation of his late uncle. He was ſoon after attended by perſons of all ranks from the neighbourhood of Brundiſium, and ſet forward to

Rome with a retinue, to which, as he paſſed on the way, he received continual acceſſion of numbers. The veterans, in general, who had grants of land, flocked to him; complained of the remiſſneſs of Antony in ſuffering the aſſaſſins of his own friend and benefactor to go unpuniſhed, and declared their reſolution to be revenged, as ſoon as any perſon appeared to lead them. Octavius thanked them for their grateful reſpect to his father's memory, but exhorted them to moderation and ſubmiſſion. He wiſhed to know the ſtate of parties more exactly before he ſhould declare himſelf; and on his journey to Rome, young as he was, employed all the caution and warineſs of age for the ſecurity of his perſon, leſt any diſguiſed enemies ſhould have inſinuated themſelves amongſt a multitude of profeſſed friends, who were yet generally unknown to him. At Terracina, about fifty miles from Rome, he received a report, that the Conſuls had ſuperſeded Brutus and Caſſius in the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, and had aſſigned them inferior ſtations, by this account, at Cyrene and Crete; that many exiles were recalled, particularly Sextus Pompeius; and that, under pretence of executing the intentions of Cæſar, many new members were admitted into the Senate [29].

Octavius, upon his arrival at Rome, found his ſtep-father and his mother under great apprehenſions from the power of the Senate, and from the general diſpoſitions which appeared in the late act of indemnity that was paſſed in favour of thoſe who had borne an active part in Cæſar's death. And theſe apprehenſions were ſtrongly confirmed by the neglect of Antony, who took no notice of his arrival, and did not pay that attention which might be thought due to the name of Cæſar; but he neither deſponded nor expoſed himſelf by any haſty act of preſumption. He ſaid, "That, being ſo young a "man, and in a private ſtation, he could not expect that the firſt

[29] Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. ii.

"advances

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" advances ſhould be made to him from the Roman Conſul; that " he would ſoon convince the Senate of his dutiful intentions to- " wards them; that all the world muſt applaud in him the endea- " vours he ſhould make to bring the authors of his father's death to " juſtice; that the act of indemnity, in favour of the aſſaſſins, had " paſſed when there was no one to oppoſe it; but that a charge of " murder, when directly brought [39], could not be ſlighted by the " Senate, by the Roman People, nor even by Antony himſelf: that " to decline the inheritance which was left him, would be diſreſpect- " ful to the memory of Cæſar, and injurious to the Roman People, " in whoſe behalf he was made executor of his father's will. Cæſar," he ſaid, " has diſtinguiſhed me, and honoured me; and I had rather " die, than appear unworthy of ſuch a father." His friends were ſilenced by the appearance of ſo much diſcretion and reſolution. They broke off the conference with an advice which already appeared to be unneceſſary, That he ſhould do nothing raſhly, nor embrace violent meaſures, where prudence might equally gain his purpoſe.

Next morning this young man, attended by a numerous company of his friends, repaired to the Forum, and preſented himſelf before the Prætor C. Antonius, in order to declare in form his acceptance of the inheritance of his late uncle, and in order to be inveſted with the name of Cæſar. From thence he went to Pompey's gardens where Antony then reſided; and after being made to wait, for ſome time, in a manner that ſufficiently expreſſed, on the part of Antony, a diſlike to his viſit, he was admitted to a conference.

The young Octavius, having been educated as the neareſt relation to Cæſar, and deſtined to inherit his fortunes, had conceived the extent of his own importance from the height of Cæſar's power;

[39] Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. ii.

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he conſidered the ſovereignty of the empire, in ſome meaſure, as his birthright, and his own intereſt as the central point to which all public tranſactions ſhould tend. In this conference with Antony, he is ſaid to have betrayed more of this character than ſuited his preſent condition, or than could be reconciled with the diſcretion with which he had acted on other occaſions. He entered with the Conſul on a review of his conduct as an officer of State, from the death of Cæſar to the preſent moment; thanked him for the regard he had in ſome things ſhown to his father's memory, and with equal confidence cenſured and arraigned him in others. "You did well," he ſaid, "in oppoſing the thanks which the Senate was about to "decree to the murderers of my father and of your own benefactor "and friend; and you did well in depriving Brutus and Caſſius of "the important provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but why pre-"clude my juſt reſentments by an act of indemnity? Why aſſign "any provinces at all to thoſe aſſaſſins? Why ſuffer Decimus Brutus, "in particular, with ſo great a force, to keep poſſeſſion of Gaul? "This is not only to ſpare, but to arm them againſt me." He concluded by demanding reſtitution of the money which Antony had ſeized in the temple of Ops [31], to the end that he might, without delay, pay off to the Roman People the legacies bequeathed to them by Cæſar.

Octavius, in this firſt ſpecimen of his boldneſs and addreſs, although he ventured to inſult the Roman Conſul, paid court to the army and to the People; and perhaps wiſhed for the reputation of having quarrelled with Antony on the ſubject of his remiſſneſs in avenging the death of Cæſar, and of his own impatience to pay off the contents of his will. Antony, being ſurpriſed and piqued at the arrogance of his ſpeech, and of his pretenſions, endeavoured to check his ambi-

[31] Plut. in Antonio. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

tion,

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tion, by putting him in mind, that although he was named the heir of Cæſar's eſtate, he muſt not pretend to inherit his dignities; that the Roman conſtitution acknowledged no hereditary powers; that he ought to remember in whoſe preſence he ſtood; that the Roman Conſul muſt be equally indifferent to his approbation, or to his cenſure. "To me," he ſaid, "it was owing that your uncle was not "declared an uſurper and a tyrant; conſequently, to me it is owing "that you have any other inheritance by him beſides the diſgrace of "being related to a traitor, whoſe body had been dragged through "the ſtreets, and caſt into the Tiber. As to any money which may "have been lodged in the treaſury, of that," he ſaid, "Cæſar had "already diverted too much to his own private uſes; that when his "receipts came to be examined, and the ſums not accounted for to "be claimed, much public money might be found among his "effects; that Cæſar himſelf, if living, could not refuſe to make "up his accounts; and that a propoſal was actually in agitation to "have them ſtated and examined."

From theſe altercations, Octavius and Antony parted on very ill terms, and were publicly known to have quarrelled. Octavius, from an affected zeal to put the People in poſſeſſion of the legacy bequeathed to them by his father, brought his own effects to ſale. Antony, on his part, promoted the inquiry into the applications of public money, and gave out, that the heirs of the late Dictator would have great ſums to refund, and little reverſion. Theſe heirs, in return, pleaded the late decree of the Senate and People, ratifying all Cæſar's acts, and conſequently precluding all inquiries into this, or any other part of his adminiſtration; but as Antony could fabricate acts of Cæſar, when wanting, to his purpoſe, ſo he could ſet aſide or evade real acts when they ſtood in his way.

In the mean time the friends of the republic rejoiced at a breach which ſeemed to weaken their enemies, and gave them hopes, that a com-

a competition for the ſucceſſion to Cæſar's power would divide the army, and ſhake the foundation on which that power was ſupported. In this conteſt Antony, by his age, his authority, and by his great influence in the commonwealth, having ſo much the advantage, they thought it ſafeſt to promote the intereſt of his antagoniſt, who was in a private ſtation, a minor, under the direction of relations inclined to moderation, and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with deference to the Senate. Antony, by his arrogance, and the public contempt with which he treated the heir of Cæſar, gave offence to the party from which he hoped for ſupport. Having already obtained all the ends which he propoſed to himſelf in courting the Senate, he pulled off the maſk, and ſet them at defiance. Octavius, on the contrary, while he endeavoured to ſupplant his antagoniſt in the favour of the People, affected great deference to the Senate and regard to the commonwealth. He even changed his language in public reſpecting the conſpirators, and to their friends affected a deſire to be reconciled with them. Being at the country-houſe of Philippus, near to that of Cicero, he took this opportunity to pay his court to a perſon of ſo much conſideration in the republican party; accoſted him with the title of father, and mentioning his friends of the conſpiracy with reſpect, affected to put himſelf entirely under his protection [32]. Cicero being either the dupe of theſe artifices, or willing to encourage Octavius againſt Antony, ſeemed to liſten to his profeſſions; notwithſtanding that Philippus, who was intereſted to ſave the republic, at the ſame time informed him that he did not believe this artful boy was ſincere [33].

While the young Cæſar thus ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with the party of the Senate, his chief reliance was on the People. He opened an office for the payment of the late Dictator's legacy to every one who claimed a ſhare of it; and as theſe liberalities were aſcribed to

[32] Cic. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 11. Modo venit Octavius in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus.

[33] Ibid. lib. xii. ep. 15.

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the deceaſed, and could not be made a charge of corruption againſt himſelf, he did not ſcruple to extend them beyond the letter of the will. He endeavoured at the ſame time to make it be believed, that by the oppreſſions of Antony he was ſtraitened for means to perform his duty in this reſpect to the People; recommended to his agents to haſten the ſale of his own effects at any price, and continually brought new articles to the market in order to raiſe money [34]. Being introduced by one of the Tribunes, he delivered a harangue to the People, in which he declared his intention to exhibit ſhows and theatrical entertainments in honour of his late father's memory [35]. He propoſed to have ſeated himſelf at the theatre in his chair of ſtate; but in this particular had the mortification of being forbid by the Tribunes [36].

Although the Senators in general promoted the claims of Octavius, and conſidered him as a zealous confederate againſt Antony, who was the principal object of their fears, the conſpirators ſaw in him the repreſentative of their late enemy and the leader of Cæſar's army. They endeavoured to put their friends on their guard againſt him, and by all means in their power to counteract his popular arts. For this purpoſe the public entertainments, which were this year to have been given by Brutus in the quality of Prætor, were provided and exhibited in his abſence with great ſplendour. Theſe entertainments, from animoſity to the family of Cæſar, rather than from a regard to Brutus, were conducted by C. Antonius, the brother of the preſent Conſul, who preſided in the place of his colleague the abſent Prætor, and who was deſirous on this occaſion to divide with Octavius the popular favour even in behalf of Brutus, with whom he was not on good terms [37].

[34] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.
[35] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 1.
[36] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 2.
[37] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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As ſuch entertainments were intended by the Roman officers to ingratiate themſelves with the People, ſo the reception they met with was conſidered as an indication of their ſucceſs or diſappointment in any object they had in view. On the preſent occaſion the Tereus of Accius being brought on the ſtage, and every ſentiment of liberty applicable to the times being greatly applauded, this was conſidered as an intimation of popular favour to the deliverers of their country, and to Brutus in particular, the giver of the feaſt. His friends thought this a favourable opportunity to make trial of their ſtrength; and as the Roman People, ſtill ſuppoſed to be the ſovereigns of the world, were accuſtomed, like other deſpotical maſters, to decide on the greateſt affairs as matters of private paſſion, and in the midſt of their pleaſures, the ariſtocratical party raiſed a cry, that the reſtorers of public liberty ſhould be recalled to their country [35]. This cry was not returned by the audience, and the performance itſelf was ſtopped by the clamours of the oppoſite party, until the propoſal now made in favour of the conſpirators ſhould be withdrawn.

Brutus and Caſſius finding their party among the People ſo little able to ſupport them, ſaw no ſecurity but in the poſſeſſion of provinces which, in caſe of an open attack from their enemies, might ſupply them with money and arms for their defence. They determined, therefore, notwithſtanding the late arrangements, by which they were ſuperſeded, to repair to the provinces of which the command had been originally intended for them; Caſſius to Syria, and Brutus to Macedonia and Greece. They were encouraged in the purſuance of this reſolution by the diviſions and quarrels which aroſe in the oppoſite party; obſerving that the adherents of the late Cæſar were ranged on different ſides with Octavius or with Antony, and that the army itſelf, though extremely averſe to diſputes which

[35] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 2.

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tended to disturb their possession of the government, were likely to balance or hesitate in the choice of their leader, they left Italy with some hopes, that the republic might revive in the dissention of its enemies.

The officers whom Antony had assembled as a guard to his person, ventured to expostulate with him on a breach which was so likely to reduce their force, and they exhorted him to act in concert with Octavius, at least until they had obtained a just revenge against the assassins of Cæsar. On this occasion Antony entered into the reasons of his past conduct, and accounted for the concessions which he had made to the Senate, as necessary to obtain the conditions on which the present flourishing state of the party depended. He reminded his friends that it was by his means that Cæsar's acts had been ratified; that it was by his means that, notwithstanding the late act of indemnity, the conspirators had been expelled from the city, and stripped of their provinces. For the future, he assured them, that being possessed of a proper force, he would appear undisguised, and give sufficient proof of his regard to Cæsar's memory, and to the interest of his surviving friends.

Antony, in compliance with the intreaties which were now made to him at this conference, had an interview with Octavius; at which they were, in appearance, reconciled to each other: but their pretensions were far from being sufficiently adjusted to render the agreement of long continuance. Octavius aspired to a degree of consequence which Antony by no means thought necessary to admit in so young a person. His undoubted title to the inheritance of Cæsar, and the attachment of Cæsar's personal friends, made Antony consider his advancement as altogether incompatible with the success of his own designs. Effects of their jealousies and animosities accordingly soon after appeared, such as rendered an open breach again unavoidable.

A vacancy

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A vacancy having happened in the college of Tribunes [39], Octavius, though far ſhort of the legal age, was preſented by his friends as a candidate for this ſtation. Antony, without declaring himſelf openly againſt them, publiſhed an edict, threatening with proſecution any perſon who ſhould make a propoſition to the People contrary to law; and by theſe means prevented their farther proceeding in this deſign.

Soon after this act of authority, on the part of Antony, to check the ambition of the young Cæſar, men armed as for an aſſaſſination were diſcovered in the Conſul's houſe. They were not brought to any public examination; but it was given out that they had been ſuborned by Octavius. Whether this plot was fabricated, in order to load him with the odium of it, and to juſtify the meaſures which Antony himſelf meditated to take againſt a perſon ſuppoſed to have aimed at his life, or whether it was by Antony actually believed to be real, is uncertain. It occaſioned a conſiderable ferment in the city, and the parties reaſoned upon it as they were ſeverally inclined. The friends of Antony perſiſted in accuſing Octavius, and others recriminated, urging as a proof of Antony's deſign on the life of Cæſar, his having recourſe in this manner to a forgery, which was evidently intended to exaſperate the army and the people againſt his antagoniſt, and to juſtify the violence which he himſelf, with the firſt opportunity, meant to employ [40]. Cicero, however, ſays, that people of judgment believed the plot on the part of Octavius to have been real, and that they approved of it [41].

In the late interval of military uſurpation, the Senators in general, though willing to reſume the government, were actually unable to bear the load which it was likely to lay on their ſhoulders. They rejoiced at the breach between Octavius and Antony; but if theſe

[39] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. [40] Ibidem. [41] Cicero ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 23.

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adventurers ſhould continue to quarrel about the ſpoils of the commonwealth, the greater part of thoſe who had any intereſt in defending it were no more than a prey to the conqueror. Clouds hung over their councils on every ſide. The officers who had ſerved under Cæſar in the late civil war, were poſted at the head of armies in the moſt advantageous ſituations. Aſinius Pollio had the command in the further province of Spain, Lepidus in the nearer; Plancus commanded in Gaul, and Antony in Macedonia. The veterans remained in the neighbourhood of Rome with ſwords in their hands, anxious for the ſettlements which had been lately aſſigned to them by Cæſar. Theſe they did not believe to be ſecure, without the deſtruction of every law and of every form which could be cited to favour the claims of the former proprietors.

Antony made rapid advances to the military uſurpation he had ſome time projected. Having availed himſelf ſo far of his nomination to the government of Macedonia, as to get poſſeſſion of the numerous and reſpectable army which Cæſar, on their way to the Parthian war, had tranſported thither, he proceeded to exchange that province for the Ciſalpine Gaul; and, under pretence of expelling Decimus Brutus from thence, had ordered the army of Cæſar to be tranſported back into Italy. Soon after the detection of the ſuppoſed plot of Octavius he departed from Rome, and ſet out for Brundiſium. The troops which he had ordered from Macedonia were already arrived at that place; and as he had intelligence that Octavius had his emiſſaries employed to ſeduce them, he haſtened to prevent the effect of this deſign, and to ſecure his own authority. He profeſſed to employ this army merely in gaining poſſeſſion of the province which had lately been decreed to him by the People. But in the deſire of occupying, with an army, that very ſtation from which Cæſar had ſo ſucceſsfully invaded the republic; and which, according to the expreſſion of Cato on the nomination of Cæſar to that province,

vince, was in reality the citadel or commanding ſtation which gave poſſeſſion of Rome, he ſufficiently evinced the deſigns which he had formed againſt the republic, and no leſs alarmed the heir of Cæſar, who expected to be the firſt victim of his power, than it threatened the Senate with a new and dangerous uſurpation.

Under theſe impreſſions, while Antony took the road to Brundiſium, Octavius repaired to Campania, and, by large donations [42] in money, engaged the veterans who were ſettled at Calatia, Caſilinum, and Capua, to declare for himſelf. With this powerful ſupport, he publiſhed his intention to withſtand the Conſul, and took meaſures to procure the authority of the Senate againſt their common enemy. He profeſſed great zeal for the cauſe of the republic, and affected to put himſelf intirely under the direction of Cicero, now the moſt reſpectable member of the Senate that was left. He intreated this experienced counſellor to favour him with an interview at Capua. "Once more," he ſaid, in his letter upon this occaſion, "ſave the "republic." At their conference it was deliberated whether Octavius ſhould throw himſelf into Capua with three hundred veterans who had joined him, and there ſtop Antony's march to Rome; or ſhould croſs the Apennines, to give the legions, who were marching from Brundiſium, an opportunity to execute the project of defection, which he believed they were meditating in his favour. In this queſtion he affected to be determined intirely by Cicero, who adviſed him to move with all the force he could aſſemble towards Rome [43].

In compliance with this advice, Octavius having aſſembled ten thouſand men, without waiting to array, or even to have them completely armed, advanced by haſty marches to prevent Antony, who about the ſame time had marched from Brundiſium, and was haſtening to advance in the ſame direction [44].

[42] Five hundred Denarii, i. e. about 16 l.
[43] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 8.
[44] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

The

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The city was thrown into a great alarm by this unexpected approach of two hoſtile armies. Some expreſſed their fears of Antony, others of Octavius, and ſome of both. It was uncertain whether they advanced in concert to oppreſs the republic, or in competition to contend for its ſpoils. Many appearances favoured the latter ſuppoſition; and the late reconciliation gave ſome credit to the former.

Octavius, having the advantage of a ſhorter march, arrived before his antagoniſt; and being within two miles of the city, was received by Canutius, one of the Tribunes, whom he ſoon after ſent back into the city, with aſſurances, that he had aſſembled his party not to ſecond, but to oppoſe the deſigns of Antony; and that his purpoſe was to employ all the force he could raiſe for the defence of the commonwealth. The Tribune Canutius, in reporting what paſſed with Octavius, exhorted all who wiſhed to preſerve the republic to lend their aſſiſtance in execution of this deſign.

Upon theſe aſſurances, delivered by a Tribune of the People, the gates were thrown open to Octavius, and he entered the city, though not in a military form, yet followed by a numerous band of attendants, who concealed their weapons. With this company he took poſſeſſion of the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, and prepared to explain himſelf to a numerous concourſe of people, who were haſtening into the area or court before the temple. Being introduced by the Tribune into this aſſembly, as a perſon who had matters of great moment to communicate reſpecting the ſtate of the republic and the deſigns of Antony, he began his ſpeech by commemorating the merits of his late adoptive father, and the ingratitude and injuſtice of Antony; declared, that although he had aſſembled his friends merely in his own defence, he was ready to employ them in the ſervice of his country, and ſubmitted himſelf intirely to ſuch directions as he ſhould receive from the powers eſtabliſhed by law in the commonwealth;

wealth; obſerved, that they could not poſſibly doubt of his inclination to be employed at leaſt againſt his perſonal enemies.

It was probably in this ſpeech, that Octavius, being to make a ſolemn aſſeveration, pointed to the ſtatue of Julius Cæſar, with theſe words, "So may I arrive at my father's honours"[46]! He had two oppoſite and irreconcileable parties to pleaſe on this occaſion, and had not learned that the only ſafe courſe in ſuch caſes is ſilence. He offended the partizans of the republic by the veneration he expreſſed for Cæſar, and by his wiſh to tread in his ſteps; and in this, perhaps, committed the only public indiſcretion with which he is chargeable in any part of his conduct. But what was in reality a more dangerous effect of this error, he offended the military part of his audience by the regard he affected to entertain for the civil government of the State, and by his open declaration of war againſt Antony. By this declaration, military men found themſelves not invited to enter, as they expected, on the ſecure poſſeſſion of the rewards and honours which had been promiſed to them; but called upon to fight for empire againſt their late fellow ſoldiers, commanded by an officer from whom they had high expectations as a friend, and much to fear as an enemy.

Soldiers of fortune being thus diſappointed of the ſpoils which they expected to ſeize, and of the rewards which were now become due for former ſervices, ſome of them abſolutely renounced the party of Octavius; others, under pretence of providing arms and neceſſaries for the field, or pleading various excuſes, deſired leave to return to their own habitations. The greater part of the veterans actually withdrew: but Octavius, young as he was, did not ſink under this untoward ſtate of his affairs. He had ordered levies in Etruria, and in the diſtrict of Ravenna. Theſe levies, upon the reputation of the

[46] Cicero ad Atticum, lib. xvi. c. 15.

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aſcendant he had gained in the city, ſucceeded apace, and induced military adventurers from every quarter to eſpouſe his cauſe.

Many who had ſerved under Julius Cæſar, being accuſtomed to the life of a ſoldier, though ſettled as landholders in Italy, were not yet rooted in the condition of citizens, or in that of huſbandmen. They had yet freſh in their memories the licence and the ſpoils of war. They ſaw them offered anew under the auſpices of a leader who bore the name of Cæſar, and whoſe munificence was known. Many, therefore, who had recently left Octavius, being unwilling that others ſhould reap the harveſt in which they themſelves had been invited to partake, again repaired to his ſtandard; and, as faſt as they arrived, were ſent to Etruria, into different quarters, to be armed, arrayed, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries for the field [47].

Octavius from thenceforward conducted himſelf between the parties with great addreſs: to the veterans he talked of avenging Cæſar's death: to the friends of the republic he ſet forth the dangerous deſigns of Antony, affected to ſacrifice all private reſentment to his zeal for the commonwealth [48], even promoted the election of Caſca into the college of Tribunes [49], and affected in all things to be governed by the Senate.

What hopes, in the mean time, could be formed for the State? Could Senators entruſt the age or the intention of this crafty boy, nurſed, as they obſerved, in the midſt of uſurpation; and who, by arming himſelf without any legal authority, had given evidence of an aſſuming and audacious ſpirit? They ſtood in awe of Antony, and were afraid to provoke him by an open declaration. Octavius did not yet appear to be in condition to cope with the Roman Conſul; and if he were in condition to do ſo, would be likely to form deſigns equally dangerous to the commonwealth. Antony, with a

[47] Dio. Caſſius, lib. xlv. c. 12. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

[48] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 12.

[49] Ibid. lib. xvi. ep. 15.

numerous army, had all the authority of government in his hands.—The diſpoſitions of Panſa and Hirtius, the Conſuls named by Cæſar for the enſuing year, were yet unknown.—Although many things were tranſacted in name of the Senate, this order of men ſcarcely ventured to reſume their ordinary functions, and ſhook under the rod which Cæſar had lifted over them, even while it hung in ſuſpence between different diviſions of his remaining party [50]. Piſo, the father-in-law of Cæſar, had ventured to oppoſe Antony. Cicero and Publius Servilius afterwards followed this example. "But all that we have gained," ſaid Cicero, "is no more than this, that the Roman People may "perceive, that whoever contends for liberty is not ſafe at Rome." Theſe Senators, therefore, together with L. Cotta, L. Cæſar, and L. Sulpicius, had in deſpair, upon ſeeing Antony put himſelf at the head of an army, abſented themſelves from the public aſſemblies.

It was evident from every circumſtance, that the fate of the empire was to be determined by the ſword. The troops feeling their conſequence, affected indifference to every intereſt but their own, and preſumed to treat with equal contempt, in their turns, the different perſons who aſſumed the command of them. Of the five legions which had been quartered in Macedonia, four were landed at Brundiſium when Antony arrived at that place. They turned out on his coming, but did not receive him with the uſual acclamations and ſhouts. They cloſed in profound ſilence round the platform from which he was to ſpeak, as having ſuſpended their judgment, until they ſhould know what gratuities they were to receive in reward of their ſervices. When he mentioned four hundred ſeſtertii, or between three and four pounds a man [51]. This being far ſhort of the rewards that were expected for giving a new maſter to the commonwealth, he was anſwered with ſigns of deriſion. In return

[50] Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 5 & 6. Ibid. ad Dolabellam, poſt 17.

[51] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 45. c. 13. or according to Appian. 100=16s.

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to this inſolence, Antony aſſumed a tone which tended rather to exaſperate than to overawe his audience. He reproached theſe legions with ingratitude for the favour he had recently done them, in changing their deſtination from Parthia to the Ciſalpine Gaul; and with treachery, in having ſuffered to remain among them the emiſſaries, whom he knew that a preſumptuous boy had employed to debauch them from their duty. "Theſe," he ſaid, "ſhall not "eſcape me; in the mean time prepare yourſelves to march into "the province which is allotted for your ſtation."

Antony, while he yet continued to ſpeak, had the mortification to ſee intire cohorts, with their officers, withdraw from his preſence, uttering words of contempt and of ſcorn. Seeing the deſertion likely to become general [52], and being greatly provoked, he diſmiſſed the audience, ſentenced three hundred officers and private men to immediate death, and ſtood by while they periſhed under the hands of the executioners. Fulvia, who had attended him in his journey to Brundiſium, is ſaid to have been preſent likewiſe at this ſcene, and to have ſatiated her revenge of the inſults offered to her huſband, with ſo near a view of the executions, as to have her clothes ſtained with blood [53].

The offence that was taken at theſe cruelties gave ample encouragement to the agents of Octavius, who, notwithſtanding the threats of Antony, ſtill continued to negotiate in the quarters of his army. Papers were dropt and handed about, containing a contraſt of Antony's parſimony with the liberality of Octavius. A ſearch was made for the authors of theſe libels; but the bad ſucceſs with which it was attended, ſerved only to ſhow the general diſaffection of the army. The accounts, at the ſame time, which were brought of the progreſs which Octavius made in the ſettlements of the ve-

[52] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 8.

[53] Ibid. Philip. iii. c. 2 & 4.

terans,

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terans, and of his reception at Rome, gave Antony a juſt ſenſe of his danger, and made him change his tone. In a ſecond addreſs to the army, he made an apology for his late ſeverities. They knew, he ſaid, his character, that it was neither ſordid nor ſevere; that the ſums he had mentioned were no more than a preſent to ſignalize their meeting, and an earneſt of his future munificence. He did not, however, at this time, make any addition to his former bounty, leſt it ſhould appear to be extorted from him by fear.

The ſoldiers, in appearance ſatisfied with theſe declarations, accepted with reſpect the ſum which had been offered to them; ſubmitted to the changes which had been made among their officers, and marched off in diviſions by the coaſt of the Adriatic towards Ariminum. Antony himſelf, with an eſcort of cavalry and infantry, compoſed of men the braveſt and moſt attached to his perſon, whom he had ſelected from the whole army, ſet out for Rome. At his arrival the horſe were quartered in the ſuburbs; he himſelf, attended by a body of foot, entered the city, had a regular guard mounted in the court of his own houſe, ordered centinels to be poſted, gave the parole, and made every diſpoſition to prevent ſurprize, as in a military ſtation. Being ſtill veſted with the office of Conſul, he ſummoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-fourth of September; and, in the proclamation or ſummons, declared, that if any Senator abſented himſelf on that day, he ſhould be deemed an acceſſary to the plot againſt the Conſul's life, which had been lately diſcovered, and an accomplice in the other wicked deſigns known to be in agitation againſt the republic.

Notwithſtanding this pompous threat, Antony himſelf did not attend at the time appointed; but, by another proclamation, he again ſummoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month. He intended, on this day, to obtain a decree againſt Octavius; whom, in all his manifeſtos, he qualified with the name of

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Spartacus; as having, without any legal authority, preſumed to levy war againſt the State [54]: but, as he entered the porch of the Senate-houſe, a meſſenger arrived with accounts that the Legio Martia had deſerted with its colours to Octavius. Before he had recovered this ſhock, another meſſenger came with a like account of the fourth legion. He entered the Senate, but very much diſconcerted, and unprepared to act in circumſtances ſo different from thoſe with which he laid his account. He avoided the mention of Octavius; and pretending to have called the aſſembly, without any particular buſineſs, he made a ſhort ſpeech and adjourned. From this meeting, hearing that one of the revolted legions had taken poſt at Alba, he inſtantly repaired to that place, in hopes of reclaiming them; but was received with a diſcharge of arrows and ſtones from the battlements, and obliged to retire. Fearing that the remainder of the army would follow this example, he ordered them an additional gratuity of five hundred ſeſtertii, or about four pounds a man. And, to give them an immediate proſpect of action, which is often the moſt effectual means of ſtifling dangerous humours in an army, he declared his intention to make war on Decimus Brutus, in order to diſlodge him from the province of Gaul. In purſuance of this intention, he ordered his equipage for the field, and ſet up his ſtandard at Tibur, to which place he expected that all his friends and adherents would repair.

Antony, being joined by the laſt of the troops from Macedonia, had ſtill three legions belonging to that army; and theſe, together with the veterans ſettled in the neighbourhood of Tibur, who came with their enſigns and colours to offer their ſervices, amounted in all to four legions, beſides the ordinary attendance of irregular troops, and the crowds of people that flocked to his ſtandard. With this

[54] Cicer. Philip. iii. c. 8.

formidable

formidable power, having for a few days overawed the city, and drawn around him the greateſt part of the Senate, and of the Equeſtrian order, with many of the people who had ſo lately declared for his rival, and who, in the conteſts of ſuch parties, ever yield to the preſent power, and are the property of him who can beſt work on their fears; he ſet out on his march to Ariminum, the laſt place of Italy on the frontier of Gaul.

Octavius at the ſame time had aſſembled his forces at Alba, conſiſting of the two legions who had lately come over to him from Antony, one legion of new levies, together with two of the veterans lately embodied, which, not being full, were completed with the choice of his new-raiſed men. He made a report to the Senate of the number and deſcription of the troops he had thus aſſembled, and received their thanks and congratulations. It is nevertheleſs probable, that his ſervices were received by this body with great diſtruſt of their own ſituation, and of his deſigns.

Had the Senate been free to chooſe on whoſe ſwords they were to rely for the defence of their cauſe, thoſe of Caſſius and Brutus, with the other conſpirators, originally drawn in behalf of the republic, muſt have appeared the preferable choice. Uncertain, however, of the effect of any direct or public reſolution in favour of thoſe who were the authors of Cæſar's death, they left the correſpondence to be maintained with them to private perſons; and Senators accordingly wrote in their private capacity, to recommend perſeverance and the utmoſt exertion of their zeal. "Such is the "ſtate of the republic," ſays Cicero to Caſſius; "even in the calmeſt "times, ſcarcely able to ſupport itſelf. What muſt it be in the pre-"ſent ſtorm? All our hopes are in you. But if you have with-"drawn yourſelves merely for your own ſafety, we cannot have "hopes, not even in you. If you intend any thing worthy of your "own character, I wiſh I may live to ſee the effect. The republic,

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" at any rate, muſt revive under your efforts "." He adjured Decimus Brutus, by the example of Octavius, who, though in a private ſtation, raiſed armies for the State; he adjured him by the example of the faithful legions who deſerted from Antony, to ſtand by the commonwealth; and in the preſent criſis to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, without waiting for the orders of the Senate [56].

Cicero had already proclaimed his animoſity to Antony, and, beſides his zeal for the republic, had a particular intereſt in abetting any party that was formed againſt this dangerous enemy. Hearing that he was gone from the city, and that all the forces in its neighbourhood had declared for Octavius, or for the Senate, he himſelf ventured, on the ninth of December, to return to Rome ", and propoſed in the Senate that they ſhould decide on the plan they were to follow in this arduous ſtate of their affairs.

[55] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 2. [56] Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 7. [57] Ibid. ep. 5.

CHAP. III.

Situation and Addreſs of Octavius.——Meeting of the Senate.——Progreſs of Antony.——His March into Gaul.——Meſſage of Octavius to Decimus Brutus.——New Conſuls Hirtius and Panſa.——Meeting of the Senate.——Deputation to Antony.——His Anſwer.——Declared an Enemy.——Advance of Hirtius and Octavius to raiſe the Siege of Mutina.——Brutus and Caſſius confirmed in the Command of all the Eaſtern Provinces.——Progreſs of the War in Gaul.——Siege of Mutina raiſed.——Junction of Antony and Lepidus.——Conſulate of Octavius.

CHAP. III.

WHEN Antony left Rome to take poſſeſſion of the Ciſalpine Gaul, Octavius was in arms at the gates of the city, and, though a mere youth under age, was furniſhed with every art which age itſelf could beſtow, to qualify him for the part he was to act. He had gained upon the army by donations and promiſes; upon the Senate by public profeſſions of duty and of zeal for the republic; and, on particular members, by attentions and flattery. The legions, which had lately come over to him from Antony, having exhibited a mock fight, he ordered them, on that occaſion, a ſpecial gratuity of five hundred ſeſtertii, or four pounds a man; ſaying, That as this was but the repreſentation of a battle, the reward was proportional; but if he ſhould ever have occaſion to employ them in real fights, they ſhould have as many thouſands[1]. In this ſituation, it became neceſſary for the Senate, either to authoriſe and to avail themſelves of this ultraneous ſupport; or, by refuſing it, to drive the veterans, and all

[1] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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the military party which ſtill revered the name of Cæſar, into meaſures immediately fatal to the republic.

Upon the march of Antony towards Gaul, Octavius had already ſent a meſſage to Decimus Brutus [1] with aſſurances of his aid in defending that province, and of his co-operation every where elſe in ſupporting the authority of the Senate. Hitherto men ſtood in awe of Antony, as being veſted with the authority of Conſul, and threatening to treat his opponents as rebels to the commonwealth. Even Hirtius and Panſa, deſtined to ſucceed him in the Conſulſhip, it was ſuppoſed, would ſcarcely venture to take poſſeſſion of the office without his conſent, and the uſual form of his abdication; but the proſpect of a vigorous ſupport from Octavius, relieved many from their fears of Antony, and determined them on the part they were to act.

The Senate, under pretence of taking meaſures that the ſucceeding Conſuls might enter on their office in ſafety, being aſſembled by one of the Tribunes on the nineteenth of December, a manifeſto was produced from Decimus Brutus, of which no copy remains, but probably ſtating his right to the province of Gaul, and repreſenting the injuſtice of Antony in attempting to diſlodge him by force. Octavius was at the ſame time introduced by the Tribune, and pronounced a panegyrick on Brutus [2]. Cicero, in a ſpeech which is ſtill extant, extolled the conduct of the young Cæſar in arming the veterans, as a generous effort made at the hazard of his own life, and of his private fortune, to defend the republic. He applauded the two legions who had lately deſerted from Antony; and warmly urged the Senate to ſupport Decimus Brutus in his province. He moved, that thanks ſhould be given to theſe officers, and to the troops who adhered to them; and that the Conſuls, on the firſt of January, ſhould move the Senate farther to conſider of the rewards that were due to the

[1] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlv. c. 15. [2] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 6. Ibidem, Philip iii. c. 5.

army,

army, for the faithful ſervices which they had rendered to the commonwealth. Theſe public propoſitions he blended with a continual and vehement invective againſt Antony [4]. He obtained decrees of the Senate to the ſeveral effects he had propoſed; and having carried thoſe decrees to the Comitia or aſſembly of the People for their approbation, there likewiſe he ſupported them with a repetition of the ſame topics, and with the uſual force of his eloquence [5].

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In the mean time, Antony, being arrived on the frontier of Gaul, diſpatched an officer to Decimus Brutus, with a copy of his own commiſſion from the Roman People, and with an order to evacuate the province. To this meſſage he had for anſwer, that Decimus Brutus held his command by authority of the Roman Senate, who alone, by the laws, were entitled to diſpoſe of the provinces; and that he would not ſurrender what the laws of his country had enjoined him to defend. Antony, after having to no purpoſe exchanged repeated meſſages on this ſubject, continued his march into the province, and forced Brutus, with two legions and ſome new levies, that were under his command, to throw himſelf into Mutina, where he had formed ſome magazines from the ſtores and proviſions he was able to collect in the neighbourhood, and where he propoſed to wait for the ſuccours which he was made to expect from Rome. Antony advanced to Bononia and Claterna, took poſſeſſion of theſe places, and having inveſted Mutina, began to beſiege it in form.

Such was the poſture of affairs in the end of December, about ten months after the death of Cæſar [6]. On the firſt of January, the Conſuls Panſa and Hirtius, being to enter on the exerciſe of their office, proceeded to the Senate from the temple, where they had offered the uſual ſacrifices; and agreeably to the order of the nineteenth of December, moved this aſſembly, to take under conſideration the pre-

U. C. 710. C. Vibius Panſa, C. Hirtius, both killed. Octavius ſucceeded Panſa. Upon his reſignation,

[4] Cicer. Philip. ii. [5] Ibid. Philip. iv. [6] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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C. Carinas ſucceeded Octavius. Q. Pedius ſucceeded Hirtius. Ventidius ſucceeded Pedius, who died in office.

ſent ſtate of the republic [1]. Panſa having ſtated the ſubject, called upon his father-in-law, Q. Fuſius Calenus to deliver his opinion. This Senator being diſpoſed to favour Antony, adviſed, that they ſhould not, raſhly, take any violent reſolution; that they ſhould ſend a deputation to the late Conſul, with inſtructions from the Senate to lay down his arms, and to return to his duty. This motion was vehemently oppoſed by Cicero, who, in a ſpeech ſtill extant [2], inſiſted that Antony was already in effect declared an enemy, and ought to be reduced by force, not gained by negociation and treaty. He recounted the violences committed by him in his late Conſulate, particularly the acts which he promulgated under the pretence of Cæſar's memorials and will. "From the foundation of Rome to this preſent "hour," he ſaid, "Antony alone has had the impudence to preſent "himſelf in this aſſembly, eſcorted by a military force. The kings "never attempted it. The boldeſt adventurers, and they who were "moſt forward to revive the kingly power, never ventured ſo far. "I remember Cinna; I have ſeen Sylla; and, laſt of all, Cæſar. Theſe "were the perſons, who, ſince the expulſion of Tarquin, made the "greateſt advances to kingly power. I do not ſay that they were "unattended in the Senate, or that their retinue were always unarmed; they were followed only by a few, and with concealed "weapons. But this daring aſſaſſin paraded in the ſtreets with a "military power, moving in cohorts under arms, with all the "form of a regular march. He poſted a body of archers with their "quivers full, and even cheſts of ſpare arrows for immediate and "continued action, on the very ſteps by which Senators were to "aſcend into the temple of Concord; you have ordered public "thanks to the troops that have drawn their ſwords againſt him; "you have extolled the generous magnanimity of a young man,

[1] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[2] Cicer. Philip. v

" who, without waiting for your commiſſion, brought a haſty power
" to cover the city from his violence; and are you now deliberating
" whether you are to ſoothe his fury with negociation, or to meet it
" with force[9]? If you ſend deputies to his camp, no matter with
" what meſſage, you will appear to ſurrender; you will appear to
" diſtruſt your own cauſe; you will damp the ardour of your own
" troops; and you will ſhake the faith of the provinces."

Such was the purport of Cicero's ſpeech reſpecting the conduct of Antony, the merits of Decimus Brutus, of Lepidus, of Octavius, of the legions, and of the veterans; and of L. Egnatuleius the Tribune, who led the Legio Martia in the late choice of their party. In the cloſe of the ſpeech, he moved, That ſuitable honours ſhould be decreed to each; that the Senate ſhould ratify all the proceedings of Brutus in defending the province of Gaul; that Lepidus ſhould have a ſtatue erected to him; that Octavius ſhould have the rank of Prætor, be confirmed in his preſent command, and be entitled to ſue for the offices of ſtate before the legal age; that three years of the age appointed by law, ſhould be diſpenſed with in behalf of Egnatuleius; that the veterans, who had taken arms under Octavius, and the legions, who had deſerted from Antony to join the ſtandard of the commonwealth, ſhould have the gratuities that were promiſed to them by Octavius; and at the end of the preſent war ſhould have grants of land, and a perpetual exemption to themſelves and their children from every military ſervice. In his encomium on Brutus, he inſinuated the praiſe that was due to him, as a partner in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar; but, not to offend the partizans of Octavius, declined entering fully on that ſubject. He pledged himſelf for the future behaviour of Octavius. " This admirable young man," he ſaid, " having once taſted of true glory, having found himſelf held

[9] Cicer. Philip. v.

" forth

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" forth by the Senate, by the People, and by all orders of men as a " citizen dear to his country, and as the guardian of the common- " wealth, never can place any other ſpecies of diſtinction or honour " in competition with this. If Julius Cæſar had found himſelf, at ſo " early a period of life, in ſuch an illuſtrious point of view, he never " would have ſought for preferment by courting the populace, nor " have betaken himſelf to meaſures incompatible with the ſafety of " his country. The mind of this young man is perfectly known to " me. Love of the republic, reſpect to the Senate, deference to good " men, the deſire of real glory, are his ruling paſſions. I will there- " fore venture to pledge my honour in the moſt poſitive aſſurances to " you, to the Roman People, and to the commonwealth. I promiſe, " I undertake, I engage that C. Cæſar will continue towards the re- " public this conduct which he now holds, and that he will always " be what you wiſh, and what you would chuſe that he ſhould " be."

Octavius, we may ſuppoſe, had in ſome meaſure blinded Cicero with his flattery; yet in this panegyric there was probably more of what the orator wiſhed to recommend to Octavius, than of what he believed to be his original intention; but this deſigning young man was not to be caught in ſuch ſnares. He knew too well how to retort theſe artifices, even at an age, when others ſcarcely knew that ſuch arts are practiſed; and the experienced Cicero, with all the penetration and wit for which he was eminent, was the dupe of a youth who poſſeſſed the deepeſt of all artifices, that of ſuffering himſelf in appearance to be deceived, while in reality he employed the cunning of others to his own purpoſe [10].

L. Piſo, with a conſiderable party in the Senate, inclined to moderate the reſolutions that were propoſed againſt Antony. He con-

[10] Cicer. Philip. v.

tended

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tended that no Roman citizen could be condemned unheard; that the Senate could do no more than appoint him a day of trial, and cite him to anſwer for himſelf. The time of the firſt meeting being already ſpent in this debate, the Senate adjourned; and the ſubject being reſumed on the following day, it is ſaid " that Fuſius Calenus, with a torrent of abuſe and reproach, retorted on Cicero the invective which, on the preceding day, he had pronounced againſt Antony. He reproached him with the obſcurity of his birth, and accuſed him of a preſumption, which was ſupported only by a talent for declamation, often employed by him againſt the beſt citizens, never in bringing real criminals of ſtate to puniſhment. " What have you done," he ſaid, accoſting Cicero, " either at home " or abroad, to merit the high degree of conſideration to which " you lay claim? In what war have we ever prevailed under your " auſpices? What acceſſion of territory have you ever gained to the " Roman ſtate? Even in reſpect to your boaſted talent for ſpeaking, " you do but impoſe upon the world the labours of retirement for " the prompt effuſions of eloquence; and you publiſh harangues, " which you had neither the invention to conceive, nor the courage " to deliver in the face of any public aſſembly, or in the midſt of any " real affairs."[11] He accuſed Cicero of having forced Cataline into rebellion, and of having put to death, without any trial, Cornelius Lentulus, and other Roman citizens of rank; of having lighted the fire of diſſention among the leaders of the preſent unhappy diviſions that continued to tear the republic, and of having blown up the flames which ſtill continued to conſume the ſtate; of having meanly abandoned the cauſe of Pompey upon his defeat at Pharſalia, and of having inſtigated aſſaſſins to take away the life of Cæſar, even after he himſelf had implored his mercy, and accepted of his protection.

[11] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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He reproached him with a freſh inſtance of ingratitude, in this attempt to turn the arms of the republic againſt the late Conſul, to whoſe clemency he himſelf was indebted for his life. Having mixed this invective with the defence, and even with the praiſes of Antony, he concluded with calling upon the Senate to conſider how abſurd it would be declare war upon a magiſtrate, who acted by commiſſion from the Roman People, at the head of an army, of which they had given him the command, and in the very province which they had committed to his government; and this merely in ſupport of a young man who had preſumed, without any public authority, to levy war againſt a Roman officer of the higheſt rank, and in favour of a rebel who had preſumed forcibly to retain a province, which the Roman People had ordered him to ſurrender. "Such men," he ſaid, "were "indeed the enemies of the republic; but he did not move for any "formal declaration againſt them. The times," he obſerved, "will "not ſuffer us to do all that ought to be done." He moved only that meſſengers ſhould be inſtantly diſpatched to all the parties at war in this unfortunate conteſt; that all of them ſhould be required to lay down their arms, and to ſubmit to the deciſions of the Senate; that if any one of them ſhould diſobey, it would then be full time to declare him a public enemy, and to give to the Conſuls the uſual and regular powers to guard the ſafety of the commonwealth, and to reduce diſorderly ſubjects to their duty [12].

Such are the abuſes of an admired art, as vile and odious in its falſehoods, as in the genuine effuſions of truth it is noble and reſpectable; and this ſpeech, compared with ſome of the former, which were delivered relating to the ſame perſons, may ſerve to exhibit the variety of colours with which the ſame ſubjects and characters may be covered in debate, and by which public aſſemblies may be per-

[12] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlv. c. 18. lib. xlvi. c. 28.

plexed

plexed in their councils. The majority of the Senate were aware however of Antony's deſigns, and knew the danger of ſuffering him to get a military eſtabliſhment, and the poſſeſſion of a formidable army within the Alps; and they would probably have come to a ſevere reſolution, if one of the Tribunes had not interpoſed for that day, and forbid their proceeding any farther on the ſubject.

The Senate was again adjourned until the next morning, and in the mean time the relations and family of Antony, his mother, his wife, his children, and intimate friends went into mourning, paſſed the night in viſiting the principal members, or in waiting for the People, as they paſſed in the ſtreets, to implore their protection. When the Senate was about to aſſemble, this company of ſuppliants took their ſtation on the ſteps of the temple, and embraced the knees of the members as they paſſed.

This ſolemn council, when met, on coming to the queſtion, took, as is common on ſuch occaſions, a middle courſe between the extremes which were pointed out to them. They ſo far treated Antony as a friend, as to order a deputation of their own members to attend him in his camp; but the meſſage which they ſent by this deputation, ſounded more like a declaration of war, than an overture of reconciliation or of a peace [13]. They commanded him [14] not to diſturb in his government Decimus Brutus, whom they qualified with the appellation of Conſul-elect; not to lay ſiege to Mutina; not to lay waſte the province; not to make any levies of forces, or to preſume to continue in arms againſt the authority of the Senate.

L. Piſo, Philippus, and Servius Sulpicius, being deputed to carry theſe orders, had farther in charge to ſignify to Decimus Brutus, and to the troops under his command, the intire approbation of the Se-

[13] Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 24.

[14] Decimus Brutus was already deſtined to ſucceed in the Conſulate of the following year.

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nate, and the high eſteem and honour in " which they were held on account of their conduct. The Senate at the ſame time entered, on their own records, the honorary decrees which had been paſſed in favour of Decimus Brutus, Octavius, Egnatuleius, and the army, in terms that had been propoſed by Cicero; and reſolved, that the gratuities already paid by Octavius to the veterans, and to the legions who had lately come over from Antony, ſhould be refunded from the treaſury; that lands ſhould be allotted, and a continual exemption be given to them from all military ſervice after the preſent war.

When the deputies were gone with the meſſage which they had received from the Senate, the party of Antony at Rome endeavoured to alarm the People, and to load his enemies with all the conſequences that were likely to follow from the late reſolutions. They extolled the happy effects of moderation and peace, obſerved that Antony was a perſon of a daring and impetuous ſpirit, and ought not to have been incenſed; that his party was ſtrong; and in caſe of a rupture, would be joined by numbers of profligate men, for whom no attempt was too arduous, and againſt whom the friends of the republic could not be too much on their guard [15].

While men were amuſed with ſuch diſcourſes at Rome, Servius Sulpicius, one of the three deputies on whom the Senate chiefly relied for the effect of their commiſſion, died on the journey. The other two were kindly received by Antony, and admitted without any jealouſy or diſtruſt to viſit the approaches he had made, and the works he had erected, againſt the town of Mutina.

While the ſiege was continued without interruption, the commiſſioners were received with affected ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Senate; were told that Antony would evacuate the province, diſband

[15] Cicer. Philip. vi. [16] Ibid. Philip. vii.

his

his army, and return to a private ſtation; that he would forget the paſt, and agree to a ſincere reconciliation, provided that the legions then under his command, that his cavalry and his guards were properly rewarded and accommodated with grants of land, and put upon the ſame footing in all theſe reſpects with the troops of Octavius; provided that the arrangement of the provinces, which he had made in conjunction with Dolabella, ſhould be confirmed; that the acts taken from the will and memoirs of his late colleague ſhould be ratified; that no account ſhould be required of the money which he had taken from the temple of Ops; that the Septemviri, or commiſſioners of the treaſury, ſhould not ſuffer for what they had done in delivering it into his hands; that a general indemnity ſhould paſs in favour of all his adherents; that his act relating to judicatures ſhould not be repealed; that upon theſe conditions he would evacuate the Gallia Togata [17], but retain the Comata [18], with ſix legions, to be completed with draughts from the troops now under Decimus Brutus; that he ſhould have this force as long as Marcus Brutus and and Caius Caſſius ſhould remain under arms; and that, at any rate, he ſhould retain his diviſion of the province for five years.

In this plan of accommodation, Antony endeavoured to fruſtrate the principal articles, by means of the conditions which he took care to ſubjoin; and, in order intirely to defeat the purpoſe of his antagoniſts, he ſent to Rome, in the company of the deputies of the Senate, his Quæſtor, of the name of Cotyla, with orders to ſolicit his intereſt, and to intrigue with the Senators and principal citizens [19]. Complaining of the aſcendant his enemies had gained in the Senate, "With what countenance," he ſaid, "can they arraign the adminiſtration of Cæſar, while they ſubmit to that of Cicero? If they allege that Cæſar was an uſurper, what is this Cicero, who

[17] Within the Alps. [18] Beyond the Alps. [19] Cicer. Philip. viii.

 "pretends

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" pretends to dictate to the Roman Senate, and to ſuſpend the orders " of the Roman People? Let him know that I claim the province of " Gaul, in conſequence of an appointment from the higheſt autho- " rity in the ſtate, and he may be aſſured that I ſhall treat Decimus " Brutus as a rebel, if he perſiſt in withholding it from me. The " life of this traitor ſhall atone for that noble blood which he ſhed " in the Senate Houſe, and ſhall expiate that guilt in which Cicero is " faſt involving the Senate itſelf [22]."

Antony, in this commiſſion to his Quæſtor, and in his publick declarations, joined with the inſolence of the matter, affected expreſſions of ſubmiſſion to the Senate; and made a variety of propoſals, either to gain time, or to curry favour with the army, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have greatly at heart. The deputies who had been employed on this unſucceſsful buſineſs, incurred much public cenſure. It was unworthy of L. Piſo and of L. Philippus, it was ſaid, to hold any intercourſe with a rebel, who refuſed to comply with the orders that were ſent to him [23]. Under this ſenſe of the matter, at a meeting of the Senate, it was moved, that war ſhould be declared againſt Antony, and that every Senator ſhould aſſume the military habit. This motion was agreed to, even by Lucius Cæſar, uncle to Antony; a decree was framed upon it, and paſſed without oppoſition, by which the army under his command, were required by a certain day to lay down their arms [24].

Upon this reſolution, obtained by thoſe who ſtrove for the preſervation of the commonwealth, great rejoicings were made over all Italy, and it did not then appear from whence any real danger could ariſe to the authority of laws, which were ſo properly ſupported. The Conſuls, it was obſerved, acted with great vigour; the Senate, the middling claſs, and the citizens in general, expreſſed great

[22] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.
[23] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 4.
[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 29, 30. Cicer. Philip. viii.

zeal [23]. The People crowded to have their names enrolled in the levies that were ordered [24]. The reputation which Cicero gained in bringing public affairs into this ſituation, ſet him at the head of the commonwealth; but while it placed the whole adminiſtration of the ſtate in his hands, it made him an object of great animoſity to the oppoſite party, and of ſome envy to many perſons of principal conſideration in his own. It was under the impreſſion of theſe circumſtances, he complained that Senators of the firſt rank were lukewarm, were timid, or ill affected to the cauſe of the republic [25].

The conduct of the war was committed to the Conſuls, and, jointly with them, to Octavius, in the capacity of Proprætor. Orders were likewiſe diſpatched to Lepidus and to Plancus, to co-operate with theſe officers. The firſt was yet on his march into Spain, through the province of Narbonne; the other was poſted on the Rhone [26]. The treaſury being ſo much exhauſted by the late embezzlements, that there was not money ſufficient for the immediate ſervice, it was agreed that all citizens ſhould pay the five and twentieth part of all their effects; that the Senators ſhould pay, over and above, a certain rate for all the houſes or tenements they either poſſeſſed or let to tenants, and that in aid of theſe ſupplies, requiſitions of money and of arms ſhould be made through all the towns of Italy.

In the mean time, Octavius, without waiting for the authority with which the Senate had lately inveſted him, had followed Antony acroſs the Apennines, and took poſt with his army at the Forum Cornelii [27], on the road from Ariminum [28] to Mutina [29]. The meſſages which paſſed between the Senate and Antony, as well as the delays which the Conſuls, under the pretence of winter, made in

[23] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 4.
[24] Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 8.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 39.
[27] Imola.
[28] Rimini.
[29] Now Modena.

advancing

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advancing with their forces, gave him ſome degree of uneaſineſs. Panſa was employed at Rome in conducting the new levies. Hirtius, though deſtined to take the field, and to join Octavius, was ſtill detained by indiſpoſition [30]. Antony continued the ſiege of Mutina without interruption.

Octavius, after having ſent many preſſing meſſages to haſten the march of the Conſul, was at laſt joined by him at the Forum Cornelii, and they advanced together; forced the poſts which Antony had eſtabliſhed at Claterna and Bononia, and encamped at the latter of theſe places [31]. Here they were ſtill ſeparated by the Rhenus and Lavinius from the army of Antony, which covered the ſiege of Mutina, and were precluded from any communication with the town. They endeavoured, however, to give notice of their approach to the beſieged; and for this purpoſe, the country being flat, they hoiſted lights on the higheſt trees; but not relying entirely on theſe ſignals, they employed a dexterous ſwimmer, who undertook to paſs into the town by the channel of the river, and to carry the intelligence of their arrival engraved on a plate of metal.

Upon this information, Brutus was confirmed in his reſolution of defending the place to the laſt extremity, and prevailed on the garriſon, under the hopes of a ſpeedy relief, to perſevere in the toils and dangers of their preſent ſervice [32].

The Senate, notwithſtanding that they conſidered the preſervation of the republic as the common cauſe of all thoſe who could hope to partake in its honours, and believed that the preſent Conſuls, Hirtius and Panſa, were ſincerely embarked in its cauſe; and notwithſtanding the confidence they placed in Octavius as oppoſed to Antony, they ſtill relied chiefly on thoſe who had taken an active part againſt the late uſurpation of Cæſar, and looked to Brutus and Caſſius for a

[30] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 35, 36.
[31] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 5.
[32] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 35, 36.

principal

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principal ſupport againſt the remains of that military faction. On this account, they had annulled the proceedings of Antony relating to the diſtribution of the eaſtern provinces, reinſtated Marcus Brutus in the government of Macedonia, and Caſſius in that of Syria; and, by theſe appointments, placed the whole reſources of the commonwealth, from the Hadriatic to the utmoſt boundary of the empire, under their authority [33].

Marcus Brutus and Caſſius had left Italy in the preceding Autumn. Brutus had paſſed through Lucania. Thither Porcia accompanied him, with the melancholy proſpect of parting, perhaps for ever. While ſhe endeavoured to conceal her grief, ſhe was betrayed into tears by the ſight of a picture, which repreſented the parting of Hector and Andromaché. One of the company, without obſerving the diſtreſs which Porcia ſeemed to feel, repeated from Homer the lines from which this picture was taken. *My father, my brother, and my huſband are, Hector, all in thee* [34]. "But I cannot reply," ſaid Brutus, "in the words of Hector, *go to thy maids, and mind thy* "*loom*; for although Porcia is deficient in ſtrength of body, in her "mind ſhe is formed to great affairs [35]."

Brutus, having embarked at Elia, ſailed into Greece, where he was received with every mark of reſpect. Here he ſeemed to devote himſelf intirely to ſtudy; but had his agents employed to provide what was neceſſary againſt the ſtorm, which he had reaſon to expect. He ſent Heroſtratus into Macedonia to ſound the diſpoſition of the troops in that province, and drew about himſelf all the young Romans who were then at Athens, attending the different ſchools which ſtill ſupported the reputation of that place.

[33] Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii.

[34] Ἔκτορ, ἀτὰρ σὺ μοι ἐσσὶ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
Ἠδὲ κασίγνητος. —— Iliad. lib. vi. v. 529.

[35] For theſe particulars, Plutarch quotes young Bibulus, the ſon of Porcia by a former huſband, who was preſent. Plutarch. in Bruto.

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While Brutus remained in Greece, a body of troops, under the command of an officer, named Apuleius [36], with a ſum of money amounting to ſixteen thouſand talents, collected from the revenue of Aſia, were delivered up to him. The troops who had ſerved lately under Vatinius in Illyricum, being then at Dyrrachium, deſerted from their commander to join him [37]. Thoſe under Caius Antonius, at Appollonia, followed this example. Part of Dolabella's forces, who were marching under Cinna into Aſia, likewiſe left their party to join that of the republic [38]. As Brutus was conſidered in Macedonia and Theſſaly as reviving the party of Pompey, many who had ſerved under that leader, and were yet diſperſed in thoſe parts, flocked to his ſtandard, ſo that the new levies he had ordered, were ſoon completed to the amount of four legions and five hundred horſe. A great convoy, with ſpare arms, which Cæſar had provided for the Parthian war, and which, by the order of Antony, were then to be again returned into Italy, were intercepted by him at Demetrias. Upon the order of the Senate to put him in poſſeſſion of Macedonia, the greater part of the province, then under the command of Hortenſius, acknowledged his authority. At his departure from Athens, many of the young Roman nobility made a part of his retinue, and among theſe, the ſon of Marcus Tullius Cicero, who, though with a genius for letters inferior to that of his father, became nevertheleſs diſtinguiſhed as a ſoldier in the courſe of the war [39].

Caſſius, at the ſame time, had gone with the utmoſt diſpatch into Syria, to prevent Dolabella, who was ſent by the oppoſite party to take poſſeſſion of that province. He had received ſome ſupplies of men and of money from Trebonius, then commanding at Smyrna, and prevailed with part of the cavalry of Dolabella, on their march through the province of Aſia, to abandon their leader. With theſe

[36] Cic. Philip. xii.
[37] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 27.
[38] Plutarch. in Bruto.
[39] Idid.

forces,

forces, he advanced into Cilicia, reduced the city of Tarſus, and continued his march, with a reſpectable appearance, into his intended province.

At the arrival of Caſſius, the forces of Syria were divided, and the oppoſite parties had actually committed hoſtilities againſt each other. The troops which had been ſtationed there by Julius Cæſar, had even, before his death, mutinied, and had put Sextus Julius, a young man who commanded them, to death. They ſubmitted themſelves to the command of Cæcilius Baſſus, one of Pompey's officers, who, having eſcaped from Pharſalia, then lay at Tyre, and in this change of their leader, declared for the party of the republic. They defeated Statius Murcus, whom Cæſar had ordered, with three legions, to reduce them, and made it neceſſary to bring againſt them a reinforcement of three legions more from Bythinia, under Marcus Criſpus. This officer had accordingly brought theſe forces, and was actually engaged in the ſiege of Apamea, to which Baſſus had retired when Caſſius arrived in Syria.

There were now in this province, engaged on oppoſite ſides, no leſs than eight legions. Upon the arrival of Caſſius, the two legions under Baſſus declared for him; and ſoon after the other ſix, moved by the authority of his commiſſion from the Senate, or gained by his perſonal character and addreſs, followed this example. Four more legions, who, intending to join Dolabella, were marching from Egypt through Paleſtine[40], were intercepted, and forced to receive his orders as governor of Syria. His army, by theſe different acceſſions, amounted to twelve legions.

Upon the firſt ſuſpicion that Brutus and Caſſius intended to poſſeſs themſelves of theſe important provinces, Dolabella, to whom, by the influence of Antony, the command in Syria had been aſſigned, ſet

[40] Dio Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 26, 27, 28.

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cut from Rome, and with all poſſible diligence joined ſome troops that were placed to receive him on the ſide of Macedonia, paſſed the Helleſpont, and continued his route to the eaſt. In paſſing through the province of Aſia, he had an interview at Smyrna with Trebonius, profeſſed a friendſhip for him, affected great reſpect for his aſſociates in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, and a zeal for the reſtoration of the commonwealth. After this conference with the governor of the province, he put his army in motion with the moſt pacific appearances on the route to Epheſus; and having by theſe means put Trebonius off his guard, he returned in the night, ſurpriſed the city of Smyrna, ſeized on the perſon of the governor, and, with many inſults, put him to the torture [41], continuing him under it for ſome days, in order to extort a diſcovery of the treaſure which he ſuppoſed to be hid in ſome repoſitory of the province; but on the third day, Dolabella having ſatiated his mind with theſe cruelties, gave orders that Trebonius ſhould be ſtrangled, his head ſevered from the body, and expoſed on the point of a ſpear, while the limbs were dragged through the ſtreets.

This murder, being committed on the perſon of a Roman officer, within the very province in which he was appointed to command, raiſed a general indignation. Dolabella was declared a public enemy by the Senate. The conduct of the war againſt him was committed to Caius Caſſius, who was now at the head of the armies in Syria, and who, together with Marcus Brutus, was authoriſed by formal decrees to retain all the forces they had aſſembled, and all the reſources of which they were poſſeſſed, and to employ them according to their own judgment, where the ſervice of the republic ſeemed moſt to require their exertions [42].

Thus the flames of war, which were already lighted in Italy, began to extend, and were ſoon communicated to every part of the

[41] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 29.

[42] Cicer. Philip. xi.

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empire. The oppoſite armies before Mutina continued during the winter to obſerve each other, and in their attempts to give or to withhold relief from the beſieged, had frequent ſkirmiſhes and partial engagements. The chief direction of affairs at Rome, in the mean time, had devolved on Cicero, who incited the Senate and the People, with all the powers of his eloquence, againſt Antony. The ſoldiers in general, with their officers, were notwithſtanding inclined to favour this declared enemy of the commonwealth. Ventidius in particular, who profeſſed to range himſelf under Octavius, was in reality warmly attached to his rival; and, in order to ſerve him, formed a deſign to ſurpriſe Cicero, and the other heads of the republican party. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled a body of veterans in the neighbourhood of Rome, and advanced towards the city; but his deſign being ſuſpected, and the perſons againſt whom it was directed having taken the alarm, and withdrawn to places of ſafety, he turned away to the Picenum, and there waited the iſſue of the campaign [43].

The Senate, during the dependance of theſe operations, as in full poſſeſſion of the republic, deviſed laws, to prevent for the future thoſe abuſes which had given riſe to the preſent diſorders. They reſolved, that no extraordinary commiſſion of any kind ſhould be given to any ſingle perſon, or any provincial appointment prolonged beyond a year [44]. While they were thus employed, ſeparate addreſſes were preſented to them from Lepidus and from Plancus, warmly recommending an accommodation with Antony [45]. Cicero made his obſervations on this conduct, in a letter to Plancus of the thirteenth of the kalends of April, or twentieth of March; but he delivers himſelf to Lepidus on the ſame ſubject with more warmth, alluding

[43] Cicer. Philip. xii. Ibid. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 16.

[44] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 39.

[45] Cicer. Philip. xii.

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to ſome recent honours which had been received by this officer, and for which he neglected to make the proper acknowledgments. "I "am glad," he ſaid, "that you wiſh to reconcile your fellow ci- "tizens to each other. If you could procure them peace without "ſlavery, you would perform a moſt acceptable ſervice to your "country, and acquire much honour to yourſelf; but if, under the "title of peace, we are again to become the ſlaves of a profligate "villain, be aſſured that every man in his ſenſes will prefer death. "In my opinion, therefore, it will be wiſe in you to deſiſt from a "propoſal, which neither the Senate, the People, nor any good man "can approve [45]."

Notwithſtanding theſe ſentiments, publicly declared by a perſon then ſuppoſed to be at the head of the republic, numbers in the city and in the Senate eſpouſed the cauſe of Antony. Piſo, at whoſe houſe the wife and children of this ſuppoſed public enemy were entertained, openly correſponded with him. The Conſul Panſa propoſed a freſh deputation to him with overtures of peace, and his party in the Senate inſidiouſly offered to devolve the honour of this deputation upon Cicero himſelf, who rejected the offer, with proper animadverſion on the danger to which his life muſt be expoſed in the camp of his enemy, and diſcuſſed with his uſual eloquence the weakneſs of the council itſelf, as well as the great impropriety of his being employed in it.

While this meaſure was in agitation, Hirtius and Octavius appear to have ſent a joint meſſage to Antony, informing him of what had been propoſed in the Senate, and deſiring a ceſſation of arms, with liberty to convey ſome ſupply to the garriſon of Mutina, until the event of the Senate's deliberations ſhould be known. Antony replied in terms calculated to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the late

[45] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 6—27.

Cæſar's

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Cæſar's party, and to gain the affection of the army; but full of reproach and contumely againſt thoſe who pretended to eſpouſe the cauſe of the commonwealth, and againſt the authors of the preſent councils at Rome. Theſe had recently procured a decree of the Senate, full of indignation againſt the murderers of Trebonius, and had furniſhed Marcus Brutus and Caius Caſſius with a commiſſion and warrant to execute public juſtice againſt Dolabella on this account. In reference to theſe circumſtances, "I know not (ſaid Antony, in his anſwer to Hirtius and Octavius) whether I ſhould receive more ſatisfaction from the death of that villain Trebonius, than I feel indignation at the unjuſt ſentence paſſed againſt Dolabella. That the Roman Senate ſhould value the life of that vile fellow Trebonius, more than they did that of Cæſar himſelf, the father of his country, is ſurely provoking enough; but what muſt I feel, when I ſee you Hirtius, whom Cæſar has raiſed and adorned ſo much, that I am perſuaded you ſcarcely know yourſelf; and when I ſee you, young man, who have no pretence to conſideration beſides the name of Cæſar, which you have boldly aſſumed, contributing all in your power to blaſt the memory of Cæſar? and when I ſee you both endeavouring to oppreſs his friends, committing yourſelves, with all the powers of the commonwealth, into the hands of Marcus Brutus and of Caius Caſſius, who were his murderers; and when I ſee you joined againſt me to reſcue from juſtice this aſſaſſin, Decimus Brutus, who had ſo aggravated a part in the ſame crime? But, the camp and the head quarters of Pompey it ſeems are to be formed anew, and to bear the name and the authority of a Roman Senate, and the exile Cicero is to be ſet up at the head of this reviving party.

"You are employed in avenging the death of Trebonius, I am employed in avenging that of Cæſar; we, who were once the friends of Cæſar, are like a troop of gladiators to part, and from

"oppoſite

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" oppoſite ſides to fight and to cut one another's throats under the
" direction of Cicero, who is become maſter of the ſhew! But for
" me, I have taken my reſolution, and will neither ſuffer the veterans
" to be ſtript of their juſt rewards, nor the wrongs, which are in-
" tended to myſelf and to my friends, to be carried into execution.
" If in this I am ſupported, and ſucceed, life will be ſweet; if I
" fall, the thought of what you are to ſuffer, from the very party
" you are now endeavouring to raiſe up againſt me, will even then
" be ſome conſolation. If the faction of Pompey be ſo inſolent in its
" ruin, I chooſe that you, rather than I, ſhould experience the effect
" of its recovery, and of its return to power."

Antony, in all his diſcourſes, affected to be in good underſtanding with Lepidus and with Plancus, who, he inſinuated, were in concert with himſelf, and embarked in the ſame cauſe[47]. But whatever ſecret correſpondence theſe officers may have held together, they and Pollio likewiſe profeſſed the higheſt duty to the Senate, and affection to the commonwealth. Plancus having, for ſome time after the commencement of the war, declined any open declaration, now informed the Senate in a public addreſs, That he had hitherto been taking meaſures to render the declaration he ſhould make of real moment to the republic; that he had remained ſilent ſo long, not from any heſitation in the choice of his party, but from a deſire more effectually to ſerve that party which he had long ſince embraced; that before he declared himſelf, he had ſecured the co-operation of his officers, the affections of his army, and of the whole province in which he was ſtationed; that he was now at the head of five complete legions well affected to the republic, and, in conſequence of his liberalities, attached to himſelf; that the whole province was unanimous in the ſame cauſe; that the People, with a zeal

[47] Cicer. Philip. xiii.

which

which a concern for their own freedom or ſafety could not ſurpaſs, had taken arms in ſupport of the Roman republic; that he was ready to obey the orders of the Senate, either to retain his command, or to reſign it to any perſon they ſhould appoint to receive it from him; that he would remain in his poſt, or advance upon the enemy; and by the laſt of theſe meaſures, if it ſhould be thought expedient, draw upon himſelf the whole weight of the war; that provided he could, by any means, re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth, or defer its ruin, the manner of doing it was indifferent to him. Others, he ſaid, had declared themſelves for the Senate, while that body, being greatly alarmed, was laviſh of its commendations and of its rewards; but that if he had miſſed the time in which his ſervices were likely to have been moſt highly valued, he had choſen the occaſion which promiſed from them the greateſt benefit to the commonwealth, a conſideration which ſhould be to him a ſufficient reward for the higheſt ſervice he could perform [48].

Pollio, at the ſame time, wrote to Cicero, expreſſing a violent deteſtation of Antony's party, and of the deſigns of their leader. To be connected with ſuch a perſon in any cauſe, he ſaid, would be grievous; even to have acted under Cæſar, being contrary to his diſpoſition and to his principles, was, notwithſtanding the circumſtances which obliged him to it, now become ſufficient matter of regret. The experience of his condition under that uſurper had made him more ſenſible of the value of freedom, and of the miſery of dependence and ſervitude. "If any one for the future," he continued, "ſhall pretend to uſurp ſuch powers, he ſhall find in me an "open and declared enemy. There is no danger to which I will "not expoſe myſelf in the cauſe of freedom [49]."

[48] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. x. c. 8. [49] Ibid. c. 31.

While

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While the party of the Senate appeared to gain ſuch acceſſions of ſtrength by the declaration of ſo many military officers in the different provinces, Decimus Brutus was reduced to great ſtraits at Mutina; and waited, under many circumſtances of diſtreſs, for the opening of a campaign, in which he expected that his own fate, and that of the republic, might ſoon be determined. On the approach of the proper ſeaſon, the Conſul Panſa, with the levies he had made, amounting to four legions, marched towards Gaul, and being arrived at Bononia on the fourteenth of April, was next day to have joined his colleague, who had taken poſt with Octavius to obſerve, and to impede the progreſs of the ſiege. To facilitate their junction, Hirtius had detached the legion which was called the Martia, with two Prætorian bands, to occupy the paſſes, and to ſtrengthen the van of Panſa's army, in caſe they ſhould be diſturbed on their march. Antony, at the ſame time, having intelligence of their route, marched in the night with two choſen legions, the ſecond and third, two Prætorian cohorts, being veteran and experienced troops, with a numerous body of irregulars and horſe. He took poſt at a village, which was called the Forum Gallorum, and poſting the horſe and irregulars in open view in the field, at ſome diſtance from the village, he placed the legions and irregular infantry in ambuſcade under the cover of the houſes.

When Panſa's army, led by the detachment which Hirtius had ſent to receive them, came in ſight of Antony's horſe and irregulars, they could not be reſtrained until the poſture and ſtrength of the enemy were examined. They broke from their ranks, and, without waiting till the village ſhould be viſited, they ruſhed through a defile in a wood or moraſs to intercept the enemy, who, appearing to conſiſt of horſe and light infantry alone, could, as they apprehended, have no hopes of ſafety but by endeavouring to eſcape, which it was neceſſary by an immediate attack to prevent. As the foremoſt of Panſa's

army were paſſing in the moſt diſorderly manner from this defile, in purſuit of their ſuppoſed prey, Antony, with the legions, placed himſelf in their way, and forced him to fly with great ſlaughter. Panſa himſelf was dangerouſly wounded, and his army obliged to take refuge in the camp from which they had marched in the morning. Here too Antony attempted to force them, but was repulſed; and fearing that his own retreat might be cut off, took his reſolution to retire, and endeavoured, without loſs of time, to rejoin the main body of his army which lay before Mutina.

Antony was ſoon juſtified in his apprehenſions of the danger to which the further purſuit of his victory over Panſa might have expoſed him; for Hirtius, having intelligence of the movement he had made in the night, though too late to prevent its effects, had left his camp with twenty cohorts of veterans, arrived at the Forum Gallorum, and was in poſſeſſion of the very ground on which Panſa had been defeated, when Antony, returning from the purſuit of his victory, fell, in his turn, into the ſame ſnare which he himſelf, a few hours before, had ſo ſucceſsfully laid for his enemy, was accordingly ſurpriſed and defeated with great ſlaughter, and with the loſs of the eagles or ſtandards of both the legions, and of ſixty enſigns of the cohorts. After this diſaſter he himſelf, having fled with the cavalry, arrived about ten at night in his camp before Mutina [50], from thence ſent detachments abroad to collect the remains of his ſcattered party, or to facilitate their retreat [51].

Panſa having been carried to Bononia on account of the wounds he had received, Hirtius took the command of his diviſion of the army, and effected its junction with his own, and with that of Octavius.

[50] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 30.

[51] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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In this ſtate of affairs, Antony being conſiderably weakened by his loſs in the late action, and the enemy greatly reinforced by their junction, he determined to keep within his lines, to continue the blockade of Mutina, and to await the effect of the diſtreſs into which he had already reduced the beſieged. The danger to which Decimus Brutus, with the garriſon, were expoſed, at the ſame time haſtened the endeavours of Hirtius and Octavius to force the beſiegers to battle. For this purpoſe, or in order to relieve the town, they made a feint to throw in ſuccours on a ſide which the beſiegers had deemed inacceſſible, and which, on this account, they had but ſlightly guarded. Antony, alarmed by this attempt to render abortive all the labours he had ſuſtained in the preceding blockade, drew forth his army to oppoſe them, and by this movement expoſed himſelf to the hazard of a general engagement. While he was making his diſpoſition to receive the enemy in the field, his lines were attacked by a ſally from the town, and it became neceſſary to divide his forces. He himſelf, with that part of his army which remained with him to make head againſt Hirtius and Octavius, was defeated, fled to his camp, and, being purſued thither, continued to give way, until the action ended by the death of the Conſul Hirtius, who, after he had forced the intrenchments of the enemy, was killed, and fell near to the Prætorium or head-quarters of their general.

Upon this event, Octavius, not having the qualities of a ſoldier which were neceſſary to replace the Conſul, ſuffered the victorious army, thus checked by the loſs of their commander, to be driven back from the ground they had gained, and left Antony again in poſſeſſion of his works.

The vanquiſhed party, however, feeling all the effects of a defeat, and not being in condition to continue the ſiege, reſolved to decamp in the night; and they executed this reſolution unobſerved and unmoleſted by their enemies, either from the town of Mutina

or the camp. Octavius had a courage and ability more fit for the council than for the field; and Decimus Brutus, though at break of day he obſerved that the lines of the beſiegers ſeemed to be evacuated, yet, as he had no intelligence from the camp, remained all that day in ſuſpence. Even after he had received information of what had paſſed, of the various events of the action, and of the Conſul's death, and found, that he was from thenceforward to depend on Octavius for ſupport and co-operation in the war, being greatly alarmed by the neglect which this young man had ſhown in not joining him the moment the communication between them was open; and not being in condition to act alone, having neither cavalry nor baggage-horſes, and the troops being greatly reduced by the hardſhips they had ſuffered, he was obliged to remain inactive while the enemy continued their retreat undiſturbed [52].

On the ſecond day after the battle, Decimus Brutus, being ſent for by Panſa to Bononia to concert the future operations of the war, he learned, on his way, that this Conſul was dead of his wounds.

By theſe delays Antony had got two days march a-head, and, without halting, reached the fens of Sabatta on the coaſt of Liguria. Here the country being of difficult acceſs he thought himſelf ſecure, and made a halt, to conſider of his future operations. At the ſame time Ventidius, who, upon the news of the defeat of his friend at Mutina, had paſſed the Apennines by haſty marches, followed and joined him at this place [53].

In the firſt accounts of Antony's defeat that were carried to Rome, it was reported, that his army had been intirely routed; that he himſelf had eſcaped from the field of battle with only a few broken remains of his infantry unarmed; and that to recruit his numbers,

[52] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

[53] Ibid.

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he had broken open the work-houſes, and ſet looſe and enliſted the ſlaves [54].

Upon theſe repreſentations the Senate were greatly elated; and, amidſt the acclamations of the People, ordered a feaſt of thankſgiving, which was to laſt for ſixty days, and renewed the proclamation in which Antony, and all who had ſerved under his command, were declared to have forfeited all the rights of citizens, and to be enemies of their country [55].

The commonwealth being deprived of its legal head by the death of both the Conſuls, Decimus Brutus, as next in ſucceſſion, according to the arrangement which had been made for the enſuing year, became the principal object of conſideration with the Senate; and being ſuppoſed moſt deeply intereſted in the preſervation of the republic, was the perſon on whom they chiefly relied for the ſupport of their cauſe. The Senators, accordiugly, ſeemed to drop at once the high regard which they had hitherto paid to Octavius, and overlooking his pretenſions and his influence over the army, gave to Brutus the command of all their forces, whether in Italy or in Gaul.

Thus ended the connection of the young Cæſar with the friends of the republic, an alliance which had, on both ſides, probably been equally inſincere. The young man, pretending to have his eyes opened by this conduct of the Senate, and ſuppoſing that the party of Antony was leſs hoſtile to himſelf, than that which had now gained the aſcendant in the commonwealth, he ſlighted the inſtructions which were ſent to him to take his orders from Brutus, retained the command not only of the troops which had followed his own ſtandard, but the command likewiſe of a legion which had been raiſed for the republic by Panſa [56]. He refuſed to co-operate with Decimus Brutus

[54] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 10.
[55] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 39.
[56] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 20.

in purſuing the late victory againſt Antony, and had influence enough with different bodies of the army, particularly with the fourth legion and the Martia, to hinder their obeying the orders they had received from Rome [57].

In this manner, as the reſpect which was paid to Octavius by the Senate vaniſhed with the occaſion which they had for his ſervices; ſo all the profeſſions he made of concern for the republic, and of zeal for its reſtoration, diſappeared, with the intereſt which led him to make thoſe profeſſions. And Decimus Brutus, the perſon now acknowledged by the Senate as Conſul Elect, and head of the republic, for whoſe relief Octavius affected to have aſſembled his forces, was left by him to finiſh the remains of the war againſt Antony, at the head of ſuch troops as had any degree of attachment to the cauſe of the republic.

Decimus Brutus, when the war broke out, had a military cheſt of forty thouſand Seſtertia, about three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; but the whole was now expended, and his own credit likewiſe exhauſted. He was, from this time forward, ill ſupported at Rome, all motions made in his favour being oppoſed by the party of Octavius, as well as by that of Antony. The troops that adhered to him amounted to ſeven legions; theſe he ſubſiſted by ſuch reſources as he himſelf could command. He advanced to Dortona on the fourth of May [58]; and from thence continuing his march till within thirty miles of the enemy, he received intelligence, that Antony, in a ſpeech to his army, had declared his intention to paſs the Alps, and to caſt himſelf intirely on the friendſhip of Lepidus, in whoſe diſpoſition he profeſſed to have great confidence; that this propoſal being diſagreeable to the army, they had declared their reſolution to remain in Italy, and exclaimed, That there they would conquer, or periſh; that Antony had been diſconcerted by this declaration,

[57] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 10. 19. [58] Ibid. ep. 10.

and

BOOK V. and had continued a whole day undetermined as to his future operations; but in order to conform himſelf to the inclination of the army, and, if poſſible, to keep his footing in Italy, he was about to ſurpriſe Pollentia, a fortified place on the Tenarus, and had detached Trebellius with a body of cavalry for this purpoſe.

Decimus Brutus, upon this intelligence, ſent forward three cohorts to prevent the deſign on Pollentia; and theſe having effected their march in time to ſecure the place, the enemy, by this diſappointment, notwithſtanding their late reſolution to remain in Italy, were under a neceſſity of paſſing the Alps[59]. They undertook this difficult march ſo ill provided with every neceſſary, that, according to Plutarch, they had no ſubſiſtence but what was found on the route, conſiſting chiefly of wild herbs, fruits, and animals not commonly uſed for human food; but Antony himſelf diſcovered a patience and a force of mind which no man, judging by his uſual way of life, could have expected from him; and, by his own example, ſupported the ſpirits of his men through the greateſt diſtreſſes[60].

Lepidus, in conſequence of the Senate's inſtructions, or of his own deſire to be at hand to take ſuch meaſures as the ſtate of the war in Italy might require, had diſcontinued the march of his army into Spain, and returning through the province of Narbonne, had paſſed the Rhône at its confluence with the Soane; and now, hearing of Antony's march, deſcended on the left of theſe rivers, and took a ſituation to intercept him, not far from the coaſt at the Forum Vocontium, on a ſmall river called the Argenteum, which empties itſelf into the ſea at Forum Julii[61].

In the mean time, Antony had paſſed the Alps, and on the fifteenth of May arrived with the firſt diviſion of his army at Forum Julii, four-and-twenty miles from the ſtation of Lepidus. Venti-

[59] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 13. [60] Plut. in Antonio. [61] Frejus.

dius

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dius having followed about two days march in the rear of Antony, and having again joined him at this place, their forces conſiſted[62] of the ſecond legion intire, with a conſiderable number of men, but without arms; the broken remains of many legions, together with a body of cavalry, of which, this part of the army having ſuffered leaſt in the late action, Antony had ſtill a conſiderable force. But in this poſition many deſerted from him, and his numbers were daily diminiſhing; Silanus and Culeo, two officers of rank, were among the deſerters.

Such was the poſture of affairs, on the twenty-firſt of May, when Lepidus gave to Cicero the ſtrongeſt aſſurances[63] of zeal for the commonwealth. Plancus, at the ſame time, had taken poſt on the Iſere[64], had thrown a bridge over that river, and waited for the arrival of Decimus Brutus, whom he expected to join him by the moſt ordinary paſſage of the Alps[65]: but while he lay in this poſition he received a meſſage from Lepidus, informing him of Antony's approach, and expreſſing great diſtruſt of many in his own army, whom he ſuſpected of a diſpoſition to join the enemy. Upon theſe repreſentations, Plancus marched on the twentieth of May, as appears from his diſpatches to Rome of this date, expected to join Lepidus in eight days, and hoped, by his preſence, to ſecure the fidelity of the army, which began to be queſtioned. He wrote, with great confidence, of the zeal and affection of his own troops, and was pleaſed to ſay, that he himſelf, unſupported by any other force, ſhould be able to overwhelm, as he expreſſes himſelf, the broken forces of Antony, though joined by the followers of that muleteer Ventidius[66].

In the mean time, the armies of Antony and Lepidus remaining in ſight of each other, frequent meſſages paſſed between the leaders; and

[62] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 17.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Iſura.
[65] Probably by mount Cenis, or the channels of the Dorea Baltea and the Iſere.
[66] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 13.

as

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as no hoſtilities were committed, the ſoldiers converſed freely together, though without any apparent effect [67]. Lepidus ſtill profeſſed to govern himſelf by the orders of the Senate, and to employ his army in ſupport of the commonwealth. But while he preſerved theſe appearances, he ſent an order to countermand the junction of Plancus; and having convened his own army, as uſual, around the platform [68], from which it was the cuſtom to harangue the troops, he addreſſed them in a ſpeech, in which he repeated his profeſſions of duty to the republic, and urged a vigorous exertion in the war. It had not yet appeared to what point theſe profeſſions were tending, when he was anſwered with exclamations, which he probably expected, from ſome leading perſons among the ſoldiers, in which they declared the wiſhes of the army for peace. Two Roman Conſuls, they ſaid, had been already killed in this unnatural quarrel. The beſt blood of the republic had been ſpilt, and the moſt reſpectable citizens declared enemies of their country; that it was time to ſheathe the ſword; "for our parts," they ſaid, "we are determined that our arms, "from henceforward, ſhall not be employed on either ſide [69]." From this audience the army of Lepidus proceeded to invite Antony into their camp, and preſenting him to their general as a friend, terminated the war between them by a coalition, in appearance forced upon Lepidus, but probably previouſly concerted with himſelf.

Antony was now joined with Lepidus in the command of the army which had come to oppoſe him, and by his popularity, or ſuperior ability, ſoon got the aſcendant of his colleague. He found himſelf again at the head of a great force, compoſed of the remains of his late defeat, three legions that had joined him under Ventidius, and ſeven of which the army of Lepidus conſiſted [70].

Plancus, being ſtill upon his march, perſiſted in his intention to join Lepidus, notwithſtanding he had received an order or inſtruc-

[67] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[68] The Suggeſtum, moſt commonly raiſed of turf.

[69] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 21.

[70] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

tion

tion from himſelf to the contrary; but having, at laſt, received poſitive information of his defection, and conſidering the danger to which he himſelf muſt be expoſed with an inferior force againſt two armies united, he returned to his poſt on the Iſere, and ſent preſſing inſtances to haſten the march of Decimus Brutus, and of other ſuccours from Italy [71].

Lepidus, even after the reception of Antony into his camp, addreſſed the Senate in a ſolemn declaration, ſtill aſſerting his affection to the commonwealth, and repreſenting the late change of his meaſures as the effect of neceſſity impoſed upon him by the troops, who, in a mutinous manner, refuſed to make war on their fellow-citizens. While he made theſe profeſſions, he recommended to the Senate the example of the army, exhorted them to drop all private animoſities, to make the public good the rule of their conduct, and not to treat as a crime, the humane and merciful diſpoſition which fellow-citizens had exerciſed towards each other [72].

At the ſame time diſpatches arrived from Plancus and Decimus Brutus, both treating the pretended mutiny of the army in Gaul as a mere artifice of their general to conceal his own defection [73]. The city was greatly alarmed, even the populace, affecting a zeal for the authority of the Senate, demoliſhed the ſtatues which had been lately erected to Lepidus. The Senators, incenſed not only at his treachery, but at the falſe profeſſions with which he preſumed to addreſs them on the ſubject, proceeded to declare him a public enemy, and reſolved, that all his adherents, who did not return to their duty before the firſt of September, ſhould be involved in the ſame ſentence. Private inſtructions were ſent, at the ſame time, to Marcus Brutus, and to Caius Caſſius, urging them to haſten the march of their forces for the defence of the capital [74].

[71] Cic. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 21.
[72] Ibid. lib. x. ep. 35.
[73] Cic. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 35.
[74] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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During theſe tranſactions, Octavius remained inactive on the frontiers of Italy. The demiſe of the two Conſuls opened a new ſcene to his ambition. This event came ſo opportunely for his purpoſe, and his own character for intrigue was ſo much eſtabliſhed, that he was ſuſpected of having had an active part in procuring the death of thoſe officers. It was ſaid, that he employed ſome emiſſaries to diſpatch Hirtius in the heat of battle; and that Panſa's wound, not being mortal, he ſuborned the perſon who dreſſed it, to render it ſo by an injection of poiſon. A ſurgeon, named Glyco, was actually taken into cuſtody on this account; the ſuſpicion remained againſt Octavius till the laſt moment of his life, and even made a part in the grievous reproaches with which his memory continued to be loaded after his death [75]. It was rejected, however, at the time, even by Marcus Brutus, who warmly interceded with Cicero in behalf of Glyco, as a perſon who was himſelf a great ſufferer by Panſa's death, and who bore ſuch a reputation for probity as ought to have ſecured him againſt this imputation [76]. The teſtimony of Marcus Brutus, when given in favour of Octavius, muſt, no doubt, be admitted as of the greateſt authority, and may be allowed, in a great meaſure, to remove the whole ſuſpicion.

Octavius himſelf gave out, that Panſa, when dying of his wounds, deſired to ſee him in private, gave him a view of the ſtate of parties, and adviſed him no longer to remain the tool of thoſe who meant only to demoliſh the party of Cæſar, in order that they themſelves might riſe on its ruins. But from the detail of what paſſed in the interval between the battle of Mutina and the death of Panſa, of which Decimus Brutus ſent an account to Cicero, it does not appear that Octavius could have ſeen Panſa. And it is probable, that this pretended advice of the dying Conſul was fabricated afterwards, to

[75] Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 10.

[76] Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 6. edit. Olivet. tom. 9.

juſtify

juſtify the part which Octavius took againſt the Senate [77]. The ſuppoſed admonition of Panſa, at any rate, was probably not neceſſary to diſſuade Octavius from continuing to ſupport the republic longer than his own intereſt required. This was the great rule of his conduct, and if, until that hour, he continued to believe, that the Senate intended to raiſe him on the ruin of Antony's party, in order that he might become their own maſter and ſovereign of the commonwealth, he fancied ſurely what was not probable, and what they never profeſſed to be their intention. The reſtoration of the republican government, and of the Senate's authority, implied, that individuals were to be ſatisfied with receiving the honours of the republic in their turn; and with this proſpect, Octavius himſelf affected to be ſatisfied, ſo long as it ſuited with the ſtate of his fortunes, to act the part of a republican.

The commonwealth undoubtedly ſuſtained a great loſs in the death of the two Conſuls. Though trained up under Cæſar, and not poſſeſſed of any remarkable ſhare of political virtue, they were men probably of moderate ambition, tenacious of the dignities to which they themſelves and every free citizen might aſpire, but not covetous of more. They were likely, therefore, to acquieſce in the civil eſtabliſhment of their country, and by the dignity of their characters, to overawe the more deſperate adventurers, whoſe views and ſucceſſes were inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the commonwealth.

If the Conſuls, Hirtius and Panſa, had lived even with ſuch abilities as they poſſeſſed, they might have kept Lepidus within the bounds of his duty, they might have prevented Antony from recovering the defeat which he had lately received at Mutina, and obliged Octavius, if not to drop his ambitious deſigns, at leaſt to defer the execution of them to a more diſtant period. But, immediately after the death

[77] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

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of theſe magiſtrates, it became evident, that this young man was diſ-ſatisfied with his ſituation and with his party, he not only kept at a diſtance from Decimus Brutus, but ſeemed determined not to take any part in the farther operations of the campaign. The priſoners that were in his hands he treated as friends, and by ſuffering them, without any exchange or ranſom, to join their own army, gave hopes that he was ready to treat on reaſonable terms of a reconciliation with their general. He, at the ſame time, took ſteps with the Senate that ſeemed to prognoſticate a rupture, made application for a triumph, in which neither his age, his rank, nor his ſhare in the late action, or in the victory obtained over Antony, in any degree ſupported him; and having failed in this attempt, he declared his intention to ſue for the office of Conſul.

Octavius, when he offered himſelf as a candidate for the Conſulate, according to Dion Caſſius, affected to inſiſt that Cicero [78] ſhould be aſſociated with him in the office [79], and ſhould take the whole adminiſtration on himſelf. For his own part, he ſaid, that, in this aſſociation, he aſpired only to the title of Magiſtrate; that all the world muſt know, the whole authority of government, and all the glory to be reaped in the public ſervice would redound to his colleague; that, in this requeſt, and in that he had made for a triumph, he had no object but to gain a ſituation in which he might lay down his arms with honour, as having ſuch a public atteſtation in behalf of his ſervices [80].

Cicero, according to the teſtimony of the ſame hiſtorian, fell into the ſnare that was laid for him by this artful boy, ſupported his pretenſions, and was willing to become the colleague and the tutor of this reviving Cæſar.

[78] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 42.
[79] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.
[80] Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 10.

Octavius

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Octavius afterwards boaſted of the artifice he had employed in this piece of flattery to Cicero, as the only means he had left, at that time, to ſecure the continuance of his military command[81]. But the Senators, and the partizans of the conſpirators, in particular, were greatly exaſperated. The propoſition appeared ſo ſtrange, that no Tribune, no perſon in any office, not even any private citizen, could be found to move it[82]. The animoſity of Cicero to Antony had already, they thought, carried him too far in ſupporting the pretenſions of this aſpiring young man. If he ſhould prevail on the preſent occaſion, all that the Senate had hitherto done to reſtore the conſtitution would be fruitleſs. A perſon, who preſumed to claim the office of Conſul at an age ſo improper, and ſo far ſhort of that which the law preſcribed, was likely, when poſſeſſed of this power, to ſet no bounds to his uſurpations. In order, therefore, to elude his requiſition, they were obliged to defer the elections, and, in the mean time, appointed ten commiſſioners under pretence of inquiring into the abuſes committed in Antony's adminiſtration, and of diſtributing to the army the gratuities, and of executing the ſettlements deviſed for their late ſervices, but probably with a real intention to veſt theſe commiſſioners with the chief direction of affairs, until it could be determined who ſhould ſucceed in the office of Conſul, and who ſhould be intruſted with the ſafety of the republic. The partizans of the commonwealth were now, in appearance, ſuperior to their enemies, but far from being ſecure in poſſeſſion of the ſuperiority they had gained[83].

The Senate, in order to exclude Octavius from this commiſſion, without giving him any particular reaſon to complain of their partiality, at the ſame time left out Decimus Brutus; and by this equal excluſion of perſons at the head of armies from the management of

[81] Plut. in Cicer. [82] Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 10. [83] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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affairs, in which the armies were ſo much concerned, they enabled Octavius to fill the minds of the ſoldiers with diſtruſt of the civil power, and to ſtate the intereſts of the civil and military factions as in oppoſition to each other [54]. He no longer, therefore, diſguiſed his averſion to the Senate; complained, that they treated him diſreſpectfully, called him a boy, who muſt be amuſed [55], decked out with honours, and afterwards deſtroyed [56]. "I am excluded," he ſaid, "from the preſent commiſſion, not from any diſtruſt in me, but "from the ſame motive from which Decimus Brutus is alſo excluded, "a general diſtruſt of every perſon who is likely to eſpouſe the in-"tereſts of the army; and, from theſe excluſions, it is evident what "they intend with reſpect to the claims of the veterans, and with "reſpect to their expectations of a juſt reward for their ſervices [57]."

Upon the junction of Antony with Lepidus, the Senate felt the neceſſity of paying a little more attention than they had lately done to the intereſts of Octavius. Inſtead of appointing him to act under Decimus Brutus, as they at firſt intended, they joined him in the command of the army; and, in this new ſituation, required him to co-operate in defending Italy againſt the united forces of Antony and Lepidus.

Octavius inſtantly communicated to the army theſe orders of the Senate, with inſinuations of the hardſhips which they were now to undergo on being ſent on a freſh ſervice, before they had received the rewards which were promiſed and due to them for the former; and he propoſed, that they ſhould ſend deputies to the Senate with proper repreſentations on this ſubject.

A number of Centurions were accordingly ſelected to carry the mandate of the army to Rome. As they delivered their meſſage in

[54] Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 20.

[55] Ibid. ep. 21.

[56] Landa dum adoleſcentem, ornandum, tollendum.—This laſt word is ambiguous. This ſaying was imputed to Cicero, but is peremptorily denied.

[57] Sueton. in Octavio, c. 12.

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name of the legions, without any mention of Octavius, this was thought a favourable opportunity to negociate directly with the troops, without conſulting their leader; and the Senate accordingly ſent a commiſſion for this purpoſe, with hopes that they might be able to detach the whole army from their general, or that at leaſt they might be able to engage, in their own cauſe, thoſe legions in particular, who had deſerted from Antony, with profeſſions of zeal for the commonwealth.

Octavius, to counteract this deſign before the commiſſioners employed in the execution of it arrived, drew forth his army, and in a ſpeech complained of this and of the former injuries he had received from the Senate: "Their intention," he ſaid, "is to cut off ſepa-
"rately all the leaders of Cæſar's party. When they have accom-
"pliſhed this purpoſe, the army too muſt fall at their feet[88]. They
"will recall the grants of land which have been made to you, and
"will deprive you of the juſt reward of all your faithful ſervices.
"They charge me with ambition; but what evidence is there of my
"ambition? Have I not declined the dignity of Prætor, when you
"offered to procure it for me?—My motive is not ambition, but the
"love of my country; and for this I am willing to run any ha-
"zard to which I myſelf may be expoſed; but cannot endure, upon
"any account, that you ſhould be ſtript of what you have ſo dearly
"bought by your ſervices in the public cauſe. It is now become
"evident, that, in order to prevent the moſt dangerous powers
"from coming into the hands of your enemies, and in order to
"enſure the rewards to which you are ſo juſtly intitled, it is ne-
"ceſſary that your friends ſhould be raiſed to the head of the com-
"monwealth. In the capacity of Conſul I ſhall be able to do juſtice
"to your merits; to puniſh the murderers of my father, to be re-

[88] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

"venged.

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" venged of your enemies, and at laſt to bring theſe unhappy do-
" meſtic diſſentions to an end [89]."

This harangue was returned with acclamations of joy, and a ſecond deputation, to be eſcorted by four hundred men, was inſtantly appointed from the army, demanding the Conſulate for their general. The officers employed in this ſervice were repeatedly admitted to audiences in the Senate [90]. In anſwer to the objections which were drawn from the defects of their general's age and title, they urged former precedents; that of Scipio, of Dolabella, and the ſpecial acts relating to Octavius himſelf, in whoſe favour ten years of the legal age were already diſpenſed with. One of the officers in this ſingular deputation, while the Senate propoſed a delay in order to deliberate on the matter, is ſaid to have ſhown the hilt of his dagger; and ſome one of the party who eſcorted the deputies, in reſuming his arms at the door of the Senate-houſe, was heard to ſay, in girding the belt of his ſword, *If you will not confer the Conſulate on Octavius, this ſhall.* To theſe menacing inſinuations, Cicero, who had jokes imputed to him, on occaſions that were equally ſerious to himſelf and to the republic, is ſaid to have replied, *Nay, if you pray in that language, you will ſurely be heard.*

While the Senate delayed giving any direct anſwer to this military demand, they again ſent a deputation of their own members with money to be diſtributed to the legions, hoping, by this means, to divert them from the project which they had formed in favour of their general. But Octavius, being ſecretly appriſed that a ſum of money was ſent to corrupt his army, and obſerving that the ſoldiers were impatient at having no immediate return to their own meſſage, choſe not to wait the trial of this dangerous experiment, ſeparated the legions into two columns, marched directly to Rome; and on his

[89] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[90] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 42.

way

way being met by the deputies of the Senate, he commanded them, at their peril, not to approach the army, or to interrupt its march.

Upon the news of his approach, the city was thrown into great conſternation. The Senate, believing they had erred in offering too little money to the troops, ordered the former bounty to be doubled [91]. They reſolved that Octavius ſhould be admitted to the Conſulate; or, according to Dion Caſſius, that he ſhould have the title and enſigns of Conſul, but without the actual power; that he ſhould have a place in the Senate among thoſe who had been Conſuls; that he ſhould be Prætor at the firſt elections, and Conſul at the following [92]. And thus having done enough to ſhow their fears, but not to diſarm, or to lull the ambition of this preſumptuous young man, they ſent new deputies, with every ſymptom of trepidation and alarm, to intimate theſe reſolutions.

Soon after this deputation from the Senate was diſpatched, two legions, lately tranſported from Africa, and ordered for the defence of the city, having arrived at the gates, the Senators, with their party among the People, reſumed their courage: they were even diſpoſed to recall their late conceſſions, and began to exclaim, that it were better to periſh in defending their liberties, than, without any ſtruggle, to fall a prey to their enemies. Perſons of every deſcription aſſumed the military dreſs, and ran to their arms.

There were now at Rome three legions, with a thouſand horſe; one legion having been left there by Panſa when he marched towards Gaul. Theſe troops were poſted on the ſide from which the enemy was expected, on the Janiculum and the bridge which led from thence to the city. Galleys were ordered to be in readineſs at Oſtia,

[91] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[92] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 41.

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to convey the public treaſure beyond the ſea, in caſe it ſhould become neceſſary to take this meaſure to ſave it: and it was determined to ſeize the mother and ſiſter of Octavius [93], who were then ſuppoſed to be at Rome, and to detain them as hoſtages. But this intention was fruſtrated by the timely eſcape of theſe women, who, apprehending ſome danger, had already withdrawn from the city. Their flight, or the early precaution which they themſelves, or their friends, had taken in this matter, was conſidered as the evidence of a long premeditated deſign on the part of Octavius.

Under this impreſſion, and that of the ſuperior force with which it was known Octavius was prepared to aſſail them, the Senators again loſt hopes of being able to reſiſt; but they flattered themſelves, that the reſolution they had taken to defend the city, would not be known in time to prevent their firſt meſſage to the army from being delivered. Their conceſſions were accordingly publiſhed among the troops; but appearing to be forced, were received with contempt, and ſerved only to encourage the preſumption of the ſoldiers, and to haſten their march. As the army drew near to the city, all the approaches were deſerted by thoſe who had been placed to defend them, and the advanced guard of Octavius paſſed to the Mons Quirinalis, without being met by any perſon in the quality either of friend or of enemy. But, after a little pauſe, numbers of his own party among the people having gone forth to receive him, the ſtreets were inſtantly crowded with perſons of all ranks, who haſtened to pay their court [94].

Octavius having halted his army during the night in the firſt ſtreets which they entered; on the following day, with a proper eſcort, and amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the multitude, took poſſeſſion

[93] Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

[94] Ibid.

of

of the Forum. The troops who had been aſſembled to oppoſe him, at the ſame time left their ſtations, and made an offer of their ſervices. Cornutus, one of the officers who commanded thoſe troops, having in vain endeavoured to prevent this defection, killed himſelf. Cicero is ſaid to have deſired a conference with his young friend; but when he ſeemed to preſume on his former connection, was coldly anſwered, That he had been ſlow in his preſent advances.

In the following night a rumour was ſpread, that the Martia and the fourth legion, which made a part in the army of Octavius, but ſuppoſed to be particularly attached to the Senate, on account of the late honorary decrees which had paſſed in their favour, had declared againſt the violent meaſures of their leader; that they offered to protect the Senate and People in their legal aſſemblies, and in any reſolutions they ſhould form on the preſent ſtate of the republic. Numbers of Senators believed this report, and were about to reſume their meetings. Craſſus, one of the Prætors, ſet out for the Picenum, where he had conſiderable influence, in order to aſſemble what forces he could raiſe to ſecure the ſucceſs of this deſign; but before morning this report was known to be groundleſs, and all orders of men returned to their former dejection and ſubmiſſion.

At break of day Octavius removed the army from the ſtreets of Rome into the Campus Martius. He did not ſuffer any acts of cruelty to be committed, or make any inquiry after thoſe who had been forward in oppoſing his claims. He affected the clemency of his late uncle; but like him too, without any ſcruple, laid his hands on the public treaſure, made a diſtribution to the army of the ſums which had been firſt decreed to them; and engaged for himſelf, ſoon after, to add from his own eſtate what had been ſucceſſively promiſed. Having ordered that the election of Conſuls ſhould immediately proceed, he withdrew with the army, affecting to leave the People to a

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free choice. And being himſelf elected, together with Q. Pedius, whom, without any mention of Cicero, he had recommended for this purpoſe, he returned in ſolemn proceſſion to offer the ſacrifices uſual on ſuch occaſions, and entered on his office on the twenty-firſt of September, the day before he completed his twentieth year [55].

On this occaſion the young Cæſar, in the capacity of Conſul, made a ſpeech to the troops, acknowledging their ſervices; but avoided imputing to their interpoſition the honours which he had recently obtained in the city. For theſe honours he returned his thanks to the Senate, and to the aſſemblies of the People. Theſe he accoſted as the ſovereigns of the empire; and was anſwered by an affected belief of his ſincerity.

In the ſame ſpirit of ſervility with which ſo many honours had been decreed to Julius Cæſar, it was enacted, that Octavius ſhould for ever take rank of every Conſul, and the command of every general, at the head of his own army; that he ſhould have an unlimited commiſſion to levy troops, and to employ them where the neceſſities of the State might require [56]; that his adoption into the family of Cæſar ſhould now be ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner by the aſſembly of the Curiæ; a form which the laws of the republic required in every ſuch caſe, and in which he had been formerly prevented by the intrigues of Antony; that the act declaring Dolabella an enemy of his country ſhould be repealed, and an inqueſt ſet on foot for the trial of thoſe who had been concerned in the death of Julius Cæſar.

In conſequence of this eſtabliſhment, numbers were cited, and upon their non-appearance were condemned. Among theſe were Marcus Brutus and Caius Caſſius. In giving ſentence againſt them,

[55] Vell. Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 65.

[56] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 39.

the

the judges affected to ſhew their ballots; and a citizen, of the name of Silicius Coronas, being of the number, likewiſe held up his ballot into public view; but, in the midſt of this tide of ſervility and adulation, had the courage to acquit the accuſed. His courage for the preſent paſſed without animadverſion, but he was reſerved, with ſilent reſentment, as an object of future puniſhment [97].

[97] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings of the new Conſul.——State of the Eaſtern Provinces.——Interview of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, with their Coalition.——The Proſcription or Maſſacre.——Death of Cicero.——Sequel of the Maſſacre.——Succeſſion of Conſuls.——Severe Exaction of Taxes.——State of Sextus Pompeius.——Movements of Antony and Octavius reſpectively.——Both bend their Courſe to the Eaſt.——Poſture and Operations of Brutus and Caſſius.——Their Arrival and Progreſs in Europe.——Campaign at Philippi.——First Action and Death of Caſſius.——Second Action and Death of Brutus.

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THE republic, of which Octavius was now, in appearance, the legal magiſtrate, had declared open war againſt Antony and Lepidus; and, in conſequence of this declaration, the forces of Decimus Brutus and of Plancus, as has been mentioned, had advanced to the Rhône and the Iſere, but had been obliged again to retreat, in order to avoid coming to action with a ſuperior enemy. It was conſidered, therefore, as the firſt object of the Conſul to reinforce that army of the republic, and to carry the decrees of the Senate into execution againſt thoſe who preſumed to diſpute their authority. He accordingly marched from the city as upon this deſign; but it ſoon after appeared, that he had been ſome time in correſpondence with theſe ſuppoſed enemies of their country; that he intended to join them againſt the Senate, and, with their forces united, to reſiſt the ſtorm which was gathering againſt them in the Eaſt under the governors of Macedonia and Syria.

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While the ſiege of Mutina was ſtill in dependance, Marcus Brutus had drawn his forces towards the coaſt of Epirus, with intention to paſs into Italy; but having received a report that Dolabella, then in the province of Aſia, had tranſported a body of men from thence to the Cherſoneſus [1], and that he ſeemed to intend the invaſion of Macedonia, he was obliged to return for the defence of his own province; and from thence forward, by the ſtate of the war in Syria was hindered, during ſome time, from taking any part in the affairs of the Weſt.

Dolabella, in conſequence of his appointment to the government of Syria, after the murder of Trebonius, had aſſembled a fleet on the coaſt, to accompany the march of his army by land, and to diſpute the poſſeſſion of that province with Caſſius [2]. His operations, however, began in that quarter with his receiving a great check to his hopes in the defeat of his fleet; his galleys having been diſperſed, and all his tranſports taken by Lentulus, who had ſerved under Trebonius, and who now commanded the fleets of Brutus and Caſſius in thoſe ſeas [3]. Notwithſtanding this defeat of his forces at ſea, he advanced by land into Cilicia; and while his antagoniſt lay in Paleſtine, to intercept the legions that were coming to join him from Egypt, he made conſiderable levies, took poſſeſſion of Tarſus, reduced the party which Caſſius had left at Ægæ, and proceeded to Antioch; but finding the gates of this town were ſhut againſt him, he continued his march to Laodicæa, where he was admitted; being determined to make a ſtand at this place, he again aſſembled the remains of his fleet, in order to bring his ſupply of ſtores and proviſions by ſea [4]. Having encamped and intrenched his army cloſe to the walls of Laodicæa, he threw down part of the ramparts, to open a communication between his camp and the town [5].

[1] Sic. ad Brutum, ep. 2.
[2] Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 12.
[3] Ibid. ep. 15.
[4] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 30.
[5] Cic. ad. Famil. lib. xii. ep. 13.

Caſſius

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Caſſius having intelligence of this progreſs made by Dolabella in Syria, and of his diſpoſitions to ſecure Laodicæa, prepared to diſlodge him from thence. For this purpoſe he advanced to Pallos, at the diſtance of twenty miles from the enemy's ſtation, and took meaſures, by cutting off his ſupplies both by ſea and by land, to reduce him by famine. In execution of this deſign, he endeavoured to procure ſhipping from every part of the coaſt, extending from Rhodes to Alexandria; but found that moſt of the maritime States of Aſia were already drained by his enemy, or were unwilling to declare themſelves for either party. The port of Sidon was the firſt that furniſhed him any ſupply of veſſels; but the officer who commanded them having ventured to appear before Laodicæa, was unable to cope with the navy which Dolabella had collected from his late defeat; and, though he defended himſelf with great obſtinacy, and with great ſlaughter of the enemy, after many ſhips were ſunk on both ſides, ſuffered a capture of five gallies with all their crews. Notwithſtanding this check, Caſſius was ſoon after joined by ſquadrons from Tyre, Aradus, and even from Cyprus. The governor of this iſland, contrary to the orders of Cleopatra, his ſovereign, who had aſſembled her fleet to ſupport Dolabella, ventured to change their deſtination, and to take part with Caſſius [c].

With this acceſſion of force, Caſſius being again in condition to block up the harbour of Laodicæa, preſented himſelf for this purpoſe, and two engagements followed; in the firſt of which the advantage was doubtful; in the ſecond, the victory declared for Caſſius, and rendered him maſter of the coaſt. Holding his enemy therefore blocked up by ſea, he continued to preſs upon the town from the land, and, by the fifth of June, had reduced the beſieged to great diſtreſs; but while he ſeemed to rely entirely on the effects of this

[c] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

circumſtance [7], he carried on a correſpondence with the garriſon, and, on a day concerted with the officer on duty, was admitted into the place.

Dolabella, finding that the town was delivered up, choſe to fall by the ſword of one of his own men, of whom he requeſted the favour to ſave him, by this laſt act of duty, from falling into the hands of his enemies. The troops who had ſerved under him acknowledged the authority of his rival, and took the oath of fidelity uſual in ranging themſelves under a new general. Caſſius ſeized what money he found in the public treaſury, or in the temples at Laodicæa, laid the citizens under a heavy contribution, and put ſome of thoſe who had been moſt forward in ſerving his enemy to death [8].

Such was known, ſome time before the battle of Mutina, to be the event of affairs in Aſia; and the fortunes of Marcus Brutus and Caſſius, they being ſuppoſed to have twenty legions under their command, with all the reſources of the Eaſtern Empire, were ſtill in a thriving condition, when Octavius, ſoon after his nomination to the office of Conſul, under pretence of urging the war againſt Antony and Lepidus, had taken his departure from Rome, leaving his colleague Pedius in the adminiſtration of the city. To him he had given inſtructions to obtain, as of his own accord, the revocation of the acts by which Antony and Lepidus had been declared public enemies. He incited the army, at the ſame time, to demand a reconciliation of parties, and adminiſtered an oath to them, in which they ſwore not to draw their ſwords againſt any of the troops who had ever ſerved under Cæſar. As Pedius made no mention of his colleague in making his motion in favour of Antony and Lepidus, the Senate, not knowing how far it might be agreeable to Octavius,

[7] Cic. ad. Famil. lib. xii. ep. 13.

[8] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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referred the whole matter to himſelf; and, upon his having ſignified his approbation, proceeded to revoke their former decree of attainder [9]. By theſe means Octavius, without appearing himſelf as the author of this change, transferred the imputation of treaſon from Antony and Lepidus to Brutus and Caſſius, with their adherents in the late conſpiracy againſt the life of Cæſar.

As ſoon as the ſtate of parties was thus transformed, Octavius congratulated the Senate on the wiſdom of their meaſures, and from thenceforward treated with Antony and Lepidus as friends, correſponded with them on the ſubject of the commonwealth, and invited them, without loſs of time, to return into Italy.

Under pretence of this revolution in the government, Plancus withdrew his forces from the army of Decimus Brutus, and eſpouſed the cauſe, which the republic itſelf, under the authority of the Conſuls, appeared to avow. Pollio likewiſe followed this example.

In conſequence of theſe ſeparations, Decimus Brutus was left ſingly to withſtand the force of ſo many enemies who were united, and now ſupported againſt him with the authority of the State itſelf. He ſtill had ten legions, of which the four with which he had defended the city of Mutina during the preceding winter, were not yet recovered from the ſufferings of that ſervice. With the other ſix, being raw and undiſciplined troops, he did not think himſelf in condition to continue the war againſt ſo many enemies; and he determined therefore to withdraw by Illyricum into Macedonia, and to join himſelf with the forces which were raiſed for the republic in that province. But in the execution of this deſign he found, that in civil wars armies are not eaſily retained on the loſing ſide, and had occaſion to obſerve, that they are never hearty in behalf of civil inſtitutions againſt a profeſſed intention to eſtabliſh military govern-

[9] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 44.

ment. On pretence of the hardſhips of the propoſed march, he was deſerted firſt by the new levies, and afterwards by the veterans, with all the irregulars who, except a few Gauliſh horſe, went over with their colours to the enemy. Of thoſe who remained, he, under the deepeſt impreſſions of deſpair, allowed as many as choſe it to depart; and with only three hundred horſemen who adhered to him, ſet out for the Rhine, intending to make his intended retreat through Germany. But, in proportion as difficulties multiplied on his way, the little troop which attended him gradually diminiſhed; and being reduced to ten, he imagined that, with ſo few in his company, he might even paſs through Italy undiſcovered. He accordingly diſguiſed himſelf, and returned to Aquileia; but being there ſeized, though unknown, as a ſuſpicious perſon, and being conducted to an officer of the diſtrict who knew him, he was by the orders of Antony put to death [10].

Thus, while all the military powers of the Eaſt were aſſembled under Marcus Brutus and Caſſius, with a profeſſed deſign to reſtore the republic, thoſe of the Weſt were equally united for a contrary purpoſe. Antony and Lepidus having paſſed the Alps, deſcended the Po, and advanced towards Mutina. Octavius being already in that neighbourhood with his army, they met, with five legions of each ſide, on the oppoſite banks of the Lavinus, not far from the ſcene of their late hoſtile operations againſt each other. The leaders agreed to hold a conference in a ſmall iſland formed by the ſeparation and reunion of two branches of the river. To the end that they might have equal acceſs to this iſland, bridges were laid on the diviſions of the Lavinus by which the iſland was formed. The armies drew up on the oppoſite banks; and as the recent animoſities of Antony and Octavius ſtill left ſome remains of diſtruſt between them, Lepidus firſt

[10] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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entered alone into the place that was intended for their conference; and having ſeen that no ſnares were laid by either party, he made the ſignal agreed on, and was joined by the other two without any attendants.

Octavius now met with Antony in a character more reſpectable than that in which he had formerly appeared to him, and, with the dignity of the Roman Conſul in office, had the place of honour aſſigned to him. They continued their conference during this and the two following days [11]; and at the expiration of this time made known to their armies, that they had agreed on the following articles: That Octavius, in order to diveſt himſelf of every legal advantage over his aſſociates, ſhould reſign the Conſulate; that the three military leaders, then upon an equal footing, ſhould hold or ſhare among them, during five years, the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs in the empire; that they ſhould name all the officers of ſtate, magiſtrates, and governors of provinces; that Octavius ſhould have the excluſive command in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus in Spain, and Antony in Gaul; that Lepidus ſhould be ſubſtituted for Decimus Brutus in the ſucceſſion to the Conſulate for the following year, and ſhould have the adminiſtration at Rome, while Octavius and Antony purſued the war againſt Brutus and Caſſius in the Eaſt; that the army, at the end of the war, ſhould have ſettlements aſſigned to them in the richeſt diſtricts and beſt ſituations of Italy. Among the laſt were ſpecified Capua, Rhegium, Venuſia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibona.

To ratify this agreement, the daughter of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, by Clodius her former huſband, was betrothed to Octavius. He was ſaid to have already made a different choice, and conſequently to have had no intention to fulfil this part of the treaty [12]; but the

[11] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. 4.

[12] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 54, 55, 56.

paſſions,

paſſions, as well as the profeſſions, of this young man, were already ſufficiently ſubſervient to his intereſt [13].

While the army was amuſed by the publication of theſe ſeveral articles, the circumſtances which chiefly diſtinguiſhed this famous coalition, was the ſecret reſolution, then taken, to extinguiſh at once all future oppoſition to the Cæſarian party, by maſſacring all their private and public enemies. They drew up a liſt, of which the numbers are variouſly reported, comprehending all thoſe who had given them private or public offence, and in which they mutually ſacrificed their reſpective friends to each other's reſentment. Antony ſacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæſar to the reſentment of Octavius; who, in his turn, ſacrificed to that of Antony, Cicero, with Thoranius, his own guardian, and his father's colleague in the office of Conſul [14]. Lepidus gave up his own brother L. Paulus; and all of them agreed to join with theſe private enemies every perſon ſuppoſed to be attached to the republican government, amounting in all to three hundred Senators and two thouſand of the Equeſtrian order, beſides many perſons of inferior note, whoſe names they deferred entering in the liſt until their arrival at Rome. They meant, as ſoon as they ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the capital, to publiſh the whole liſt for the direction of thoſe who were to be employed in the execution of the maſſacre. But as there were a few whoſe eſcape they were particularly anxious to prevent, they agreed that the murders ſhould begin, without any warning, by the death of twelve or ſeventeen of their moſt conſiderable enemies, and among theſe by the death of Marcus Tullius Cicero [15]. They ratified the whole by mutual oaths; and having publiſhed all the articles, except that which related to the maſſacre; the plan of reconciliation between the leaders was received by the armies with ſhouts of applauſe, and was ſuppoſed to be the

[13] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvi. c. 54, 55, 56.
[14] Sueton. in Octav. c. 27.
[15] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

beginning

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beginning of a period in which military men were to reſt from their labours, and to enjoy undiſturbed the moſt ample reward of their ſervices.

This celebrated cabal, known by the name of the Second Triumvirate, having thus planned the diviſion or joint adminiſtration of an empire which each of them hoped in time to engroſs for himſelf, they proceeded to Rome with an aſpect which, to thoſe who compoſed the civil eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, was more terrible than that of any faction which had been hitherto formed for its deſtruction.

In former times, individuals roſe to the head of parties or factions, and brought armies to their ſtandard by the natural aſcendant of ſuperior abilities; and either diſdained the advantages of uſurped dominion, or knew how to employ their powers in exertions not unworthy of human reaſon. But in this inſtance, perſons obſcure, or only known by their profligacy, were followed by armies who conceived the deſign of enſlaving their country. The ſpirit of adventure pervaded the meaneſt rank of the legions, and every ſoldier graſped at the fruits that were to be reaped in ſubduing the commonwealth. If no perſon had offered to put himſelf at their head, they themſelves would have raiſed up a leader whom they might follow in ſeizing the ſpoils of their fellow citizens.

Lepidus, noted for his want of capacity, being in the rank of Prætor when Cæſar took poſſeſſion of Rome, and being the only Roman officer of State who was willing to proſtitute the dignity of his ſtation, by abetting the violence which was now done to the conſtitution, was entruſted with power, and the command of an army, merely becauſe he brought the name and authority of a magiſtrate to the ſide of the uſurpation. The uſe of his name had been likewiſe convenient to Antony in the late junction or coalition of their armies; and was now neceſſary or convenient to both the other

parties

parties in this famous aſſociation, as he held a kind of balance between them, and was to witneſs tranſactions in which neither was willing to truſt the other.

Antony, poſſeſſed of parts which were known chiefly by the profligate uſe which he made of them, ſeeking to repair by rapine a patrimony which he had waſted in debauch; and ſometimes ſtrenuous when preſſed by neceſſity, yet ever relapſing in every moment of eaſe or relaxation into the vileſt debauchery or diſſipation.

Octavius, yet a boy, only known by acts of perfidy and cunning above his years; equally indifferent to friendſhip or enmity, apparently defective in perſonal courage, but followed by the remains of Cæſar's army, as having a common cauſe with themſelves in ſecuring the advantages which they ſeverally claimed by virtue of his authority. He was now about the twentieth year of his age, had been already two years at the head of a faction, veering in his profeſſions and in his conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time reconciled with the authors of Cæſar's death, and courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen for the preſervation of the commonwealth: at another time, courting the remnant of his late uncle's army, by affecting concern for their intereſts, and a ſolicitude for the ſecurity of the grants they had obtained from Cæſar: at variance with Antony on the ſcore of perſonal inſults and incompatible pretenſions, even charged with deſigns on his life; but reconciled to him, in appearance, from conſiderations of intereſt or preſent conveniency. He had already, in the tranſactions of ſo ſhort a life, given indications of all the vileſt qualities incident to human nature, perfidy, cowardice, and cruelty; but with an ability or cunning which, if ſuffered to continue its operations, was likely to prevail in the conteſt for ſuperiority with his preſent rivals in the empire.

Such was the received deſcription of perſons who had now parcelled among themſelves the government of the world, and whoſe

vices

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vices were exaggerated by the fears of thoſe who were likely to ſuffer by the effects of their power. Under the dominion of ſuch a junto, if any one were left to regret the loſs of public liberty, or to feel the ſtate of degradation into which citizens were fallen; if any one could look forward from the terrors of a preſent tyranny to the proſpect of future evils; to them ſurely a ſcene of expectation was opening, the moſt gloomy that ever had preſented itſelf to mankind; perſons, apparently incapable of any noble or generous purpoſe, coveting power as a licence to crimes, ſupported by bands of unprincipled villains, were now ready to ſeize and to diſtribute, in lots among themſelves, all the dignities of the ſtate, and all the patrimony of its members.

In human affairs however, the proſpect, whether good or bad in extreme, is ſeldom verified by the end; and human nature, when ſeemingly driving to the wildeſt exceſs, after a ſeries of events and ſtruggles, ſettles at laſt in ſome ſort of mediocrity, beyond which it never is puſhed but by occaſional ſtarts and ſallies. The firſt entry of this Triumvirate on the ſcene of their government, indeed, was ſuch as could ſcarcely be ſupported in the ſequel of any tyranny or uſurpation whatever.

The Triumvirs being on their way to Rome, their orders for the immediate execution of ſeventeen of the principal Senators had been received before their arrival, and ſeveral were accordingly ſurpriſed and murdered in their houſes, or in the ſtreets. The firſt alarm appearing the more terrible, as the occaſion of theſe murders was unknown, ſtruck all orders of men with a general amazement and terror. The ſtreets were preſently deſerted, and huſhed in ſilence, except where armed parties ſkulked in ſearch of their prey, or by the cries which they raiſed, gave mutual intimation of the diſcoveries they made. Perſons who found themſelves purſued, attempted to ſet the city on fire, in order to facilitate their own eſcape. Pedius,

the Conſul, continued all night in the ſtreets, endeavouring to prevent the calamity of a general fire. In order to quiet the minds of thoſe who were not aimed at in this execution, he publiſhed the names of the ſeventeen, with aſſurances that the executions were not to proceed any farther.[14] It has been ſuppoſed, that the deſign was no farther communicated to this magiſtrate, and that he would have oppoſed the extremes to which it was carried; but, on the following night, he died of the fatigue he had incurred on this occaſion, and the public aſſurances he had given were attended with no effect.

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The Triumvirs marched ſeparately towards the city, and made their entry on three ſeveral days. As they arrived in ſucceſſion, they occupied every quarter with guards and attendants, and filled every public place with armed men, and with military ſtandards and enſigns. In order to ratify the powers they had deviſed for themſelves, they put the articles of their agreement into the hands of the Tribune Publius Titius, with inſtructions, that they ſhould be propoſed and enacted in the public aſſembly of the Roman People; and put in the form of a legal commiſſion, or warrant, for the government they had uſurped. By the act which paſſed on this occaſion, the ſupreme power or ſovereignty of the republic, during five years, without any reſerve or limitation, was conferred on Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and a ſolemn thankſgiving being ordered for the events already paſſed, which led to this termination, the citizens in general, under the deepeſt impreſſions of terror and ſorrow, were obliged to aſſume appearances of ſatisfaction and joy.

As the firſt act of this government, two liſts or proſcriptions were delivered to the proper officers of the army, and poſted in different parts of the city; one a liſt of Senators, the other a liſt of perſons of inferior rank, on whom the troops were directed to perform im-

[14] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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mediate execution. In conſequence of theſe orders, all the ſtreets, temples, and private houſes, inſtantly became ſcenes of blood [15]. At the ſame time, there appeared on the part of the Triumvirs a manifeſto, in which, having ſtated the ingratitude of many whom Cæſar had ſpared, of many whom he had promoted to high office, and whom he had even deſtined to inherit his fortunes, and who, nevertheleſs, conſpired againſt his life, they alleged the neceſſity they were under of preventing the deſigns of their enemies, and of extirpating a dangerous faction, whom no benefits could bind, and whom no conſiderations, ſacred or profane, could reſtrain. "Under the in-
" fluence of this faction," they ſaid, "the perpetrators of a horrid
" murder, inſtead of being called to an account, are intruſted with
" the command of provinces, and furniſhed with reſources of men
" and money to ſupport them againſt the efforts of public juſtice,
" and againſt the indignation of the Roman People. Some of theſe
" murderers," they continued, "we have already chaſtiſed; others,
" being at the head of powerful armies, threaten to fruſtrate the ef-
" fects of our juſt reſentment. Having ſuch a conflict to maintain
" in the provinces, it would be abſurd to leave an enemy in poſſeſ-
" ſion of the city, and ready to take advantage of any unfavourable
" accident that may befal us in defence of the commonwealth. For
" this reaſon, we have determined to cut off every perſon who is
" likely to abet their deſigns at Rome, and to make this deſperate
" faction feel the effects of that war which they were ſo ready to
" declare againſt us and our friends.

" We mean no harm to the innocent, and ſhall moleſt no citizen,
" in order to ſeize his property. We ſhall not inſiſt on deſtroying
" even all thoſe whom we know to be our enemies; but the moſt
" guilty, it is the intereſt of the Roman People, as well as ours, to have

[15] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 46. Appian. lib. iv.

" removed,

" removed, that the republic may no longer be torn and agitated by " the quarrels of parties who cannot be reconciled.

" Some atonement is likewiſe due to the army inſulted by the " late decrees, in which they were declared enemies to the common- " wealth.

" We might," they continued, " have ſurpriſed and taken all our " enemies without any warning, or explanation of our conduct; but " we choſe to make an open declaration of our purpoſe, that the in- " nocent may not, by miſtake, be involved with the guilty, nor even " be unneceſſarily alarmed." They concluded this fatal proclamation, with a prohibition to conceal, reſcue, or protect any perſon whoſe name was proſcribed; and they declared, that whoever acted in oppoſition to this order, ſhould be conſidered as one of the number, and involved in the ſame ruin. They declared, that whoever produced the head of a perſon proſcribed, if a free man, he ſhould receive twenty-five thouſand Attic drachms or denarii, and if a ſlave, ſhould have his liberty, with ten thouſand of the ſame money; and that every ſlave killing his maſter, in execution of this prſcription ſhould have his freedom, and be put on the rolls of the People in the place of the perſon he had ſlain.

At the time that this proclamation and the preceding liſts were publiſhed, armed parties had already ſeized on the gates of the city, and were prepared to intercept all who attempted to eſcape. Others began to ranſack the houſes, and took their way to the villas and gardens in the ſuburbs, where it was likely that any of the proſcribed had retired. By the diſpoſition they made, the execution began in many places at once, and thoſe who knew or ſuſpected their own deſtination, like the inhabitants of a city taken by ſtorm, were on every ſide ſurrounded by enemies, from whom they were to receive no quarter. To many, it is obſerved by hiſtorians, that their own neareſt relations were objects of terror, no leſs than the mercenary

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hands that were armed againſt them. The huſband and the father did not think himſelf ſecure in his concealment, when he ſuppoſed it to be known to his wife or to his children. The ſlaves and freedmen of a family, were become its moſt terrible enemies. The debtor had an intereſt in circumventing his creditor, and neighbours in the country mutually dreaded each other as informers and ſpies. The money which the maſter of a family was ſuppoſed to have in his houſe, was conſidered as an additional reward to the treachery of his domeſtics. The firſt citizens of Rome were proſtrate at the feet of their own ſlaves, imploring protection and mercy, or periſhed in the wells or common ſewers, where they attempted to conceal themſelves.

Perſons having any private grudge or ſecret malice, took this opportunity to accompliſh their ends. Even they who were inclined to protect or conceal the unhappy, were terrified with the proſpect of being involved in their ruin. Many, who themſelves, contrary to expectation, were not in the liſt of the proſcribed, enjoyed their own ſafety, in perfect indifference to the diſtreſs of their neighbours; or, that they might diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for the prevailing cauſe, joined the executioners, aſſiſted in the ſlaughter, or plundered the houſes of the ſlain.

There were killed, in the beginning of this maſſacre, Salvius, one of the Tribunes of the People, together with Minucius and Annalis, both in the office of Prætors. Silicius Coronas, a perſon already mentioned, who being one of the Judges at the citation of Marcus Brutus and Caius Caſſius for the murder of Julius Cæſar, had ventured, in the preſence of Octavius, to hold up into view the ballot by which he acquitted them, and who, although at that time in appearance overlooked, now periſhed among the proſcribed.

Many tragic particulars, in theſe narrations, ſeem to be copied from former examples of what happened under Marius Cinna and Sylla, of perſons

perſons betrayed by their ſervants, their confidents, and neareſt relations, and with a treachery and cruelty, which ſeemed to increaſe with the corruptions of the age; but yet not without inſtances of heroic fidelity and generous courage, of which human nature itſelf ever appears to be capable, even in the moſt degenerate times.

The ſlave of one of the proſcribed, ſeeing ſoldiers come towards the place where his maſter lay concealed, took the diſguiſe of his clothes, and preſented himſelf to be killed in his ſtead. Another ſlave agreed to perſonate his maſter, and being carried in his litter, was killed, while the maſter himſelf, acting as one of the bearers of the litter, eſcaped. Another having been formerly branded by his maſter for ſome offence, was eaſily ſuſpected of a deſire to ſeize this opportunity of being revenged; bnt he choſe the oppoſite part. While his maſter fled, he put himſelf in the way to ſtop his purſuers, produced a head, which he had ſevered from a dead body in the ſtreets, and paſſing it for that of his maſter, procured him the means of eſcape.

The ſon of Hoſidius Geta, ſaved his father by giving out that he was already killed, and by actually performing a funeral in his name. The ſon of Quintus Cicero, though, in the former part of his life, often on bad terms with his father and with his uncle, and often undutiful to both, ended his days in an act of magnanimity and filial affection; perſevering in the concealment of his father, notwithſtanding that the torture was applied to force a diſcovery, until the father, who was within hearing of what was in agitation, burſt from his concealment, and was ſlain, together with his ſon [16].

Quintus Cicero, who periſhed in this manner, was for ſome time in concealment with his brother Marcus, having been in the country, or having eſcaped from the city on the firſt alarm of theſe murders.

[16] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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The brothers are mentioned as being at Tuſculum together, and as ſetting out from thence for Aſtura, another of Cicero's villas on the coaſt, intending to embark for Greece; but as Quintus was intirely unprovided for the voyage, and his brother unable to ſupply him, they parted on the road in agonies of grief. In a few days after this parting, Quintus having put himſelf under the protection of his own ſon, received, though in vain, that ſtriking proof of his filial affection and fidelity, which has juſt been mentioned.

Marcus Cicero having got ſafe to Aſtura, embarked, and with a fair wind arrived at Circeii. When the veſſel was again about to ſet ſail, his mind wavered, he flattered himſelf that matters might yet take a more favourable turn; he landed, and travelled about twelve miles on his way to Rome [17]: but his reſolution again failed him, and he once more returned towards the ſea. Being arrived on the coaſt, he ſtill heſitated, remained on ſhore, and paſſed the night in agonies of ſorrow, which were interrupted only by momentary ſtarts of indignation and rage. Under theſe emotions, he ſometimes ſolaced himſelf with a proſpect of returning to Rome in diſguiſe, of killing himſelf in the preſence of Octavius, and of ſtaining the perſon of that young traitor with the blood of a man, whom he had ſo ungratefully and ſo vilely betrayed. Even this appeared to his frantic imagination ſome degree of revenge; but the fear of being diſcovered before he could execute his purpoſe, the proſpect of the tortures and indignities he was likely to ſuffer, deterred him from this deſign; and, being unable to take any reſolution whatever, he committed himſelf to his attendants, was carried on board of a veſſel, and ſteered for Capua [18]. Near to this place, having another villa on the ſhore, he was again landed, and being fatigued with the motion of the ſea, went to reſt; but his ſervants, according to the ſuperſti-

[17] Plut. in Cicerone. [18] Ibid.

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tion of the times, being disturbed with prodigies and unfavourable presages, or rather being sensible of their master's danger, after a little repose awaked him from his sleep, forced him into his litter, and hastened again to embark. Soon after they were gone, Popilius Lænas, a Tribune of the legions, and Herennius, a Centurion, with a party who had been for some days in search of this prey, arrived at the villa. Popilius had received particular obligations from Cicero, having been defended by him when tried upon a criminal accusation; but these were times, in which bad men could make a merit of ingratitude to their former benefactors, when it served to ingratiate them with those in power. This officer, with his party, finding the gates of the court and the passages of the villa shut, burst them open; but missing the person they sought for, and suspecting that he must have taken his flight again to the sea, they pursued through an avenue that led to the shore, and came in sight of Cicero's litter, before he had left the walks of his own garden.

On the appearance of a military party, Cicero perceived the end of his labours, ordered the bearers of his litter to halt; and having been hitherto, while there were any hopes of escape, distressed chiefly by the perplexity and indecision of his own mind, he became, as soon as his fate appeared to be certain, determined and calm. In this situation, he was observed to stroke his chin with his left hand, a gesture for which he was remarked in his moments of thoughtfulness, and when least disturbed. Upon the approach of the party, he put forth his head from the litter, and fixed his eyes upon the Tribune with great composure. The countenance of a man so well known to every Roman, now worn out with fatigue and dejection, and disfigured by neglect of the usual attention to his person, made a moving spectacle even to those who came to assist in his murder. They turned away, while the assassin performed his office, and severed the head from his body.

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Thus periſhed Marcus Tullius Cicero, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. Although his character may be known from the part which he bore in ſeveral tranſactions, of which the accounts are ſcattered in different parts of this hiſtory, yet it is difficult to cloſe the ſcene of his life, without ſome recollection of the circumſtances which were peculiar to ſo diſtinguiſhed a perſonage. He appears to have been the laſt of the Romans, who roſe to the higheſt offices of ſtate by the force of his perſonal character, and by the fair arts of a republican candidate for public honours. None of his anceſtors having enjoyed any conſiderable preferments, he was upon this account conſidered as a new man, and with reluctance admitted by the nobility to a participation of honours. It was however impoſſible to prevent his advancement, ſo long as preferments were diſtributed according to the civil and political forms of the republic, which gave ſo large a ſcope to the induſtry, abilities, and genius of ſuch men. Under thoſe forms, all the virtues of a citizen were allowed to have ſome effect, and all the variety of uſeful qualifications were ſuppoſed to be united in forming a title to the confidence of the public; the qualifications of a warrior were united with thoſe of a ſtateſman, and even the talents of a lawyer and barriſter, with thoſe of a Senator and Counſellor of State. The law required [19], that the ſame perſon ſhould be a warrior and ſtateſman, and it was at leaſt expedient or cuſtomary, that he ſhould be alſo a barriſter, in order to ſecure the public favour, and to ſupport his conſideration with the People.

Cicero was by no means the firſt perſon at Rome, who with peculiar attention cultivated the talents of a pleader, and applied himſelf with ardour to literary ſtudies. He is nevertheleſs univerſally acknowledged, by his proficiency in theſe ſtudies, to have greatly excelled all thoſe who went before him, ſo much, as to have attained

[19] Ten or fifteen years military ſervice was required, as a qualification for the higher offices of ſtate. Vid. Polyb. ubi ſupra.

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the higheſt preferments in the commonwealth, without having quitted the gown, and to have made his firſt campaign in the capacity of Roman Proconſul, and above ten years after he had already exerciſed the ſupreme executive power in the ſtate.

To the novelty of this circumſtance, as well as to the novelty of his family-name in the liſt of officers of ſtate, was owing ſome part of that obloquy which his enemies employed againſt him; and it may be admitted, that for a Roman he was too much a mere man of the robe, and that he poſſibly may have been leſs a ſtateſman and a warrior, for having been ſo much a man of letters, and ſo accompliſhed a pleader.

Cicero, whether we ſuppoſe him to have been governed by original vanity, or by a habit of conſidering the world as a theatre for the diſplay of his talents, and the acquiſition of fame, more than as a ſcene of real affairs, in which objects of ſerious conſequence to mankind were to be treated, was certainly too fond of applauſe, courted it as a principal object even in the faireſt tranſactions of his life, and was too much dependant on the opinion of other men to poſſeſs himſelf ſufficiently amidſt the difficulties which occur in the very arduous ſituation which fell to his lot. Though diſpoſed, in the midſt of a very corrupt age, to merit commendation by honeſt means, and by the ſupport of good government, he could not endure reproach or cenſure, even from thoſe whoſe diſapprobation was a preſumption of innocence and of merit; and he felt the unpopularity of his actions, even where he thought his conduct the moſt meritorious, with a degree of mortification which greatly diſtracted his mind, and ſhook his reſolution. Being, towards the end of his life, by the almoſt total extirpation of the more reſpectable citizens and members of the Senate who had laboured with him for the preſervation of the commonwealth, left in a ſituation which required the abilities of a great warrior, as well as thoſe of the ableſt ſtateſman, and in which,

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even ſuch abilities could not have ſtemmed the torrent which burſt forth to overwhelm the republic, it is not ſurpriſing that he failed in the attempt.

Antony, at the ſame time that he gave orders for the death of Cicero, gave directions that not only his head, but his right hand likewiſe, with which he had written ſo many ſevere invectives againſt himſelf, ſhould be cut off[20], and brought to him as an evidence of the execution.

In the courſe of theſe murders, the heads of the ſlain were uſually preſented to the Triumvirs, and by their orders ſet up in conſpicuous places, while the bodies were caſt into the river, or ſuffered to be expoſed in the ſtreets. Antony having more reſentments to gratify than either of his colleagues, had the heads of his enemies brought to him in great numbers, even as he lay on his couch at his meals. That of Cicero was received by him with the joy of victory; he gazed upon it with ſingular pleaſure, and ordered it, together with the hand, to be expoſed on the roſtrum from which this reſpectable citizen had ſo often declaimed, and where theſe mangled parts of his body were now expoſed to the view of a multitude, that uſed to crowd to his audience[21]. Fulvia too had her enemies on this occaſion, and received the bloody tokens of their execution with a ſavage avidity and pleaſure, which, to thoſe who judge of propriety from modern cuſtoms, or who form their opinions of the ſex from the manners of modern times, will ſcarcely appear to be credible. When the head of Cicero, in particular, was brought to her toilet, with a peculiar and ſpiteful alluſion to the eloquence, by which ſhe herſelf, as well as her preſent and former huſbands, had been galled, ſhe is ſaid to have forced open the jaw, and to have pricked and tore the tongue with the point of a bodkin, which ſhe took from her hair.

[20] Plut. in Cicerone.

[21] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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In

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In this horrid ſcene of revenge and cruelty, rapacity too had its ſhare, many perſons were proſcribed, merely that their eſtates might be brought into the coffers of the Triumvirs; and many perſons were threatened, to induce them to ranſom [22] their lives with money. The liſt received frequent additions, and underwent many alterations, ſome names being ſcratched out, and others inſerted, a circumſtance, by which perſons of any conſiderable property, as well as thoſe who were obnoxious to any of the perſons in power, were kept in the moſt anxious ſtate of ſuſpence and uncertainty. Many who were ſpared by the public uſurpers of government, fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of their private enemies, or to the avarice of thoſe who wiſhed to poſſeſs themſelves of their property [23]; and the names of many perſons who had been thus ſlain, without any public authority, were afterwards inſerted in the liſt of the proſcribed, in order to juſtify the murder.

The troops were ſenſible of their own importance on this occaſion, and ſet no bounds to their pretenſions. They ſolicited grants of the houſes of perſons reputed to be of the oppoſite party; or, being the only buyers at the frequent ſales which were made of forfeited eſtates, obtained the poſſeſſion of them by a kind of fictitious purchaſe. Not ſatisfied with the price which was paid them for the blood of the proſcribed, or with the extravagant gratuities which they frequently received, they were, under various pretences, haſtening to ſeize every ſubject that tempted their avarice. They intruded themſelves into every family, and laid claim to every inheritance; they plundered at diſcretion the houſes of the rich, or murdered indiſcriminately thoſe who offended them, or who ſtood in their way to the poſſeſſion of wealth; they encouraged, by their example, fugitive ſlaves, and diſorderly perſons of every deſcription,

[22] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii.

[23] Ibid. c. 12. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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who, forming themſelves into bands in the diſguiſe of ſoldiers, engaged in the ſame practices, and perpetrated the ſame crimes.

The Triumvirs, whoſe principal object it was to ſecure the government, though noways intereſted in theſe extreme diſorders, which far exceeded what they originally projected, not daring to reſtrain the military violence, leſt it ſhould recoil on themſelves, leſt for ſome time the lives, as well as the properties of the People, entirely at the mercy of the troops; and citizens, who were reputed to have any effects in reſerve, were fain to adopt ſome ſoldier as a ſon, in order to obtain his protection.

Such are the particulars which are recorded of this famous tranſaction, which, however monſtrous in thoſe who gave riſe to it, far exceeded the bounds of their original deſign. When the evil had in ſome meaſure ſpent its force, its authors were willing to divert the attention of the public, or to efface the melancholy impreſſions which remained. For this purpoſe, Lepidus and Plancus being about to enter on the office of Conſul for the following year, on ſome ſlight pretence of a victory gained by the army in Gaul, entered the city in proceſſion; but ſuſpecting that the People were more inclinable to dejection than triumph, they directed the public, by a proclamation, to give on that day the demonſtrations of joy which generally made part in the reception that was given to victorious generals [24].

The ſoldiers indeed were not wanting, as uſual, in the petulant ſarcaſms and familiar abuſe, in which they availed themſelves of their preſent conſequence: they ſung, in their proceſſion, ſcurrilous ballads, alluding to examples of parricide as well as murder committed by their chiefs in the late proſcription; by Lepidus and Plancus, that of their own brothers; by Antony and Octavius, that

[24] Appian. ut ſupra.

of

of their neareſt relations and friends [25]. But at the diſpoſal of ſuch maſters as theſe, every citizen who was likely to frown on their crimes, every perſon whoſe countenance gave ſigns of dejection or ſorrow, every poſſeſſor of land, and every father of a family, had reaſon to tremble for their perſons, their poſſeſſions, and the ſafety of their children.

Such was the aſpect of affairs in Italy; but there were ſtill ſome rays of hope, which ſhone from a diſtance. Not only Brutus and Caſſius, in their provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but Cornificius in Africa, and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, ſtill held up the ſtandard of the republic, and offered places of refuge to its friends. Sextus Pompeius ſtationed ſhips on the coaſt to receive them, and publiſhed rewards for the reſcue or protection of his father's party, and of thoſe unfortunate remains of the commonwealth [26]. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, though abandoned to deſtruction, was ſuffered to eſcape by the ſoldiers of the army, from a reſpect to himſelf or to their general. Lucius Cæſar was protected by his ſiſter, the mother of Antony. Meſſala eſcaped to Brutus. Many others, whoſe names only are known, took refuge with one or other of the leaders, who were in condition to contend for the republic, or for the ſovereignty of the empire.

U. C. 711. L. M. Plancus, M. Æ. Lepidus.

Lepidus and Plancus being entered on the office of Conſul, had in charge from the Triumvirs, as the firſt object of their magiſtracy, the raiſing of money to ſupply the further exigencies of the war. Great ſums had been expected to ariſe from the ſale of the eſtates of the proſcribed; but the purchaſe of ſuch eſtates was juſtly reckoned invidious among a certain claſs of the People, who declined being partakers in the ſpoils of innocent and reſpectable citizens; and it was

[25] De Germanis non de Gallis triumphant Conſules.

[26] Appian. ut ſupra. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 12.

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dangerous for an ordinary citizen to appear to be rich, or in condition to buy: insomuch, that they who murdered the owner, were almost the only buyers of estates that were exposed to public sale; and the money which arose from these sales, fell greatly short of the expectations which had been entertained from them.

It was computed, that two hundred millions, Roman money, were yet wanting to supply the expence of the war [27]. In order to make up this deficiency, the male sex chiefly having hitherto suffered by the public exactions, a contribution was levied from such women related to the opposite party as were supposed to be rich. At the same time persons of every description, whose estates exceeded one hundred thousand [28] Roman money, were commanded to give an account of their effects, that they might pay a tax equal to a fiftieth of their stock, and one year's income of their ordinary revenue [29].

To enforce these exactions, hitherto unusual in Italy, much violence was necessary. The rents of houses in the city, and the produce of lands in the country were sequestrated, leaving only one half for the subsistence of the owners. In this manner, great sums of money were levied from the peaceable part of the commonwealth; but as the Triumvirs had incurred a very heavy debt in their military operations, and in bounties to secure the troops in their interest, and had in prospect an arduous and expensive war against Brutus and Cassius, armed with the forces, and supported by the treasures of the East, the first sums which came in were far from being sufficient for their purpose. Additional exactions were made, under the denomination of fines or forfeitures, from those who were alleged to have given in a false state of their effects.

In imitation of the late sanguinary proscriptions, the Consuls published lists of all who had incurred this penalty, and ordered their ef-

[27] Appian. ut supra. [28] About eight thousand pounds. [29] Appian. ut supra.

fects

fects accordingly to be ſeized. The inhabitants of the towns were obliged to find ſubſiſtence for the troops that were quartered on them, and the country was pillaged, under pretence of a ſearch that was made for the effects of rebels. The pay of the ſoldiers accumulating in the hands of their leaders, was conſidered, together with the advantages which they expected at the end of the war, as a pledge of their attachment and perſeverance in the cauſe [30].

Although few men were now left in Italy, who could forget their own fears ſo far as to think of the commonwealth, or who could be ſuſpected of any deſign to reſtore the ancient government, yet this was made the ordinary ground of ſuſpicion againſt thoſe, whom the Triumvirs wiſhed to oppreſs; and the deſire to remove it, led all orders of men to affect a veneration for the memory of Cæſar, and to vie in their zeal to avenge his death. The anniverſary of this event was made a day of mourning. A ſhrine was erected on the place of his funeral, and was declared to be a public ſanctuary, and place of refuge even to criminals. The divine or monarchical honours which were thus paid to the memory of the dead, preſerved in the minds of the People that diſpoſition to endure a maſter which was thought favourable to the living uſurpers, and which the diviſion of power between them might have otherwiſe diminiſhed [31].

Agreeably to the model of Julius Cæſar's arrangements, preparatory to his intended expedition into Aſia, the Triumvirs, before the departure of Octavius and Antony on the ſervice to which they were deſtined, fixed the ſucceſſion to all the offices of ſtate for ſome years. They had under their command an army of forty legions, which they now ſeparated into two diviſions [32]. The one, under the direction of Antony, was aſſembled on the eaſtern coaſt to be in readineſs to cover Italy on that ſide, or to paſs into Macedonia, and to carry the

[30] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 14, 15.
[31] Ibid. lib. xliv. c. 18 & 19.
[32] Appian. ut ſupra.

war

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war againſt Brutus and Caſſius into that province. The other was deſtined to remain in Italy, in order to ſecure the head of the empire, and oppoſe any attempts of the oppoſite party by ſea from Sicily or Africa, which were ſtill in their poſſeſſion.

Sextus Pompeius, the laſt of the family of the great Pompey, in conſequence of the reſolutions paſſed in his favour ſoon after Cæſar's death, had ſet out from Spain as admiral of the Roman navy, and fixing his ſtation in Sicily, had a numerous fleet, and muſtered conſiderable land forces [33]. With theſe, in the war which immediately followed, he wiſhed to co-operate with the combined armies of the two Conſuls, Hirtius and Panſa; but was prevented by a doubt which aroſe, whether the veterans of Cæſar, who compoſed great part of that army, would act in concert with a ſon of Pompey [34]? Upon the coalition of Octavius with Lepidus and Antony, he again became an exile, but continued in poſſeſſion of Sicily, a province, which, by the preſent diviſion of the empire, was comprehended in the lot Octavius.

Cornificius, by commiſſion from the Roman Senate, ſtill held the province of Africa, and refuſed to ſurrender it to Sextus, an officer who had been ſent by Octavius, in conſequence of the ſame diſtribution, to take poſſeſſion of it in his name. The diſpute being likely to end in a war, the oppoſite parties applied to the neighbouring princes for aid; but the lieutenant of Octavius having his commiſſion from the ſupreme authority then eſtabliſhed at Rome, or being known to repreſent the triumphant party, was acknowledged by moſt of the African powers in alliance with the Romans. Being joined by their forces, he came to an action with his antagoniſt near Utica, and obtained a victory, in which Cornificius was killed. Lælius and Roſcius, two officers of rank in the vanquiſhed army, periſhed

[33] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 17.

[34] Cicer. Philip. xiii.

by

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by their own hands [35]. As many as could find ſhipping, eſcaped to Pompey in the iſland of Sicily.

Soon after this event, Octavius, being deſirous to diſlodge the remains of the republican party from an iſland of ſo much conſequence, ſent Salvidienus with a fleet towards the ſtraits of Meſſina, while he himſelf marched by land to Rhegium. A ſea fight ſoon after enſued, from which the fleets retired with equal loſs. Salvidienus put into the harbour of Balanus to refit; and Octavius, being arrived at Rhegium, was meditating a deſcent upon Sicily, when he received preſſing inſtances from Antony to join him at Brundiſium, that they might endeavour to repel the ſtorm which was gathering from the Eaſt, and which ſeemed to threaten their eſtabliſhments in Italy with the greateſt hazard [36].

Marcus Brutus, after fortune ſeemed to have declared for the republican party at Mutina, thinking himſelf at liberty to attend to the affairs of the Eaſt, and to ſupport Caſſius in his ſtruggle for the poſſeſſion of Syria, had paſſed with his army into Aſia, in order to cut off all ſupplies from Dolabella, and to avail himſelf of the reſources, for the pay and ſubſiſtence of the army, which were ſtill to be found in that opulent province. While he was employed in the execution of this deſign, the important events already mentioned took place in that quarter. Caſſius had prevailed in Syria, got intire poſſeſſion of the province, was acknowledged as general by all the armies which had been aſſembled by either party beyond the boundaries of Cilicia; and he was meditating an expedition into Egypt, to puniſh Cleopatra for the part ſhe had taken againſt him in his conteſt with Dolabella, and to raiſe a contribution in her country for the farther ſupport of the war.

[35] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 622, &c. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 21.

[36] Appian. ut ſupra.

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The victory obtained at Mutina, though by an army which till then was reputed on the ſide of the commonwealth, made a great change to its prejudice, giving an opportunity to its enemies to declare themſelves, and to unite their forces: inſomuch, that by the coalition of Octavius and Lepidus with Antony, all the remaining armies of the Weſt were joined, not only to ſubdue the capital, but to carry the war into Macedonia and Aſia, the laſt retreat of the republican intereſt.

Brutus being informed of theſe circumſtances, and of the late proſcriptions, ſent a meſſage to Caſſius, with preſſing inſtances to divert him from his project againſt Egypt, and to turn his forces to the reſcue of the commonwealth from the hands of tyrants, and to avenge the innocent blood which had been ſo copiouſly ſhed in Italy.

Upon theſe repreſentations, Caſſius, having left a legion to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Syria, marched to the weſtward, and in his way raiſed large contributions for the ſupport of the war. Among the other meaſures which he took for this purpoſe, he ſurprized Ariobarzanes in his palace, and obliged him to deliver up the money then in his treaſury. He pillaged the city of Tarſus; and, upon account of the ſupport which the inhabitants of that place had given to Dolabella, ſubjected them for the future to a heavy tribute [37].

About the middle of winter, Brutus and Caſſius, with their armies, joined at Smyrna. Theſe reſtorers of the republic had parted ſome months before at Pireus, one bound for Syria, the other for Macedonia; but more like exiles than Roman officers of ſtate, without any men, ſhipping, or money, and under great uncertainty of their ſucceſs, in obtaining poſſeſſion of the provinces on which they

[37] Appian. ut ſupra.

had

had their ſeveral pretenſions. Their affairs now bore a different aſpect; they had a numerous fleet, and a mighty land force, large ſums of money already amaſſed, with the reſources of a territory the moſt wealthy of any part in the Roman empire [38]. Brutus propoſed that they ſhould, without delay, tranſport their forces into Europe, and prevent the Triumvirs from getting any footing in Macedonia or Greece; but Caſſius contended, that they had yet enemies or allies of doubtful fidelity in Aſia, and that it would be imprudent to leave any ſuch behind them, or to forego the treaſure which they might yet command in that country, and which would enable them to reward and to encourage their armies.

Brutus determined by theſe conſiderations, accordingly marched into Lycia, while Caſſius proceeded to execute a project he had formed for the reduction of Rhodes. His fleet being on their way to turn the Capes of Aſia, in order to ſupport him in this deſign, the Rhodians, truſting to their ſuperior ſkill and reputation as mariners, aſſembled all the ſhips they could muſter, and, near to the harbour of Lindus, ventured to engage thoſe of Caſſius; but being inferior in number and weight of ſhips, they were defeated with conſiderable loſs. Caſſius beheld the engagement from a high land on the continent, and as ſoon as the ſhips could be again refitted [39], ordered the fleet to Loryma, a fortified harbour in the continent, over againſt the iſland of Rhodes; from thence he embarked his army. He himſelf, with eighty galleys, eſcorted the tranſports in their paſſage, landed on the iſland, and beſieged the capital both by ſea and by land.

The Rhodians having truſted intirely to the defence of their ſhipping, were unprovided of all things neceſſary to withſtand a ſiege. Caſſius by ſurpriſe, or by the treachery of a party within the

[38] Plut. in Bruto.

[39] Appian. ut ſupra.

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walls, ſoon became maſter of the place, laid it under a ſevere contribution; and having left an officer of the name of Varus to command in the iſland, he returned to the continent with a great acceſſion of reputation and wealth.

Brutus at the ſame time had forced the paſſes of the mountains leading into Lycia, and advancing to Xanthus, ſummoned the town to ſurrender. This place had acquired much fame by the obſtinate reſiſtance of its inhabitants, or by the deſperation they had ſhewn, when forced, on former occaſions, by Harpalus, the general of Cyrus, and by Alexander, in his way to the conqueſt of Perſia[49]. Upon the approach of Brutus, they razed their ſuburbs, and removed every building which might cover the advances of an enemy. The walls were ſurrounded by a ditch fifty feet deep; and this being the firſt impediment which Brutus had to encounter, he began the attack with a continual labour to fill it up, and to effect a paſſage for his engines to the foot of the rampart. Having accompliſhed this object, he proceeded to cover his workmen with galleries, and to erect the engines uſually employed in making a breach. He was oppoſed by the beſieged in repeated ſallies, in the laſt of which, his works were ſet on fire, and reduced to aſhes.

In the mean time, two thouſand men of the Roman army purſuing the party who had made this ſally, entered the city along with them, and not being properly ſupported, ſuffered the gates to be ſhut, and themſelves to be cut off from all relief. Being inſtantly ſurrounded by the inhabitants, numbers of them were killed, and the remainder forced into a temple, where they endeavoured to defend themſelves.

This circumſtance produced the moſt vigorous efforts on the part of the beſiegers, to force the walls, that they might reſcue their

[49] Appian. ut ſupra, lib. iv.

friends, or make a diverſion in their favour. They applied ſcaling-ladders to the battlements, and forcing engines to the gates; and having at laſt made their way into the town, that they might at once terrify the inhabitants, and give notice of approaching relief to their own party, they raiſed a mighty ſhout as they entered the ſtreets, and continued to urge their fury, in every direction, with fire and ſword. The inhabitants, unable to reſiſt this ſtorm, retired to their houſes, and there, determined to maintain their ancient fame, choſe rather to periſh by their own hands, than ſubmit to the enemy. The father of every family, beginning with the ſlaughter of his wife and his children, proceeded to kill himſelf.

While the people of Xanthus were employed in the execution of this purpoſe, Brutus hearing the cries of deſperation and of murder, ſuppoſed that his troops had refuſed to give quarter, and were killing the wretched inhabitants of the place, without diſtinction of ſex or age. In order to put the ſpeedieſt ſtop to ſo horrid a ſcene, his firſt thought was to bring off the troops, by ſounding a general retreat; but being informed that the people were periſhing, not by the cruelty of his army, but by their own deſperation, he ordered to be proclaimed a general freedom and protection to all the inhabitants; but ſo long as any conſiderable number of the citizens remained, the officers who came near them, even with an offer of quarter, were anſwered with threats, or with ſhowers of darts and of arrows, obliged to keep at a diſtance. The temples and public buildings were, with great difficulty, ſaved from fire; but none of the inhabitants could be reſcued, beſides a few women and ſlaves.

Brutus, greatly afflicted with this piteous cataſtrophé, marched with reluctance towards Patara, where the inhabitants were ſuppoſed to be infected with the ſame deſperate ſpirit; and, to prevent the neceſſity of ſuch fatal extremities, ſent a meſſage to prevail on the people to ſurrender, and to accept of his protection. The example

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of Xanthus appeared much too atrocious to be followed, and they ſubmitted to pay the contributions which were exacted from them.

Lentulus, at the ſame time, who commanded the fleet which had been employed in tranſporting the army of Caſſius into the iſland of Rhodes, forced his way into the harbour of Andriaca, the port of Myra, by breaking the chain which was ſtretched acroſs the entrance; and this place being reduced, the inhabitants of Lycia ſent offers of ſubmiſſion, and of their ſervice in the war, agreed to pay a certain tribute, and to join the fleet with their galleys. Lentulus being accordingly reinforced with a great acceſſion of ſhips, ſet ſail for Abydus, the ſhorteſt paſſage into Europe, where he was ordered to wait the arrival of the land forces.

At the ſame time, Murcus, commanding another ſquadron belonging to Brutus and Caſſius, upon a report that Cleopatra, with a numerous fleet, was at ſea, to effect a junction with Octavius and Antony, had been ſtationed at the Cape of Tenarus to intercept her; but being informed that the Egyptian fleet was diſperſed, or had ſuffered much in a ſtorm, he weighed from Tenarus, and ſteered for Brundiſium, took poſſeſſion of an iſland at the mouth of the harbour, and from thence intended to prevent the tranſportation of any troops from Italy to Macedonia or Greece. He had however arrived too late to effect the whole of this purpoſe. Great part of Antony's army was already tranſported, and he himſelf, with the remainder, waited for favourable winds to run or paſs unnoticed in the night.

In this ſtate of the war, Brutus and Caſſius, having accompliſhed the ſervices in which they had been ſeverally engaged, again aſſembled their forces on the right of the Meander. It is ſaid, that they began their conference on bad terms, the effect of a jealouſy which had been induſtriouſly raiſed between them; but there did not appear any conſequences of a miſunderſtanding; and their joint forces, without delay, began to move towards Europe, in order to check the advances

vances which the enemy were already making in Macedonia. Having paſſed the Helleſpont, they marched, by the iſthmus of Cardia, to the coaſt of the bay of Melanus; here they made a halt for ſome days, to muſter and to review their forces. The army of Caſſius conſiſted of nine legions, that of Brutus of eight, amounting to about eighty thouſand men, formed in the manner of the Roman infantry. Brutus had four thouſand Gauliſh and Luſitanian horſe; two thouſand cavalry, made up of Thracians, Illyrians, Parthians, and Theſſalians. Caſſius had two thouſand Gauls and Spaniards, and four thouſand Parthian archers mounted on horſeback. They were followed likewiſe by ſome princes of Galatia, at the head of their reſpective forces. The whole, by this account, amounted to near a hundred thouſand men. Many of the legions had been formed under Cæſar, and could not be retained in their preſent ſervice, without frequent liberalities, and without a proſpect, at the end of the war, of ſettlements, not inferior to thoſe which were enjoyed or expected by the troops of the oppoſite ſide. The wealth of Aſia, however, having put their leaders in condition to perform what was at preſent expected from them; all former engagements were now fulfilled, as the beſt earneſt that could be given of future gratuities.

At the cloſe of this muſter, Caſſius and Brutus, with all the officers of Senatorian rank, who were then preſent, being aſſembled on a platform, raiſed as uſual to ſome height from the ground, were ſurrounded by the army, who crowded to hear the ſpeech of their leaders; and it was ſuppoſed, that what they were to deliver ſhould have the effect of a manifeſto or proclamation, reſpecting the cauſe in which they were engaged. Caſſius ſpoke for himſelf, for his colleague, and the body of Senators who attended them; addreſſing this motely aſſemblage of native Romans and aliens, of citizens and ſoldiers of fortune, collected from different parties, as an aſſembly of

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the Roman People deliberating on their public rights. He mentioned the mutual confidence that was natural between officers and men engaged, as they were, in a common cauſe; enumerated their reſources with the other advantages they poſſeſſed, and took notice of the punctual diſcharge of all former engagements, as the beſt ſecurity which could be given of a fixed intention to make a ſuitable proviſion for every ſoldier who ſhould contribute to bring the war to a favourable iſſue. "The unjuſt reproaches of our enemies," he ſaid, "we could eaſily diſprove, if we were not, by our numbers, "and by the ſwords which we hold in our hands, in condition "to deſpiſe them. While Cæſar led the armies of the republic "againſt the enemies of Rome, we took part in the ſame ſervice "with him, we obeyed him, we were happy to ſerve under his "command. But when he declared war on the commonwealth, we "became his enemies; and when he became an uſurper and a "tyrant, we reſented, as an injury, even the favours which he pre-"ſumed to beſtow upon ourſelves. Had he been to fall a ſacrifice "to private reſentment, we ſhould not have been the proper actors "in the execution of the ſentence againſt him. He was willing to "have indulged us with preferments and honours; but we were not "willing to accept, as the gift of a maſter, what we were intitled to "claim as free citizens. We conceived, that, in preſuming to confer "the honours of the Roman republic, he encroached on the prero-"gatives of the Roman People, and inſulted the authority of the "Roman Senate.

"Cæſar cancelled the laws, and overturned the conſtitution of his "country; he uſurped all the powers of the commonwealth, ſet up a "monarchy, and himſelf affected to be a King. This our an-"ceſtors, at the expulſion of Tarquin, bound themſelves and their "poſterity, by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and by the moſt direful im-

"precations,

" precations, never to endure. The ſame obligation has been en-
" tailed upon us as a debt by our fathers; and we, having faithfully
" paid and diſcharged it, have performed the oath, and averted the
" conſequences of failure from ourſelves, and from our poſterity.

" In the ſtation of ſoldiers, we might have committed ourſelves
" without reflection to the command of an officer, whoſe abilities
" and whoſe valour we admired; but, in the character of Roman
" citizens we have a far different part to ſuſtain. I muſt ſuppoſe, that
" I now ſpeak to the Roman People, and to citizens of a free re-
" public; to men who have never learned to depend upon others
" for gratifications and favours, who are not accuſtomed to own a
" ſuperior, but who are themſelves the maſters, the diſpenſers of for-
" tune and of honour, and the givers of all thoſe dignities and
" powers by which Cæſar himſelf was exalted, and of which he
" aſſumed the intire diſpoſal. Recollect from whom the Scipios, the
" Pompeys, even Cæſar himſelf derived his honours: from your
" anceſtors, whom you now repreſent, and from yourſelves, to
" whom, according to the laws of the republic, we, who are now
" your leaders in the field, addreſs ourſelves as your fellow-citizens in
" the commonwealth, and as perſons depending on your pleaſure for the
" juſt reward and retribution of our ſervices. Happy in being able
" to reſtore to you what Cæſar had the preſumption to appropriate
" to himſelf the power and the dignity of your fathers, with the
" ſupreme diſpoſal of all the offices of truſt that were eſtabliſhed for
" your ſafety, and for the preſervation of your freedom; happy
" in being able to reſtore to the Tribunes of the Roman People the
" power of protecting you, and of procuring to every Roman citizen
" that juſtice which, under the late uſurpation of Cæſar, was with-
" held, even from the ſacred perſons of thoſe magiſtrates themſelves.

" An uſurper is the common enemy of all good citizens; but the
" taſk of removing him could be the buſineſs only of a few. The

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" Senate and the Roman People, as ſoon as it was proper for them
" to declare their judgment, pronounced their approbation of thoſe
" who were concerned in the death of Cæſar, by the rewards and
" the honours which they beſtowed upon them; and they are now
" become a prey to aſſaſſins and murderers; they bleed in the ſtreets,
" in the temples, in the moſt ſecret retreats, and in the arms of their
" families; or they are diſperſed, and fly wherever they hope to eſcape
" the fury of their enemies. Many are now preſent before you,
" happy in your protection, happy in witneſſing the zeal which you
" entertain for the commonwealth, for the rights of your fellow-
" citizens, and for your own. Theſe reſpectable citizens, we truſt,
" will ſoon, by your means, be reſtored to a condition in which they
" can enjoy, together with you, all the honours of a free people,
" concur with you in beſtowing, and partake with you in receiving,
" the rewards which are due to ſuch eminent ſervices, as you are
" now engaged to perform [42]."

Such is the ſubſtance of what we receive as the ſpeech of Caſſius on this memorable occaſion, and, although we may not conſider theſe compoſitions as the genuine record of what was ſpoken, yet as they contain the ideas and reaſonings of times ſo much nearer than ours to the date of the tranſactions to which they refer, it is undoubtedly fit, and often inſtructive, to retain the argument on which they are founded. At the cloſe of this ſpeech, it is ſaid that Caſſius reſumed the compariſon of the forces and reſources of the oppoſite parties, ſtated to his army their own equality by land, and their ſuperiority by ſea; the facility with which they were to be ſupplied with all neceſſaries; and that he concluded, with a promiſe to pay an additional gratuity of fifteen hundred ſeſterces to each man [43].

After this ſolemnity, the army again began to advance; and while they marched in ſmall diviſions by the route of Ænos and Do-

[42] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. [43] About 12 l.

riſcus,

riſcus, Cimber, with a ſquadron of galleys, having a legion and a conſiderable detachment of archers on board, ſailed towards the coaſt of Macedonia, with orders to ſearch for a proper ſtation within the mountains of Pangeus, a ridge which, ſtretching from Thrace ſouthward, terminated in the bay of Strymon, oppoſite to the iſland of Thaſus [43]. The generals, upon their arrival on the river Neſſus, found that the uſual paſſage of the mountains at Symbolus was already ſeized by Saxa and Norbanus, who, with the firſt diviſion of Antony's forces from Italy, had traverſed Macedonia, and haſtened to poſſeſs themſelves of this paſs, in order to ſtop the further progreſs of their enemies in Europe.

Here the eaſtern armies were accordingly ſtopped, and were likely to end their career in Thrace, while their antagoniſts continued in poſſeſſion of Macedonia, and preſerved the moſt convenient retreat for their ſhipping in the bay of Strymon. They were relieved, however, from this apprehenſion by Ruſcopolis, a Thracian prince, who attended them, and who pointed out a different route from that which the enemy had occupied. Under this guide they marched three days among the mountains, and having croſſed the ſummit, deſcended in the tract of a river towards Philippi, ſituated on the eaſtern boundary of the plains of Amphipolis. This march carried them into the rear of the enemy's ſtation, and would have enabled them to cut off their retreat, if intelligence had not been carried to Saxa and Norbanus time enough to enable them to withdraw. Theſe officers accordingly abandoned their poſt, fell back forty or fifty miles [44] to Amphipolis; and having put this place in the beſt poſture they could for defence, determined to await the arrival of Octavius and Antony.

Brutus and Caſſius took poſt at Philippi, on the declivity of the mountains, near to the paſs which Saxa and Norbanus had lately

[43] See Plate IV. Vol. II.

[44] 350 ſtadia.

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abandoned. They encamped about two miles [45] from the town on two ſeparate eminences, about a mile [46] aſunder. On their right was Philippi, covered by the mountains; on the left an impaſſable marſh, which reached about nine miles from their camp to the ſea [47]. In their front the country from Philippi, weſtward to Amphipolis, extending about forty or fifty miles, was flat and ſubject to floods and inundations of the rivers. The fleet was in harbour at Neapolis, near where the marſh, which covered the left of Caſſius's camp, terminated in the ſea; and Cimber had fixed on that place as the port to which all their convoys ſhould repair, and by which they expected to be plentifully ſupplied with neceſſaries from Aſia, and the coaſts of the Egean ſea. They formed, at the ſame time, a magazine in the iſland of Thaſus, out of the reach of the enemy, at which to lodge in ſafety the ſurplus of their proviſions and ſtores.

Antony and Octavius had been employed, during the winter, in tranſporting their forces into Macedonia; and having effected their paſſage, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the enemy's fleet, their army advanced by rapid marches to the river Strymon, in order to preſerve Amphipolis, and to carry the ſcene of the war as far as they could from Italy. Octavius had been taken ill, and remained behind at Dyrrachium. Antony, upon his arrival at Amphipolis, having found the town in a poſture of defence, fixed upon it as a place of arms for the ſecurity of his heavy baggage and ſtores. From thence he advanced upon the flat country, through a march of ſome days, and pitched in ſight of Philippi, within a mile of the enemy's ſtations.

It was the object of the Triumvirs to bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue, as they foreſaw the difficulty of being long able, without any ſupply of proviſions from the ſea, to maintain ſo numerous an army

[45] Eighteen ſtadia. [46] Eight ſtadia. [47] Seventy ſtadia.

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by the ſole reſources of the neighbouring country. Brutus and Caſſius, on the contrary, perceived their own advantage, and were determined to protract the war. They fortified their camps with great care, and joined them to each other; and to the town of Philippi on the one ſide, and to the moraſs on the other, with ſuch works as formed a continued chain to cover their communication, for about twelve miles from the town of Philippi, to the port of Neapolis.

Antony's camp being on the plain, and in a low ſituation, was overlooked by the enemy, and ſubject to be overflowed by the torrents which fell from the hills. He made every poſſible effort to bring his antagoniſts to action, and by his forwardneſs in preſſing them to a battle, raiſed the courage of his own troops, and aſſumed, as is common with thoſe who act offenſively, the appearance of ſuperiority. While he yet continued in this poſture, Octavius, though not entirely recovered from his illneſs, joined him from Dyrrachium. They took two ſeparate ſtations oppoſite to thoſe of the enemy; Octavius oppoſite to Brutus, and Antony to Caſſius. The number of legions, on both ſides, were equal; but thoſe of Antony and Octavius were not complete. In cavalry they were unequal; that of Brutus and Caſſius amounting to twenty thouſand, while that of Octavius and Antony was no more than thirteen thouſand.

Antony and Octavius, in order to force their antagoniſts to a battle, or to cut off their communication with the ſea, formed a deſign to pierce the moraſs, and to ſeize upon the heights beyond it on the left of Caſſius's camp. In the work which they carried on for this purpoſe, they were covered by the reeds, which grew to a great height in the marſh; and in ten days, without being obſerved, by means of timbers, hurdles, and earth, which they ſunk as they advanced, accompliſhed a paſſage, and ſent in the night a party of their army to occupy the oppoſite heights, to make lodgments, and to intercept the communicatiõn.

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nication of their antagoniſts with Neapolis, from which they received their daily ſupplies.

As ſoon as Brutus and Caſſius perceived this advantage gained by the enemy, they took meaſures to recover it, and to open their own acceſs again to the ſea. For this purpoſe they, in their turn, traverſed the moraſs in a line which croſſed the paſſage which the enemy had made, and pierced their highway with a deep and impaſſable ditch. Having, in this manner, cut off the enemy's parties that had paſſed the moraſs from any ſuccours or ſupplies from their main body, they were about to force them, when Octavius and Antony endeavoured to recover their paſſage; and, to divert the attention of the enemy from what they were doing in the marſh, drew forth their armies on the plain.

While Octavius was ſtill confined by ſickneſs, his lieutenant, or next in command, took his place in this movement, and advanced toward the intrenchment of Brutus. The light troops began to ſkirmiſh on the aſcent of the hill. And, notwithſtanding it was the reſolution of both leaders in the republican army not to hazard a battle, except in defence of their own intrenchments, the legions of Brutus obſerving, from their parapet, what paſſed between the advanced parties in front, were ſo animated or incenſed, as not to be reſtrained. They accordingly quitted their lines, attacked the wing on which Octavius was ſuppoſed to command, drove them back to their ground, and continuing the purſuit, even forced them in their camp. Octavius himſelf, having been carried from his bed to a litter, narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands.

On the other wing Antony likewiſe had advanced towards the camp of Caſſius; but as he was obſerved, at the ſame time, beginning to work in the moraſs, this movement of his army was conſidered as no more than a feint to favour the other deſign. Caſſius, to divert him from his operation in the marſh, drew

drew forth his army likewiſe; and having greatly the advantage of the ground, did not ſuppoſe that the enemy, in ſuch circumſtances, would venture upon a general action. In this however he was diſappointed. Antony, ſeeing Caſſius expoſe his front, diſcontinued his work in the moraſs, mounted the height in his preſence, forced him to retire, even took and pillaged his camp; and thus ſhowed, in his turn, what are the effects of an impetuous attack upon an enemy who are diſpoſed to think themſelves ſecure.

Theſe ſeparate actions, or the preparations which were made for them, had filled up the greater part of the day. It was already duſk, and the field, for the moſt part, was covered with clouds of duſt; ſo that no one could ſee to a diſtance. Thoſe who commanded on the right in both armies, having put thoſe who were oppoſed to them to flight, thought that the event was deciſive in their own favour. But Brutus and Antony being informed of what had paſſed on the other wings of their reſpective armies, neither attempted to keep the advantage he had gained. Diſqualified by fatigue or ſurpriſe from renewing the conteſt, they paſſed each other on the plain, and haſtened back to their former ſtations.

Caſſius, after the route of his diviſion, with a few who adhered to him, had halted on an eminence, and ſent Titinius to the right, with orders to learn the particulars of the day on that ſide. This officer, while yet in ſight, was met by a party of horſe emerging from the clouds of duſt on the plain. This party had been ſent by Brutus to learn the ſituation of his friends on the left; but Caſſius, ſuppoſing them to be enemies, and believing that Titinius, whom he ſaw ſurrounded by them, was taken, he inſtantly, with the precipitant deſpair which, on other occaſions, had proved ſo fatal to the cauſe of the republic, preſented his breaſt to a ſlave, to whom he had allotted, in caſe of any urgent extremity, the office of putting an end to his life. Titinius, upon his return, imputing this fatal calamity to his own neglect in not trying ſooner to undeceive his general by proper ſignals,

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ſignals, killed himſelf, and fell upon the body of his friend [49]. Brutus ſoon after arrived at the ſame place, and ſeeing the dead body of Caſſius, ſhed tears of vexation and ſorrow over the effects of an action ſo raſh and precipitant, and which deprived the republic and himſelf, in this extremity, of ſo neceſſary and ſo able a ſupport. *This*, he ſaid, *is the laſt of the Romans.*

The ſurviving leader of the republican party, in order to prevent the impreſſion which the ſight of a funeral ſo intereſting was likely to make on the army, ordered the body of Caſſius to be carried to the iſland of Thaſus, and there privately interred. He himſelf ſpent the night in re-aſſembling the troops who had been diſperſed, formed both armies into one body, and drew the whole into one camp. He ſtill kept his ground at Philippi, and endeavoured to ſupport the courage of the troops, and to replace the activity and military ſkill of his unfortunate colleague. In his addreſſes to the army, he ſet forth the advantages they had gained as more than ſufficient to compenſate their loſſes. He repreſented the diſtreſſed condition of the enemy, who, having already exhauſted the province of Macedonia in their rear, were obliged to bring their proviſions from Theſſaly, which was at a greater diſtance, and not likely to ſupply them ſo long. "The ſea-ports," he obſerved, "being every where blocked up, and "their convoys intercepted by a fleet of above two hundred and "ſixty ſail, the proſpect of what they muſt ſpeedily ſuffer will make "them impatient for action. They will provoke," he ſaid, "they "will attempt to inſult you; but this appearance of courage is a mere "effect of deſpair. Only wait the reſult of theſe circumſtances, and "perſeverance will render your victory eaſy." He ſupported theſe exhortations with giving the army full ſatisfaction in all their claims and pretenſions, and with an additional gratuity of a thouſand ſeſterces to each man [50].

[49] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlvii. c. 34. Appian. lib. iv.

[50] About 8l.

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The leaders of the other ſide, at the ſame time, were equally employed in what was neceſſary to palliate the ſufferings, or to raiſe the hopes of their own army. Though not equally in condition to make preſent donations, they amply ſupplied this defect with expectations and promiſes. They declared their intention of giving an additional gratuity of five thouſand ſeſterces to each private man [51], five times as much to the Centurion, and the double of this ſum to the Tribune. "Judge ye," ſaid Antony, in his addreſs to the army, "who has ſuffered moſt by the mutual pillage of yeſterday? You, "who have left all your effects behind you in Italy, or the enemy, "who came to their ground loaded with the ſpoils of Aſia? Their "own general, by killing himſelf, has proclaimed your victory. We "declare you victorious, by beſtowing upon you the rewards of "valour to which you are intitled. If the enemy chooſe to diſpute "your claim to theſe rewards, let them meet us again in the field. "They ſhall have an opportunity to-morrow, and for ſome days to "come; if they ſhrink and remain behind their intrenchments, I "ſhall leave you to determine who is vanquiſhed in the trial of force "which we have had."

Antony and Octavius accordingly drew forth their army for many days ſucceſſively, and were greatly embarraſſed with the reſolution which appeared to be taken by the enemy, not to hazard a battle. They began to ſuffer greatly for want of proviſions, and felt the approach of winter, which, in a marſhy ſituation, threatened them with growing inconveniences. Brutus, to haſten the effects of the ſeaſon, had turned the courſe of a river from the hills, and laid under water part of the plain on which they encamped [52]. At the ſame time a recent calamity, which befel them at ſea, increaſed theſe diſtreſſes, and diminiſhed their hopes of relief.

[51] About 401.

[52] Zonaras, c. 19. p. 385.

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On the ſame day on which the late battle was fought at Philippi, Domitius Calvinus had ſailed from Brundiſium, having on board of tranſports two legions, of which the Martia was one, with two thouſand men of the Prætorian bands, and a body of horſe, convoyed by ſome galleys, or ſhips of force. Being met at ſea by the fleet of Brutus, conſiſting of a hundred and thirty ſail, under Murcus and Ænobarbus, a few of the headmoſt and beſt ſailing ſhips eſcaped; but the remainder being ſurrounded had no reſource but in the valour of the troops, who endeavoured to defend themſelves with their ſwords, grappling and laſhing their tranſports to the ſhips of the enemy; but in this attempt, being galled with miſſiles from the armed galleys, particularly with burning darts, by which ſome of the tranſports were ſet on fire, the others, to avoid the flames, were obliged to keep at a diſtance; and the greater part of them ſuffering extremely without being able to annoy the enemy, were ſunk or deſtroyed. Calvinus himſelf, having been five days at ſea, with difficulty eſcaped to Brundiſium.

Theſe tidings had their effect in both armies. In that of Brutus they inſpired an unſeaſonable ardour, and a diſpoſition to commit the cauſe of the party to the hazard of a battle; in that of Antony and Octavius, they impreſſed the neceſſity of a ſpeedy deciſion. Theſe leaders, to amuſe their own troops, and to provoke the enemy, had ſeized, in the night, a poſt on the declivity below the ground which was lately occupied by Caſſius. They were ſuffered to make a lodgment upon it by Brutus, who had not any apprehenſion that he could be annoyed from a ſituation that was ſo much lower than his own. On the following day it appeared, that their intention in ſeizing this poſt was to cover a movement, which they propoſed to make to the right on the edge of the moraſs; which they accordingly executed, and pitched again in two ſeparate encampments. In this new poſition they were obſerved to ſound the moraſs,

moraſs, and either intended a feint, or had a real deſign, by effecting a communication with the oppoſite ſide, again to cut off every intercourſe of Brutus with his ſhips. But finding that all the heights on the oppoſite ſide were now ſecured againſt them by intrenchments, they dropped that intention, and endeavoured, by frequent alarms, and by expoſing their own parties on the plain, to engage their antagoniſt in a general action.

Brutus, in the mean time, having ſecured his own communication with Neapolis, by a proper diſpoſition of poſts from his preſent encampment to the ſea; and truſting that his enemies muſt, upon the approach of winter, be obliged to evacuate Macedonia, or to ſeparate their army for the convenience of finding ſubſiſtence, perſiſted in his reſolution to protract the war. In this conjuncture he wrote to his friend Pomponius Atticus in the following terms: "My object "is ſecure; for either I ſhall, by my victory, reſcue the Romans "from the ſervitude into which they are fallen, or periſh in the at-"tempt, and by dying myſelf eſcape from ſlavery. I have done my "part, and wait for the iſſue in which public freedom or death is to "follow. As for Antony, who has choſen to become the retainer "of Octavius, rather than a ſharer with us in the equal rights of a "citizen, he has a different alternative, either now to periſh with "this young man, or, being the dupe of his artifices, to become "hereafter the ſubject of his government[53]."

The troops of Brutus, however, could not be reconciled to this dilatory plan; they began to complain that a victorious army ſhould be cooped up behind intrenchments, and ſhould be inſulted like women; even the officers, pretending to reaſon on the ſtate of the war, cenſured their general for loſing the opportunity, which ſo great an ardour in the army gave him of deciding the conteſt at a blow. They alleged,

[53] Plutarch. in Bruto.

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that even if the attempt ſhould prove unſucceſsful, he might ſtill return to the execution of his defenſive and dilatory operations.

Brutus was aware that the army, now under his command, having been trained up as mere ſoldiers of fortune, had no principle of attachment to either ſide; that it was neceſſary to conſult their inclinations, as well as to flatter their hopes. He remembered that Caſſius had been obliged, in many things, to abate the uſual rigour of his diſcipline; and being himſelf of a mild and indulgent nature, he yielded to thoſe who were under his command; or not being able to ſtem the torrent which daily increaſed, he ſuffered the impatience of his own men to hurry him into a riſk of all his fortunes. In about twenty days after the former action [54], overcome by mere importunities, he drew forth his army on the declivity before his camp; the enemy, at the ſame time, according to their uſual practice, were forming upon the plain; and both ſides foreſaw the approach of a general engagement.

Hiſtorians introduce their accounts of the laſt action at Philippi, with a detail of forms and ſolemnities, which, on other occaſions, they have either omitted to mention, or which were not equally obſerved. As ſoon as the parole or word for the day was given over the different diviſions of the reſpective armies, a ſingle trumpet ſounded the ſignal of battle; and was followed by a numerous band, which played in air, while the legions were dreſſing their ranks, and while the men were trying and handling their arms.

Brutus, being on horſeback, paſſed along the lines of his own army, and exhorted his men not to quit the advantage of the ground on which they ſtood, by advancing too far to meet the enemy. "You "have promiſed me a victory," he ſaid, "you have forced me to "ſnatch it now, rather than to wait for a more ſecure poſſeſſion

[54] Plutarch. in Bruto.

"of

" of it hereafter. It is your buſineſs to fulfil your own expectations " and mine."

On the other ſide, Antony and Octavius were happy in having their fortunes, hitherto deſperate, brought to the chance of a battle. They put their army in mind, that this was what all of them wiſhed: " You are poor and diſtreſſed," they ſaid, " but in the enemy's " camp you will find an end to your ſufferings, and the beginning " of riches and plenty. From us, who are your leaders, you may " expect the rewards which are due to valour, and every effect of a " diſpoſition in us which is ſufficiently liberal, but which victory " alone will give us the power to indulge in the manner that we wiſh."

In theſe preparations the day being far ſpent, and noon about three hours already paſt, the trumpets on both ſides having ſounded a general charge, made a ſudden pauſe, and ſounded again, while both armies being in motion, ſtruck upon their bucklers, advanced with a mighty ſhout, and, under a ſhower of miſſile weapons of every ſort, cloſed with their ſwords. They continued long with all the fury that kindles in the uſe of ſhort weapons, to ſtruggle on the ſame ſpot. The places of thoſe that fell in the firſt rank were continually ſupplied from the ranks behind them; and the place of action began to be choaked up with heaps of the ſlain. No ſtratagem is ſaid to have been practiſed, or any accident to have happened, to determine the fate of the day on either ſide; but, after a ſevere conteſt, the army of Brutus began to give way, at firſt ſlowly, and almoſt inſenſibly; but being preſſed with growing violence, they were thrown into ſome confuſion, and gave up the day without hopes of recovery. In the diſorder that followed, numbers, who fled to the camp, finding the entrances obſtructed by the crowds that ſtruggled for admiſſion, deſpaired of ſafety there, and paſſed on to the heights in its rear. Octavius advanced to the enemy's camp to ſecure, or to keep in awe thoſe who had taken refuge within it.

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Antony purſued thoſe who were diſperſed on the heights, and, at the approach of night, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to hinder thoſe who were within the intrenchment, or thoſe who were in the field, from rallying or aſſembling again; and employed parties of horſe all night to ſcour all the avenues in ſearch of priſoners.

Brutus himſelf being cut off from the camp and cloſely followed, Lucilius, one of his company, to give him time to eſcape, affecting to perſonate his general, and falling behind, was taken. This captive, ſuppoſed to be Brutus, the leader of the republican army, being conducted to Antony, to whom he was known, met with a reception not unworthy of his generous artifice. "You intended," ſaid Antony to thoſe who brought the priſoner, with a politeneſs which ſeemed to refute ſome of the imputations on his character, "to bring "me an enemy, but you have brought me a friend"."[44]

Brutus, in the mean time, having in the dark paſſed a brook that ran between ſteep and rocky banks covered with wood, made a halt, with a few friends, on the oppoſite ſide, as in a place of ſafety. Being yet uncertain of the extent of his loſs, he ſent an officer to obſerve the field, and with orders, if any conſiderable body of the army were yet together, to light a blaze as a ſignal or token of its ſafety. This officer accordingly made his way to the camp, and finding it ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his friends, made the ſignal; but leſt it ſhould not be obſerved, he attempted to return to his general, fell into the enemy's hands, and was ſlain.

As, from the ſignal now made, it appeared to Brutus and the ſmall company who attended him, that the camp was ſtill in poſſeſſion of their own people, they thought of making their way thither; but recollecting that the greater part of the army were diſperſed, they

[44] Plut. in Bruto.

doubted whether the lines could be defended until they could reach them, or even if they ſhould be maintained ſo long, whether they could furniſh any ſafe retreat. While they reaſoned in this manner, one of their number, who went to the brook for water, returned with an alarm that the enemy were upon the oppoſite bank; and ſaying, with ſome agitation, "We muſt fly." "Yes," replied Brutus, "but "with our hands, not with our feet." He was then ſaid to have repeated, from ſome poet, a tragic exclamation in the character of Hercules: *O Virtue! I thought thee a ſubſtance, but find thee no more than an empty name, or the ſlave of Fortune.* The vulgar, in their traditions, willingly lend their own thoughts to eminent men in diſtreſs; thoſe of Brutus are expreſſed in his letter to Atticus already quoted: *I have done my part, and wait for the iſſue, in which death or freedom is to follow.* If he had ever thought that a mere honourable intention was to enſure him ſucceſs, it is ſurpriſing he was not ſooner undeceived. Being now to end his life, and taking his leave of the company then preſent, one by one, he ſaid aloud, That he was happy in never having been betrayed by any one he had truſted as a friend. Some of them, to whom he afterwards whiſpered apart, were obſerved to burſt into tears; and it appeared that he requeſted their aſſiſtance in killing himſelf; for he ſoon afterwards executed this purpoſe, in company with one Strato and ſome others, whom he had taken aſide.

This cataſtrophé, as uſual, ſet the imaginations of men to work; and many prodigies and preſages were believed to have preceded it. A ſpectre, it was ſaid, had preſented itſelf in the night to Brutus, when he was about to paſs the Helleſpont, told him it was his evil genius, and was to meet him again at Philippi; that here it accordingly again appeared on the eve of the late action.

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Brutus was then about thirty-ſeven or forty years of age [56]. Next to Cato he, of all the Romans, was ſuppoſed to have acted from the pureſt motives of public virtue. Caſſius had too much elevation of mind to endure a maſter; but Brutus was likewiſe too juſt to have uſurped on the rights of his fellow citizens, even if they had been in his power. His character, however, in ſome reſpects, is queſtionable; and we may not, through the diſguiſe of manners ſo different from our own, be able to aſcertain the truth. Cicero, who is at once the principal author of his fame and of the exceptions which are taken againſt it, charges him with an uncommon degree of arrogance, and complains of the tone which, while yet a young man, he took even with himſelf [57]. He likewiſe relates ſome particulars of a loan which one Scaptius had tranſacted for Brutus in the iſland of Cyprus, and of which the payment was exacted under the proconſulate of Cicero, with circumſtances of uncommon avarice and cruelty; and that in this he even preſumed to demand that the Roman Proconſul ſhould ſupport him with all his authority. The loan was uſurious, and, in exacting the payment of it, the Senate of Salamis, in the iſland of Cyprus, had been ſurrounded by a party of cavalry, and ſhut up from the uſe of food. Cicero writes of this proceeding to Atticus, with every expreſſion of blame and indignation; and yet Brutus, then a young man, continued to be held in the higheſt veneration and eſteem by perſons who were acquainted with theſe particulars. "If you ſhould have no other advantage," ſays Atticus, in writing to Cicero, "from your preſent government, but the opportunity of "gaining the friendſhip of Brutus, this alone will be enough." And Cicero himſelf frequently mentions Brutus, after this tranſaction, with

[56] Liv. Epitome, lib. cxlix. Vel. Paterculus, c. 72.

[57] Ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21 & lib. vi. ep. 1. Ad me autem etiam cùm rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀγωνιστικῶς, ſolet ſcribere.

peculiar

peculiar expreſſions of admiration and love[58]. So that we muſt either ſuppoſe Brutus to have been innocent of this extortion and cruelty committed by his agent in Cyprus, or that ſuch proceedings, though contrary to law, were ſo much authoriſed by the practice of the times, as to ſtain the manners of the age much more than the characters of individuals. Of theſe conjectures, perhaps, both are in part to be admitted: the law of the republic forbidding the intereſt of money under the denomination of uſury, inflamed, rather than prevented, the evil. Under this prohibition, the neceſſitous borrower was made to pay for the riſk and obloquy which the lender incurred by tranſgreſſing the law, as well as for the uſe of his money. It was impoſſible to prevent what is neceſſary in the common courſe of things; perſons having occaſion for money muſt borrow; and perſons having money will lend, in order to reap the benefit of it. It appears to have been cuſtomary with towns in the provinces, with corporations, and with dependent princes, to borrow money at exorbitant intereſt from the rich at Rome; and probably to employ that money in making preſents to gain the powerful[59]. Pompey had great ſums owing to him in Aſia, and likewiſe received great preſents from thence. Theſe we muſt admit to have been great abuſes; but individuals are not always accountable for the abuſes of their age, even where they have not corrected them in their own practice.

Brutus and Caſſius, the laſt unſucceſsful leaders of the republican party, even after it became a crime to mention their names with reſpect, were revered in ſecret by every perſon who had any memory or conception of the ancient republic, and will, in every age, be held in eſtimation by thoſe who conceive merit as independent of fortune. Even Antony, it is ſaid, when the death of Brutus

[58] Vid. lib. de Claris Oratoribus, cap. 3. &c. &c. This book is expreſsly dated after the return of Cicero from Cilicia.

[59] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21.

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was reported to him, expreſſed the higheſt reſpect for his memory, covered his remains with the imperial robe which he himſelf wore in the field, and ordered his obſequies to be performed with the higheſt marks of diſtinction and honour[60]; in this inſtance probably acting from policy, or, under all the vices of diſſipation and profligacy with which he was charged, knowing how to ſeize the occaſion of gaining public eſteem, by ſplendid pretenſions to generoſity and candour.

Octavius, who far excelled his colleague in the ordinary arts of diſcretion and policy, is repreſented as greatly inferior to him in his behaviour on the preſent occaſion. It is ſaid that he ordered the head of Brutus to be carried into Italy, and expoſed on Cæſar's tomb; and, among other proofs of inſolence and cruelty which he gave in the preſent proſperous tide of his fortunes, that having among his priſoners a father and a ſon of the name of Florus, he ordered that one of them ſhould be put to death, and that they ſhould caſt lots, or fight, to determine which ſhould be ſpared. Under this cruel ſentence, the father intreated that he himſelf might die. Octavius attended to ſee the execution; and, after the death of the father, likewiſe witneſſed that of the ſon, who killed himſelf[61].

That part of the vanquiſhed army which fled to the heights, being about fourteen thouſand men, hearing of the death of the laſt of their leaders, ſurrendered themſelves, and were equally divided between Octavius and Antony. Thoſe who remained in the camp, or at any of the out-poſts of the army, likewiſe laid down their arms. Of the perſons of rank who partook in the wreck of their party at Philippi, ſome eſcaped by ſea, and joined Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, now the ſole refuge of thoſe who adhered to the commonwealth. Others killed themſelves, or in the late action had refuſed quarter,

[60] Plut. in Antonio et Bruto.

[61] Sueton. in Cæſar. c. 14. Dio. Caſſ. dates this particular after the battle of Actium.

and

and fought till they were ſlain. Among the firſt were Livius Druſus, the father of Livia, afterwards the wife of Octavius. Among the ſecond were two young men of diſtinguiſhed names; Cato, the ſon of him who died at Utica, and Lucius Caſſius, nephew of the late general. Labeo, with great deliberation, prepared a grave for himſelf in his tent, wrote to his family at Rome, gave directions about his affairs, and then ſubmitted himſelf to a perſon whom he had retained to put an end to his life.

It appears to have been a point of honour among the Romans of this age, to periſh by their own hands rather than by that of their antagoniſts, otherwiſe they could have eaſily, when fortune appeared to have declared againſt them, forced the enemy to beſtow that death which they afterwards obtained with great reluctance from their friends; and perhaps, in forcing matters to this extremity, they might have turned the fortune of battle. Cæſar ſeems to have owed his victory, on ſome occaſions, to efforts of this ſort, and his party in general prevailed by their perſeverance under checks and difficulties, as much as by the advantage they took of their victories [62].

[62] See the Hiſtory of the Campaigns on the Segra at Dyrrachium, and in Africa.

CHAP. V.

Immediate Conſequences of the Event at Philippi.——New Partition of the Empire made by Octavius and Antony.——Their Separation.——Progreſs of Octavius at Rome.——His Friends Mæcenas and Agrippa.——Alarm and Diſtreſs in Italy on the Diſpoſſeſſion of the Inhabitants to make way for the Troops.——Jealouſy of Fulvia and Lucius Antonius.——Blockade and Reduction of Peruſia.——Progreſs of Antony in Aſia.——His Stay at Alexandria.——Return to Italy.——Accommodation with Sextus Pompeius.——Return of Octavius and Antony to Rome.——Their Policy.

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AMONG the immediate conſequences of the late event at Philippi, is mentioned the death of Porcia, the wife of Brutus, and the daughter of Cato. Being ſuſpected of an intention to kill herſelf, watched by her ſervants, and anxiouſly precluded from the ordinary means of effecting that purpoſe, ſhe ſwallowed burning coals, and expired. This was ſaid to have happened on hearing of her huſband's death; but Plutarch cites a letter of Brutus, extant in his own time, from which it appeared that this cataſtrophé preceded the death of Brutus, and was imputed to the negligence of her ſervants, who attended her in the delirium of a fever [a].

By the battles which had been fought in different parts of the empire, by the late maſſacre in Italy, and by the event of the war at Philippi, the laſt pillars of the commonwealth ſeemed to be removed, or but a few of its members were left who had any zeal for its preſervation. Octavius and Antony, upon the total and deciſive victory

[a] Plut. in Bruto.

they

they had gained, without paying any regard to the pretenſions of Lepidus, made a new partition of the empire. Octavius, to his former lot, had an addition of Spain and Numidia; Antony that of the farther Gaul and the province of Africa[z]. It was agreed between them, that Antony ſhould proſecute the remains of the war in the Eaſt, and raiſe the neceſſary contributions to enable them to fulfil their engagements to the army: that Octavius ſhould return into Italy, conduct the war againſt Sextus Pompeius, repreſs the deſigns of Lepidus, in caſe he ſhould be diſſatisfied with the preſent arrangement, and in proper time ſettle the veterans on the lands which had been allotted to them. Theſe articles were committed to writing, and the ratifications exchanged. Antony having received from Octavius a reinforcement of two legions, departed for Aſia, and Octavius ſet out on his return to Rome.

When accounts of the final action at Philippi were received in the city, a thankſgiving was ordered; and, inſtead of being limited to fifty or to ſixty days, as in the late decrees which had paſt in honour of Julius Cæſar, this feſtival was now to be continued for an entire year. In proportion to the approaches which the republican party made to its entire extinction, the few who remained of it carried an affectation of joy that kept pace with their real ſorrow. Their fears broke forth in profuſe expreſſions of pretended attachment and zeal for the honour of thoſe whom they dreaded.

Under ſuch an aſpect of gladneſs, covering extreme anxiety or terror, the pacific inhabitants of Italy looked for the arrival of an army which was to be gratified with their richeſt poſſeſſions. They remembered what had paſſed at former military entries into Rome, and they anticipated the ſufferings which were to be expected from a young man who had, during ſome time, and from mere policy,

[z] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 1.

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assumed an air of moderation, and employed every artifice to forward his purpose; but in proportion as he became secure of his end, threw off his original mask, and concurred in *usurpations the most bloody* of any that had been known in the history of mankind. Octavius being detained by sickness on his way to the city, these gloomy apprehensions gained force from delay. It was supposed that he deferred his arrival only while he adjusted his plan, or took measures to render its effects more certain. Every one exaggerated the evil, but no one thought of a remedy. Such was the present state of a helpless Nobility and People, the remains of a commonwealth, long accustomed to dominion, retaining their haughtiness while they lost their vigour, long desirous of power, but unable to sustain the weight of a free constitution.

Octavius gave notice to the Senate, that his coming was delayed by sickness, accepted the decree of a continued thanksgiving for the late victory obtained at Philippi, but desired it might be understood, that this honour was conferred on account of the exemplary justice he had done on the assassins of his father. The cunning with which he occasionally dropt this pretence, or with which he resumed it, as the motive of all his pursuits, forms a striking part in his character. He at one time co-operated with the conspirators, and declared it to be his intention, in conjunction with them, to restore the republic. He accordingly promoted the resolutions which were taken at Rome in favour of Decimus, as well as Marcus Brutus and Cassius; he promoted the election of Casca into the office of Tribune; he raised an army to support them against Antony, and took into his councils the most vehement partizans of the Senate. "*Even Servius Galba*, "*holding the very dagger with which he murdered Cæsar*," said Antony to him, in his letter during the siege of Mutina, "*is now employed in your camp*[3]." As he often, however, on former oc-

[3] Cicer. Philip. Antony to Octavius and Hirtius.

caſions, courted the army, by affecting a pious intention to avenge his father's death, ſo he now recurred to the ſame pretence, as the moſt likely to counterbalance the favour that was paid to the memory of Brutus and Caſſius, and the general regret which attended the cataſtrophé of the laſt ſcene that was acted in behalf of the commonwealth.

U. C. 712. L. Antonius, P. Servilius, Vatica Iſauricus.

About this time, Octavius was known to have in his ſervice two officers of diſtinguiſhed merit, Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa and Caius Cilnius Mæcenas; both well qualified in their reſpective parts to ſupport him in the pretenſions he had formed on the empire. The firſt, by his courage and military abilities, was qualified to ſupply or to conceal his defects as a ſoldier; the ſecond, by his induſtry, his temper, his choice of friends, and his fitneſs to ſoften the manners of the times, by diverting the minds of men from objects of public diſtreſs to the elegant and amuſing occupations of literary genius, well qualified to ſmooth all difficulties in the way of his civil adminiſtration. Although it had not yet appeared in what degree Octavius was to commit his affairs to ſuch able hands, his diſcernment in chooſing them might be conſidered as the preſage of a fortune not depending on accidents, but founded in a real aſcendant of underſtanding and judgment.

Upon the arrival of the young Cæſar at Rome, he gave aſſurances to the Senate of his intention to avoid all unneceſſary acts of ſeverity [3]. But the firſt object of his adminiſtration being to ſettle the veterans on the poſſeſſions which they had been made to expect at the end of the war, he was very ſoon led into a ſcene of extreme violence, and involved in great difficulties.

At the formation of the Triumvirate the army had been flattered with the hopes of being ſettled on the moſt fertile lands, or in the

[3] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xl. iii. c. 3.

wealthieſt

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wealthieſt cities of Italy. In order to fulfil theſe expectations, it was neceſſary to diſpoſſeſs the ancient inhabitants; and as this was to be done without any pretence of forfeiture, or delinquency of any ſort, the unhappy ſufferers pleaded, that the lands intended for the army ſhould be taken by lot, or in equal proportions, and in every part of the empire. But the ſoldiers were abſolute, and not to be ſatisfied but by immediate poſſeſſion of the lots which had been actually aſſigned as the reward of their ſervices. A general order was accordingly ſigned for the preſent occupiers of thoſe lands to remove. The victims of this ſeverity repaired to Rome in entire families; perſons of every ſex, age, and condition crowded the ſtreets, took ſhelter in the temples and other places of public reſort, and filled the city with complaints and lamentations [4]. "The ancient inhabitants "of Italy, citizens of Rome," they ſaid, "were ſtripped of their "poſſeſſions, and turned out to periſh with their children, to make "way for adventurers who had ſubverted the laws of their country, "and who were to perpetuate the military uſurpation they had eſta-"bliſhed. The ſame violent hands which had ſtripped the Roman "People of their ſovereignty, were now to be let looſe on their "property. The innocent, who had taken no part in the late "troubles, were to be ſacrificed merely, becauſe their poſſeſſions ſuited "the conveniency of thoſe who had already brought ſo many evils "on the commonwealth. They had been promiſed protection from "this party; but were now to ſuffer from their pretended pro-"tectors and friends, greater evils than any conquered province had "ever endured from the worſt of its enemies."

[4] Publius Virgilius Maro is ſaid to have been of this injured train. Having had a ſmall property in land near Mantua, he was ſtripped of it to make way for an officer of the legions; a wrong to which he ſo tenderly alludes in his eclogue (Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva, nos patriam fugimus). But being recommended to Mæcenas by Aſinius Pollio, who commanded in that part of Italy, he obtained, from the reſpect that was due to his fine genius, a protection which humanity and juſtice owed equally to every other perſon that was involved in this calamity.—Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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To theſe complaints both the army and its leaders were equally inſenſible, and proceeded, in particular inſtances, to acts of violence, which the execution of their general purpoſe did not require. They kept the minds of the people in ſuſpence by their indeciſion in chooſing their lots; by quitting thoſe which were at firſt aſſigned, in order to exchange them for others; and, by leaving particular perſons without any regular grant or aſſignment, to make free with ſuch lands as ſuited their conveniency. The leaders were obliged to connive at what they could not reſtrain, and gave way to a violence to which they owed the poſſeſſion of their power [6].

The army now conſidering the lands of Italy as their property, looked upon every perſon inclined to protect the antient inhabitants as their enemy, reſented every delay that was made in gratifying their deſires, and were equally inſolent to their own officers as they were to the People. A party being aſſembled in the Campus Martius to receive their diſmiſſion and their aſſignments of land; and having ſome time waited for Octavius, from whom they expected ſatisfaction in theſe particulars, became impatient and clamorous, laid violent hands on Nonius, a Centurion, who endeavoured to pacify them, and even threw him into the river, where he periſhed. They afterwards dragged the dead body on ſhore, and placed it on the way by which their general was to paſs, as a warning, that he himſelf ſhould not ſlight their diſpleaſure. Octavius being informed, before he came abroad, of this menacing inſult which had been offered to his authority, ſaw the neceſſity of not appearing to be moved. He paſſed the dead body without ſeeming to obſerve it, made the intended diſtribution of land to the troops; and affecting to conſider the murder of Nonius as the effect of a private quarrel, in which he was to take no part, left this dangerous meeting with an exhortation, that

[6] Appian. lib. v.

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they ſhould *not weaken their own cauſe by quarrelling among themſelves.*

The cohorts which Octavius retained for the ordinary guard of his own perſon, treated him, on occaſion, with equal diſreſpect. As an inſtance of this ſort, it is mentioned, that one of their body having, at the public theatre, ſeated himſelf on the Equeſtrian bench, and the audience being ſcandalized at this act of preſumption, the ſoldier was removed by order of his general; but his companions being made to believe that he was carried away to be put to death, placed themſelves in the way of Octavius, as he paſſed from the theatre, and, with clamours and threats of inſtant revenge, demanded their fellow-ſoldier to be reſtored. Having prevailed in this particular, they called upon him to declare what uſage he had received; and when they were told by himſelf that no violence had been offered to him, they alleged that he was hired to conceal the truth, and to betray the honour of the army, and were ſcarcely to be appeaſed by his repeated aſſeverations to the contrary.

In theſe dangerous times, enormities which were committed by diſorderly perſons of any deſcription being imputed to the ſoldiers, were ſuffered to paſs with impunity. Robbery and murders became frequent, and the city of Rome itſelf, as well as the provincial towns, was infeſted by perſons who, either from neceſſity, or from the licence of the times, ſubſiſted by rapine. No property was ſafe, and the condition of perſons of all parties equally inſecure. At Rome the rent of houſes fell to a fourth, and whole ſtreets appeared to be deſerted [7].

In this diſtracted ſcene, nevertheleſs, there were perſons who envied Octavius the hateful pre-eminence which he ſeemed to enjoy. Among theſe Manius, the perſon entruſted with the affairs of Mark

[7] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 9.

Antony, Lucius his brother, now in the office of Conſul, and Fulvia his wife, aſpiring to a ſhare of the government, became impatient of an adminiſtration from which they thought themſelves unfairly excluded. Not only L. Antonius, in the capacity of Conſul, but the others alſo, in right of the abſent Triumvir, thought themſelves intitled to more conſideration than they now enjoyed.

The power of diſtributing the lands and other rewards to the army, it was obſerved, gave Octavius a ſignal advantage over his colleague, and fixed the expectations of all men upon him alone. By theſe means he filled Italy with his own retainers and friends; and Fulvia complained that Mark Antony ſhould be thus deprived of the fruits of a victory, which had been obtained chiefly by his conduct and valour. She appealed to the legions, preſented herſelf at their quarters, and, with her children in her arms, implored, what ſhe was pleaſed to call, a matter of right in behalf of her huſband.

In this manner, perſons repreſenting the abſent Triumvir endeavoured to divide the party, and to add to the ſcene of political confuſion already ſubſiſting, a breach and oppoſition of intereſt among thoſe who commanded the army. The country, at the ſame time, ſuffered from the interruption that was given by the fleets of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sextus Pompeius, from the oppoſite ports of Illyricum and Sicily, to the importation of corn and other neceſſaries; and this circumſtance, joined to the uncertainty of property, and the other cauſes which interrupted induſtry, completed the diſtreſſes of Italy.

The People, although they were willing to ſubmit to any government, were not likely to be long able to endure their preſent ſufferings. The friends of Antony endeavoured to load Octavius with the blame of theſe evils, and thought this a favourable opportunity to wreſt the government out of his hands. They found fault with the proviſion he had made for the army as too ſcanty; and they joined in the complaints that were made by the ſufferers, who were

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diſpoſſeſſed of their property to make way for the ſoldiers. They affected a deſign to reſtore the republic; and Lucius Antonius, in the character of Roman Conſul, called upon the remaining friends of the commonwealth to appear in ſupport of their legal magiſtrate. He profeſſed his intention to make war even on his own brother, as well as on Octavius, if he ſhould perſiſt in his preſent uſurpations, or ſhould attempt to obſtruct the reſtoration of the laws. But, notwithſtanding his profeſſions to this purpoſe, he himſelf, affecting to believe that his perſon was in danger, put his attendants under arms, and paraded the ſtreets at the head of a military force; a meaſure that was ever conſidered at Rome as the intimation of a deſign to uſurp the government.

Octavius, greatly provoked by theſe attacks which were made upon him by the repreſentatives of Antony, repudiated the daughter of Fulvia, whom, at the formation of the Triumvirate, he had betrothed merely to ſerve a political purpoſe, and whom he now returned to her family, with expreſs declarations of his never having had any commerce with her as his wife. Fulvia, affecting to conſider this inſult as a prelude to greater injuries, appealed to Lepidus in behalf of his abſent colleague, and withdrew to Prænеſte, whither great numbers of all ranks and conditions, both civil and military, flocked to her ſtandard. Here ſhe put herſelf at the head of an army, held regular councils, and, with a ſword by her ſide, gave the parole, and frequently harangued the troops.

In theſe haſty advances to a rupture, repreſentations to Antony, and preparations for war, were equally made on both ſides. It was yet uncertain how the army might divide between the parties. Octavius was likely, by his preſence, to command the ſuperior number; but great part of the forces now in Italy had been levied in the name of Antony, and ſtill, according to the cuſtom of thoſe armies, bore his name on their ſhields. The two legions which were to have been

been transferred to Octavius, to replace thoſe which he had given to Antony in Macedonia, were ſtill retained by Lucius Antonius for his brother. The provinces of Gaul, with conſiderable armies, ready to march into Italy, were under the government of Ventidius, of Plancus, and of Aſinius Pollio, who were the adherents of Antony, and likely to eſpouſe his cauſe. Antony himſelf, by the ſuperiority of his military character, had, in the courſe of his joint operations with Octavius, greatly ſurpaſſed him, and had acquired a high degree of reputation with the troops. It was, therefore, neceſſary for his rival to proceed with great caution, and not raſhly to draw upon himſelf, in this quarrel, the weight of his colleague's authority, nor to diſguſt the army, by appearing to be the aggreſſor in a war between their leaders.

Such diſputes were certainly in general diſagreeable to the army, who, having ſubdued the republic, hoped, now at their eaſe, to divide its ſpoils. It was neceſſary, therefore, for Octavius, if a war ſhould enſue, to make it appear to be the work of his enemies. For this purpoſe he formed at Rome a council of the principal officers; propoſed that they ſhould make enquiry into the grounds of the preſent diſſention, and oblige thoſe who were in fault to ſubmit to their decrees.

Fulvia and her partizans called this military convention by a ludicrous name, which we may tranſlate *the Ammunition Senate* [s], and refuſed to ſubmit their cauſe to ſo new a tribunal.

The army in general was alarmed at the proſpect of ſeeing the civil war renewed. Two legions that had firſt ſerved under Cæſar, and afterwards under Antony, being now quartered at Ancona, ſent a deputation to Rome, with intreaties that the parties would avoid a rupture. They were referred by Octavius to L. Antonius, who, he

[s] Senatus Caligatus.

ſaid,

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ſaid, was the aggreſſor; and proceeding, attended by a great concourſe of people to Prænesté, where the heads of the oppoſite party were aſſembled, beſeeched them to ſpare the republic, already too much afflicted with civil diſſentions. They were told for anſwer, "That Octavius was the aggreſſor; that while his colleague was "raiſing money for the benefit of the army, he was artfully chang-"ing the inhabitants of Italy, and occupying all the important ſta-"tions of the empire with his own retainers and creatures; that the "money, which, under pretence of ſupporting the war againſt "Sextus Pompeius, had been taken from the treaſury, was by Oc-"tavius diverted from its uſe, and employed in corrupting the "troops of his friend; that the eſtates of the proſcribed, under the "pretence of ſales, at which, beſides the creatures of Octavius, "there was no man to purchaſe, had been actually employed by him "for the ſame purpoſe; that, if he really meant to avoid a rupture, "he ought to do nothing, without conſulting the friends of his col-"league, who were equally entitled with himſelf to ſhare in the "fruits of their common victory obtained at Philippi. But I know," ſaid Lucius Antonius, "the falſehood of Octavius; while he amuſes "you with the hopes of a negociation and treaty, and with profeſ-"ſions of having nothing at heart beſides your intereſt, he is arming "himſelf with the utmoſt diligence, and has reinforced the garriſon "of Brundiſium, with an evident purpoſe to obſtruct the return of "his colleague, and your principal friend, into Italy."

Octavius being in poſſeſſion of the capital, in order that he might appear to have, not only the authority of government, but the countenance likewiſe of all the more reſpectable citizens of Rome on his ſide, called an aſſembly of the Senate, at which he invited the Equeſtrian order to attend. He repreſented to this aſſembly the calamities that were now impending over Italy from the jealouſy and reſtleſs ambition of a few perſons, who called themſelves the friends of Mark Antony,

Antony, and he exhorted them with one accord to join him in averting theſe evils. He accordingly obtained a deputation to be ſent to Prænesté, where the heads of the oppoſite party were ſtill aſſembled, to remonſtrate againſt their procedure. This meaſure however had no other effect, beſides that which Octavius propoſed by it, that of transferring to his enemies the blame of all the evils which were expected to follow.

An expedient was propoſed, more likely to prevent theſe evils, by a conference to be held by the military officers of the oppoſite ſides, who, perceiving themſelves about to be involved in a quarrel, were extremely averſe to riſk all the advantages they had already obtained, without any proſpect of gain. This expedient of a military congreſs was ſuggeſted by the officers themſelves, and was readily embraced by their leaders. Gabii being half way from Prænesté to Rome, was fixed upon as the place at which they ſhould meet; but on the day on which they were to open their conference, parties of horſe having been, from ſome remains of diſtruſt, without any concert, ſent forward on both ſides to eſcort their deputies, and mutually to obſerve each other, they met unexpectedly on the highway, and coming to blows, numbers were killed or wounded, and the intended convention was dropped.

Each of the parties, in conſequence of this accident, publiſhed a manifeſto, and began to aſſemble in a hoſtile manner. Lucius Antonius had ordered new levies, and with theſe, joined to the troops already on foot, under the authority of his brother, and who were now ſtationed in the nearer province of Gaul, under Calenus, he propoſed to aſſemble an army of eleven legions.

Octavius ordered ſix legions under Salvidienus, from Spain; and having already four in Italy, with a conſiderable body of troops, which, under the deſignation of Prætorian bands, made the ordinary guard

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guard of his perſon, he took the field to prevent the deſigns of his enemies.

The nobility and citizens of rank were divided; but the greater part, who had yet any hopes of ſeeing the civil government reſtored, thought themſelves ſafer in the party of the Conſul Lucius Antonius, than in that of Cæſar; and accordingly repaired to his camp.

Sextus Pompeius, on the eve of a conteſt thus likely to divide his enemies, might have made himſelf of conſiderable conſequence, or might have obtained advantageous terms from either party. His forces had been greatly augmented by the acceſſion of two legions, the remains of the wreck at Philippi, that had eſcaped with Murcus. He might have got a footing in Italy, and, by the favourable diſpoſition of many who felt the oppreſſion of the preſent government, or dreaded the future effects of its tyranny, might have held the balance between the contending parties. He, nevertheleſs, either under the notion of leaving his enemies to waſte their ſtrength againſt each other, or not having a ſufficient genius for ſuch arduous enterpriſes, ſuffered the opportunity to eſcape, and contented himſelf with endeavouring to ſecure his poſſeſſion of Sicily and Sardinia, which he hoped to retain as a patrimony independent of Rome.

Ænobarbus, the other remaining leader or repreſentative of the republican party, who was ſtill hovering on the oppoſite coaſt of Italy with the remains of the fleet, which he had commanded under Brutus and Caſſius, made frequent deſcents, and plundered the recent ſettlements of the veterans. He even forced his way into the harbour of Brundiſium, took ſome galleys belonging to Octavius, and laid waſte the adjacent country; but, while he was acting in a manner equally hoſtile to both parties, the forces of the Triumvirs, indifferent to every external enemy, began to aſſemble againſt each other. Lepidus declared for Octavius, and theſe two having left the

city

city together, Lucius Antonius preſented himſelf at the gates, and was admitted. Having aſſembled the people, he declared that his intention was to reſtore the republic. His brother, he ſaid, for the future deſired no illegal powers, and was ready to join in calling Octavius and Lepidus to account for the tyranny they had lately exerciſed againſt the ancient inhabitants of Italy.

In the mean time, the event of this conteſt appeared to depend on the movements that were making on the ſide of Spain and Gaul. Salvidienus being on his march to join Octavius, Aſinius and Ventidius hung on his rear. Agrippa, on the part of Cæſar, paſſed the Po in order to join Salvidienus; and having ſucceeded in this deſign, they obliged Aſinius and Ventidius to remain on the defenſive, expecting the arrival of Lucius Antonius, who was on his march to ſupport them.

When Antonius came to a paſs of the Apennines, on the Flaminian way, he found the gorges of theſe mountains already occupied by Agrippa and Salvidienus; not attempting to force them, he fell back to Peruſia, and ſent orders to Ventidius to join him by ſome other route; but Octavius having got poſſeſſion of Sentinum and Nurſia, two poſts on the oppoſite ſides of the mountains, effectually prevented the junction of his enemies, aſſembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of Peruſia, and inveſted Antonius in that place. He drew a line of circumvallation, extending about fifty ſtadia, or ſix miles, and placed his army between two parallels, equally ſtrong, againſt any attempts that were likely to be made from the garriſon, or from the field.

Lucius Antonius being thus ſhut up in Peruſia during the autumn, and part of winter, and all the efforts of Fulvia, Aſinius, Ventidius, and Plancus, to ſuccour him being ineffectual, he was reduced, from want of proviſions, to the greateſt extremities, and offered to capitulate.

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Octavius, in accepting this offer, with his uſual addreſs, took meaſures to divide his enemies, or to ſow the ſeeds of future jealouſy among them. He affected to diſtinguiſh the regular troops, which had been formed to ſerve under his colleague Mark Antony, from the Roman citizens, or rather ſuppoſed diſorderly perſons, who had taken a part in this inſurrection. The firſt, from pretended reſpect to their leader, he allowed to withdraw with honour, the others he required to ſurrender at diſcretion. In complying with this requiſition, L. Antonius himſelf ſet the example, went forth in perſon to receive the victor's commands, and being courteouſly treated, alleged his duty as a civil magiſtrate, and his deſire to reſtore the commonwealth, as an apology for his conduct, and implored mercy for thoſe who had embarked with him in the ſame deſign. Octavius replied, "That as his enemies had ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion, he ſhould make no remarks on "the truth of their plea, nor talk of conditions, where he was not "to be bound by a treaty; that he muſt now conſider not only what "his enemies had merited, but what was due to himſelf." Having found among his priſoners ſome of the veterans who had ſerved under Cæſar, he was diſpoſed to have ordered them all to be executed; but obſerving that this meaſure was extremely offenſive to his own army, he confined his ſeverities to the Roman citizens, who, he pretended, had on this occaſion acted with equal animoſity to the army, and to himſelf. To avenge the ſuppoſed injury that was done to the army, all perſons of the civil deſcription, found under arms, were put to death. Of theſe, Cannutius, C. Flavius, Clodius Bythinicus, and others, are mentioned by Appian [9]. This Cannutius is ſaid by Dion Caſſius to have been the Tribune, who preſenting Octavius to his firſt audience from the People, contributed ſo much to the riſe of his fortunes.

[9] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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The greater part of the executions were performed in the preſence of Octavius, and in the manner of ſacrifices to the manes, or to the divinity, of Julius Cæſar. In this form, however deteſtable, they were ſuppoſed, in that age, to carry an aſpect of piety, which ſanctified the cruelty with which they were ordered, and with which Octavius himſelf witneſſed the ſcene. Four hundred of the Senatorian and Equeſtrian order, are ſaid, by Dion Caſſius and Suetonius, to have periſhed in this manner [10]. The magiſtrates and council of Perufia, being ſeparately ordered to execution, implored for mercy, but had one general anſwer, *You muſt die* [11]. The place itſelf, whether by the deſperation of its inhabitants, or by the outrage of thoſe who were now become maſters of it, was ſet on fire, and burnt to the ground. The country around being deſerted, or laid waſte with fire and ſword, and cleared of its former poſſeſſors, became a prey to ſuch followers of the army as choſe to occupy it [12].

At the date of this odious tranſaction, Octavius was no more than twenty-three years of age; and though, in former examples of cruelty, his youth may have been over-ruled or miſled by the party-rage of his colleagues, yet, in this inſtance, he himſelf betrayed a mercileſs nature, in the effects of which he had no man to ſhare, or to divide the blame [13]; and the world began to dread more from the ſeparate power which he was about to eſtabliſh, than they did from the joint uſurpation, in which he bore a part, with perſons, of whom the one was contemned for want of capacity, and the other deteſted for his profligate manners.

Before the breaking out of this war in Italy, Domitius Calvinus and Aſinius Pollio had been deſtined Conſuls; and the year follow- U. C. 713. L. Dom. Calvinus, Aſinius Pollio.

[10] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 14.
[11] Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.
[12] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 14 & 15.
[13] Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvi.

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ing that, in which theſe tranſactions paſſed, is accordingly dated or inſcribed with their names. They were prevented however, by this breach, between the adherents of Antony and of Cæſar, from taking the formal poſſeſſion of their office.

Pollio holding his commiſſion from Mark Antony, although he had no opportunity to act, was underſtood to join with the brother in the late diviſion of their parties. While the war continued, being ſtationed in his province in the diſtrict of Venetia, he carried on a correſpondence with Ænobarbus, and repreſenting Lucius Antonius, with his title of Roman Conſul, as legal head of the republic, endeavoured to engage that officer on his ſide; but, in the event of the war, this correſpondence was broke off, and the military adherents of Antony being diſperſed or cut off, his relations and retainers fled in different directions.

Fulvia, eſcorted by three thouſand horſe, took the road to Brundiſium, and from thence, with Plancus and ſome other attendants, under the convoy of five galleys, ſailed to Greece [14]. Julia, the aged mother of Antony, took refuge with Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. Thither likewiſe fled Tiberius Claudius Nero, with his wife Livia Druſilla, and her infant ſon, perſons often to be mentioned in the ſequel of this hiſtory, as principal ſharers in that power which now ſeemed to be raiſed on the ruin of their fortunes. Others had recourſe to the protection of Ænobarbus on the coaſt of Apulia.

While the relations of Antony in Italy were engaged in this unfortunate conteſt, he himſelf had paſſed from Greece through Aſia into Egypt, where believing all his difficulties were at an end, he indulged his natural diſpoſition to pleaſure and diſſipation. At Epheſus he had aſſembled the principal inhabitants of the province of

[14] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

Aſia,

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Aſia, propoſed a contribution, and repreſented the occaſion which obliged his colleagues and himſelf to make a demand for money. "They were about to diſband the army," he ſaid, "conſiſting of "no leſs than twenty-eight legions, to whom were due great arrears "of pay, together with deſerved rewards and gratuities for paſt "ſervices. One of my colleagues," he continued, "is gone into "Italy to provide ſettlements for this numerous army, or rather to "remove all the inhabitants of that country, in order to make way "for them. The taſk of finding ſupplies of money lies upon me, "and I am perſuaded you will own we are very moderate, when we "demand no more than you gave to our enemies. Neceſſity, how-"ever, obliges us to exact, in one year, what Brutus and Caſſius le-"vied in two. *You will pleaſe then to order*," ſaid one of the au-"dience, "*two ſummers and two harveſts in this wonderful year; "for you, who can command us to pay the tax of two years in one, can "likewiſe order the fruits of both years to be gathered in one*[15]."

Antony, who paid more regard to wit than to the conſiderations either of humanity or juſtice, was pleaſed with this anſwer, and agreed that the propoſed ſubſidy ſhould be levied in two years, inſtead of one[16]. From Epheſus, he travelled by the coaſt towards Syria, laid heavy contributions, diſpoſed of lands and country ſeats, of which he made gifts to his retainers and followers. He received frequent applications for ſuch favours from thoſe who attended him, under pretence that the eſtates, which they coveted, were either deſerted or occupied by an enemy. To his cook, in particular, he is ſaid to have given the grant of a large poſſeſſion, for having pleaſed him in the dreſſing of a ſupper. In his own behaviour, he exhibited that diſſipation and extravagance, to which he ever returned in the moments of triumph and relaxation, and ſhewed, in the gaiety and

[15] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. [16] Plut. in Antonio.

feſtivity

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festivity of his court, a perfect contrast to the melancholy with which the inhabitants of every province were seized on his approach [17]. He had probably seen Cleopatra in Italy, during her intimacy with Julius Cæsar; and now, supposing himself come in place of that successful adventurer as head of the empire, he thought of this prize as the reward of his labours, and possibly considered her as the principal object of his journey to the East. In order to heighten the scene of their meeting, with a farce to consist of a supposed quarrel and reconciliation, he affected to believe a report of her having ordered her fleet from Cyprus to join that of Cassius in the late war, and he sent her a formal summons to meet him in Cilicia, and to give in her answers to this heavy charge.

Cleopatra accordingly appeared on the Cydnus on board a galley, with a splendid retinue, and dazzled the Roman Triumvir with the profusion of her ornaments, the elegance of her equipage, and the charms of her person. She was now about nine and twenty years of age, and being acquainted with the languages and manners of different nations, particularly instructed in the literature of the Greeks, and being in the maturity of wit and beauty, she joined the arts of a coquet, with all the accomplishments which became the birth and the high condition of a queen. Being invited to sup with Antony, she pleaded that he should begin with accepting her invitation. At their first entertainment, observing that his raillery savoured of the camp, she humoured him in this manner, and even surpassed him in the freedom of her conversation.

From thenceforward Antony laid aside all business, followed the queen of Egypt to her kingdom, leaving his own provinces exposed to an enemy, by whom they were soon after assailed and overrun; and while this storm was raging in the East, and his brother, with

[17] Plut. in Antonio.

his other adherents in Italy, were ſtruggling for his ſhare in the government of the empire, and obliged to fly or ſubmit to his rival, he paſſed the winter at Alexandria in frolic and diſſipation [11]. To gratify the jealouſy of Cleopatra, he ordered Arſinoë, her ſiſter and competitor for the throne, who had hitherto been confined at Miletus, to be put to death. In every other particular, he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by her caprice, and with the enſigns and attendance of a Roman Conſul, and firſt officer of the ſtate in the empire, lived like a boy under the influence of his firſt amour. The courſe of his pleaſures, however, was in a little time effectually interrupted, by a report of the ſtate of his affairs in Syria and the Leſſer Aſia.

Pacorus, the ſon of the king of Parthia, had paſſed the Euphrates with a great army, had overrun Syria, and was making haſty advances in Cilicia. He was conducted in this expedition by Labienus, a Roman officer [12], who, on the part of Brutus and Caſſius, had reſided at the court of Parthia, while the fate of the empire yet remained in ſuſpence at Philippi, and who now perſuaded the Parthians to attempt the conqueſt of opulent provinces in their neighbourhood, which, together with the Roman republic itſelf, were become the poſſeſſion of mere adventurers, unacknowledged and unſupported by the laws of the commonwealth.

Upon this alarm, Antony had aſſembled the naval forces of Aſia and of Egypt, and had ſet ſail with two hundred galleys for the coaſt of Phœnicia; when the miſconduct and diſtreſs of his relations in Italy were reported to him, and ſhewed him the neceſſity of directing thither the armament which he had fitted out againſt the Parthians, in order to re-eſtabliſh his intereſt, and to ſave the remains

[11] Plut. in Antonio.

[12] Suppoſed to be the ſon of him who ſerved under Julius Cæſar in the reduction of Gaul, and afterwards againſt him in the civil war.

of

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of his power [z]. Having committed the command of his forces in Aſia therefore to Ventidius, he ſteered for Greece. Upon his arrival at Athens, he was received by Fulvia, whoſe ſalutations were, probably, leſs flattering than thoſe to which he had been lately accuſtomed in Egypt. The huſband and the wife, on this occaſion, were mutually diſpoſed to blame and to recriminate. He complained of the flame which had been ſo unſeaſonably raiſed in his affairs in Italy, and ſhe of his notorious infidelities to her bed, and of his remiſſneſs in the care of his intereſt. She was ſuppoſed, in fomenting the late quarrel with Octavius, to have acted ſo much from jealouſy of Cleopatra, as to have induſtriouſly created troubles in Italy, in order to haſten the return of her huſband from Egypt.

At Athens, Antony was likewiſe met by Scribonius Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, who, under pretence of conducting his mother Julia in ſafety to her ſon, brought overtures of an alliance and propoſals, to form ſome concert for the conduct of their operations on the oppoſite coaſts of Italy againſt Octavius. To this propoſal, however, Antony made no deciſive reply. In the late partition of the empire, Italy was not made a part in the ſeparate lot of any of the Triumvirs; but being equally open to all of them, Antony profeſſed being on his way thither, not as an enemy of Octavius, but as his colleague in the government, equally intereſted with himſelf to preſerve the capital of the empire undiſturbed. In anſwer to Libo, therefore, he acknowledged his obligation to Sextus Pompeius, for the honourable manner in which he had treated his relation, aſſured him, that if an opportunity offered, he ſhould be happy to return the favour; and that if he were obliged to make war on Octavius, he ſhould be glad of Pompey's aſſiſtance; or, in caſe matters were accommodated otherwiſe, ſhould not neglect his intereſt in adjuſting the treaty.

[z] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Plut. in Antonio.

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Octavius being informed of this interview, ſeized the opportunity which it gave him of raiſing ſuſpicions againſt Antony in the minds of the veterans. He publiſhed the intelligence he had received of his correſpondence with the head of the Pompeian faction, and repreſented it as a prelude to ſome ſcheme for reſtoring the enemies of the late Cæſar, for re-eſtabliſhing the ancient poſſeſſors of land in Italy, and, conſequently, for diſpoſſeſſing the veterans of the ſettlements recently made in their favour. By ſpreading theſe reports in the army, he took meaſures to ſtrengthen himſelf, in caſe he ſhould find it neceſſary to refuſe his colleague a free admiſſion into any of the ports of Italy.

Soon after the reduction of Perufia, Calenus, who commanded a conſiderable body of Antony's forces at the foot of the Alps, dying, Octavius repaired to the quarters of thoſe troops, gained them over to his own intereſt, and, in order to ſecure their fidelity, made the neceſſary change of their officers. By theſe means, after he had ſupplanted the party of his rival in all the towns which they held in Italy, he now diſpoſſeſſed them of the Ciſalpine Gaul, for which their leader had ſo long contended againſt the Senate.

At the arrival of Antony in Greece, Octavius could muſter a land force greatly ſuperior to any that could be formed againſt him, even by the junction of his rival with Ænobarbus and Sextus Pompeius; but he was ſo much inferior in ſhipping, that if their fleets ſhould unite, they muſt be maſters of the coaſt, and prevent all the importations by which Italy was ſupplied from abroad. To ſow the ſeeds of ſome jealouſy between them, or to counteract the intrigues of Antony with Scribonius Libo and with Sextus Pompeius, he made offers of marriage to Scribonia, the ſiſter of Libo, and aunt of Pompey's wife; and this propoſal being favourably received by the brother, he ſent Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompeius, with an honourable retinue, to engage her ſon likewiſe to promote the intended

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alliance. By theſe means, he hoped to amuſe, or to ſoften, the animoſity of that family againſt himſelf; or at leaſt, by theſe appearances of a friendly correſpondence with Sextus Pompeius, in his turn, to alarm Antony, and thus to diſconcert any plan which his rival, in the proſpect of a breach with himſelf, might have formed for a coalition with the remains of the republican party. This marriage with Scribonia, was the ſecond project of the ſame kind which Octavius had formed before the age of twenty-four, merely to lull the vigilance, or to blunt the animoſity of his antagoniſts, while he himſelf continued to purſue his principal object with unremitting attention and ardour.

Antony, in every compariſon with Octavius, not only had the advantage of years, but was reckoned the better ſoldier; and having had the principal ſhare, if not the whole honour of the victory at Philippi, had great authority in the army, and was likely, wherever he appeared, to be favourably received by all the troops who had any where ſerved under his command. Theſe, however, upon his approach to Italy, under various pretences, were ſent by his crafty rival into the diſtant provinces. Lepidus too, although he had hitherto acquieſced in the late partition of the empire, by which he had been ſtript of his equal ſhare in the power of a Triumvir; yet, as he was ſuffered to retain the title, and might throw his weight into the ſcale of either of the other parties, or furniſh a pretence for ſome part of the army to follow him, it was thought proper, on the preſent occaſion, to remove him to a diſtance. For this purpoſe, the government of Africa was aſſigned to him, and he himſelf, with ſix legions of doubtful inclinations, was diſmiſſed to take poſſeſſion of that province.

While Octavius was thus ſtrengthening himſelf in Italy, or removing every object of diſtruſt from that country, Antony, with a leſs pacific appearance than he had hitherto preſerved, ſet out from

Athens, and leaving Fulvia ill at Sicyon, joined at Corcyra his fleet, which had come round the Peloponneſus, and from thence ſailed with two hundred galleys for the coaſt of Italy. He was joined by Ænobarbus in his paſſage, and ſteered directly for Brundiſium. As there was no declared quarrel betwixt himſelf and Octavius, he expected to be admitted into this port; but being diſappointed in this expectation, he landed at ſome diſtance from the harbour, and inveſted or blocked up the town by ſea and by land. Having thus committed hoſtilities, he no longer heſitated in accepting the alliance of Sextus Pompeius againſt Octavius, and propoſed to him to make a deſcent ſome where on the oppoſite coaſt of Italy, to diſtract the forces of their common enemy, while he himſelf continued the ſiege of Brundiſium. CHAP. V.

Sextus Pompeius accordingly, notwithſtanding that the marriage of his relation Scribonia with Octavius had taken place, not ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed upon by this artifice, landed at Thurio, in the bay of Tarentum, made himſelf maſter of that place, and of the country from thence to Conſentia. He, at the ſame time, ſent Mænas, one of his admirals, into Sardinia, who got poſſeſſion of that iſland, and gained to his party two legions that were ſtationed there.

Octavius ſent Agrippa to oppoſe Pompey, while he himſelf advanced for the relief of Brundiſium, but in a manner which confirmed the former ſuſpicions of his perſonal courage. Being taken ill on the march, he ſtopped ſhort at Canuſium, and ſuffered Brundiſium to fall into the hands of his rival. Agrippa acted with more vigour; preſſed upon the enemy who had landed near Tarentum, obliged them to abandon their conqueſts, and to take refuge in their ſhips.

After Antony had got poſſeſſion of Brundiſium, it ſoon appeared that this unprofitable quarrel was equally diſagreeable to the armies

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on both ſides, and each of the leaders, in order to exculpate himſelf to the troops, endeavoured to load his antagoniſt with the blame. Antony complained that, without any offence on his part, the ports of Italy had been ſhut up againſt him. Octavius recriminated, by alleging the correſpondence of Antony with the Pompeian party, and excuſed his own conduct, in the order he had given tc ſhut the port of Brundiſium, alleging, that this precaution was taken, not againſt Antony or the troops in his ſervice, but againſt Ænobarbus, one of the aſſaſſins of Cæſar, whom Antony had engaged to make war upon Italy.

In whatever manner theſe repreſentations were received, as the troops had frequent intercourſe, their mutual inclinations to peace became known to each other; and officers, who had acceſs to both their leaders, made formal propoſals to effect a reconciliation between them. Antony, to evince his willingneſs to ſpare the blood of the legions, diſmiſſed Ænobarbus, under pretence of employing him to execute a commiſſion in Bithynia, and at the ſame time ſent inſtructions to Sextus Pompeius to withdraw from the coaſt.

In this diſpoſition of the parties, accounts were received of the death of Fulvia, an event which greatly facilitated the negociation for peace, as it gave hopes of cementing the alliance of parties by a family connection. It was accordingly propoſed, that the ſiſter of Octavius, and the widow of Marcellus, ſhould be married to Antony: and, upon this baſis, a treaty was framed, including a new partition of the empire, by which all the Eaſt, from the Euphrates to Codropolis on the coaſt of Illyricum, was aſſigned to Antony. The Weſt, from thence to the Ocean and the Britiſh Channel, was aſſigned to Octavius. Italy, as the ſeat of government, and the principal nurſery of ſoldiers for the ſupply of their armies, was to be equally open to both. Lepidus was ſuffered to remain in the poſſeſſion of Africa. Ænobarbus was included in this treaty, and declared

at

at peace with the heads of the empire; but Sextus Pompeius, notwithſtanding his late confederacy with Antony, and his newly contracted relation with Octavius [21], was ſtill to be treated as an enemy. He was to be oppoſed by Octavius, while the war with the Parthians was ſuppoſed ſufficient to occupy the forces of Antony.

Upon the concluſion of this treaty, the leaders gave mutual entertainments, and the troops, releaſed from the unprofitable taſk of making war on each other, returned to the more agreeable occupation of receiving the rewards of their ſervices. They underſtood, that Antony had gone into Aſia to raiſe the money, which was wanted to pay off their arrears, and to ſatisfy their claims: they had manifold ſcores, in which they ſtated the rewards and gratuities which they had been made to expect on different occaſions, and they now became clamorous, in particular, for the ſums which had been ſo liberally promiſed them before the battle of Philippi. The ſame violence which they had been taught to employ againſt the civil government of their country, they were ready at times to turn againſt their own leaders. They addreſſed their demands, on the preſent occaſion, chiefly to Antony. From him they required an account of the money he had collected in Aſia; and ſurrounding him in a mutinous manner, would not have abſtained from violence to his perſon, if they had not been pacified by Octavius, who, having been the inſtrument of former liberalities, had credit enough with the army to make them acquieſce in the apology which was made for the delay of their payment, and in the freſh aſſurances, which were now given, that all the promiſes, which had been formerly made to them, ſhould be faithfully performed.

All diſcontents for the preſent being ſuſpended, the legions ſubmitted to be ſent into different quarters, and the leaders, with every

[21] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 28. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

appearance

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appearance of a perfect reconciliation, set out for Rome. They made their entry into the city together, on horseback, and dressed in triumphal robes; they were received by the People, of every rank and condition, with demonstrations of joy, which, under the sense of a deliverance from the prospect of a civil war, that had so recently threatened the inhabitants of Italy, was very general and very sincere.

The pacific appearances, with which the joint sovereigns of the empire made their entry at Rome, were confirmed by the actual marriage of Antony with Octavia; and it was expected, that the late rivals, now become brothers, by this marriage, were to govern for the future with much cordiality and mutual confidence. Antony, to evince the sincerity of this intention on his own part, put Manius, the confident of his brother and of Fulvia, to death, as being the supposed author of the late tumults in Italy; and probably, the more fully to shew how far he was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present connection, he betrayed a secret correspondence, which Salvidienus, an officer serving under Octavius, had maintained with himself during the siege of Brundisium. This officer, in consequence of the detection, being condemned for treachery, killed himself [22].

Upon the faith of these public renunciations of all partial attachments, Octavius and Antony, in the character of collegiate sovereigns, passed the remainder of the present year, and the whole of the following, at Rome, with great appearance of concord. This circumstance was in some measure ascribed to the discretion of Octavia, who, during the same period, was delivered of a child to Antony, and by the birth of this new relation, gave an additional pledge for the continuance of their union; but, nowithstanding these

[22] Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvii.

flattering

flattering appearances, Italy ſtill ſuffered under the diſtreſſes of a war, ſubſiſting with thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of Sicily and Sardinia.

Sextus Pompeius, exaſperated by the treatment he had received from both parties in the late quarrel and reconciliation, and now poſſeſſed of a conſiderable naval force, blocked up the ports of Italy, and prevented the uſual importation of corn. The inhabitants of the towns were reduced to great diſtreſs. Thoſe of the metropolis, in particular, became outrageous, and, in contempt of the military force by which they were governed, roſe in tumults, pulled down the houſes of perſons to whom they imputed their ſufferings, and even attacked the Triumvirs with reproaches and violence. Having furniſhed themſelves with arms, they reſiſted the troops that were employed to quell them, and, in their frequent conflicts, covered the ſtreets with the ſlain.

The Triumvirs were inclined to end theſe troubles, by urging with vigour the war againſt Pompey, in order to oblige him to open the ſeas; but for this purpoſe, a great reinforcement of ſhipping was neceſſary, and a tax was impoſed, in order to defray the expence of a fleet. A public burden coming ſo unſeaſonably, greatly encreaſed the general diſcontent. The inhabitants of Rome, although they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſtript of their political conſequence as Roman citizens, ſtill felt the wants of nature, and were provoked by exactions that affected their property: they took courage from the diſorders of the times, and ventured to cenſure an uſurpation, which they had not dared to reſiſt. "Italy, the head of the empire," they "ſaid, long uſed to exemption from all taxation, was not only torn by "domeſtic wars, but impoveriſhed by an extortion that was practiſed "to ſupport quarrels, not with foreign enemies, but with Romans, "and to gratify the vanity or emulation of fellow-citizens, who ex-"hauſted all the ſtrength of the commonwealth, merely to appro-"priate the government of it to themſelves; for this, ſo many

"reſpect

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" reſpectable citizens had been proſcribed; for this, ſword and fa-
" mine were ſtill permitted to rage, and the children of the firſt fa-
" milies of Rome, in order to revenge their perſonal wrongs, and
" even to procure their ſubſiſtence, were forced to act the part of
" banditti and of pirates."

The populace of Rome, inſtigated by theſe repreſentations, tore down the proclamation, in which the new tax was impoſed; and ſeeming to recover their former conſequence, though now under the government of military force, they became more riotous and dangerous than they had been in the utmoſt abuſe of their civil liberty, and in the height of their democratical power.

It became neceſſary, on account of the riots, and the growing ſcarcity of bread, to open a negociation with Sextus Pompeius, as the ſpeedieſt means of relief from the preſent diſtreſs. Octavius once more availed himſelf of the relation he had acquired to the family of Pompey, by his marriage with Scribonia, invited Libo to a viſit in Italy, and by his means propoſed an interview between the parties, to be held at Puteoli in the bay of Baiæ.

Sextus Pompeius having agreed to this propoſal, came with his fleet upon the coaſt. Antony and Octavius went to Puteoli by land, attended by many of the principal citizens, and a numerous military eſcort. In order that the parties might meet in ſafety, it was propoſed, that each ſhould have a ſeparate platform, erected on piles to be driven in the ſea, reaching, on the one ſide, from the ſhore, on the other, from Pompey's ſhip, ſo as to bring the parties ſufficiently near to hold their conference, though ſtill with ſuch a ſpace or interval between them, as might mutually ſecure them from any inſult or violence.

Theſe preparations being made, the fleet of Sextus Pompeius ranged itſelf on the one ſide, and the land army of the Triumvirs on the other. As the intereſts of all men were involved in the iſſue,

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expectations were greatly raiſed. The ſhores, the cliffs, the high lands were covered with ſpectators, who gazed on the ſcene, and anxiouſly waited for the event. At the firſt conference, the Triumvirs offered Pompey a ſafe return to Rome, with an equivalent for his father's eſtate. He demanded admiſſion into the Triumvirate, inſtead of Lepidus, who appeared in effect to be already excluded. As they parted without any agreement, a general diſſatisfaction appeared among their adherents and followers on both ſides. Pompey feared the defection of many who had hitherto followed him; and as he had lately put Murcus, a principal officer of his party, to death, from a jealouſy of this ſort, he was inclined to believe that many of his party were diſpoſed to accept of any terms, and to treat for themſelves.

The diſtreſſes of Italy, on the other hand, ſtrongly urged the Triumvirs to make the neceſſary conceſſions; and both parties came to a ſecond interview, with better inclinations to adjuſt their differences. It was accordingly agreed, that Pompey ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corſica; that the Peloponneſus ſhould likewiſe be ceded to him, and a ſum of money be paid in compenſation for the loſſes of his family [23]; that all the exiles, now under his protection, except ſuch as were concerned in the death of Cæſar, ſhould be reſtored to their country, and to a fourth part of their former eſtates; that the navigation of the ſeas of Italy ſhould be free, and veſſels immediately ſuffered to paſs from Sicily, and all the neighbouring countries, which were accuſtomed to ſupply the Italians with corn.

This treaty being ratified, was tranſmitted to Rome, and committed to the keeping of the Veſtal Virgins. Every cauſe of hoſtility or diſtruſt between the parties being thus done away, their platforms

[23] 15,500,000 Drach. or Denarii, about 500,000 l. Zonoras, lib. x. p. 283, c. 21.

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were joined by a bridge of planks, and they embraced each other. Thoſe, who were near enough to ſee this ſignal of peace, raiſed a ſhout, which was returned from the multitudes which crowded the ſhips and the neighbouring ſhores. Every one took a part in the joy that was occaſioned by the preſent event, as having ſuffered under the diſtreſſes and hardſhips which were now brought to an end.

Hiſtorians, ſeeming to feel for thoſe who were concerned in this tranſaction, have exerted their genius in deſcribing it; and, among other particulars, have recorded, that friends and relations, who had been long ſeparated, being to meet in peace, crowded with great ardour to the ſtrand; that perſons who had no ſuch particular motive, being ſeized with the general contagion, preſſed to have a nearer view of the ſcene; that numbers were ſuffocated in the crowd; that many from the boats and ſhips leapt into the ſea, and waded or ſwam to land, and were met from the ſhore by others who expected to recover their relations and friends; that ſhouts of joy, or cries of deſpair, were raiſed, according as they were ſeverally ſucceſsful or diſappointed in this expectation: that parents and children, diſappointed in their hopes of meeting each other, tore their hair, and fell into agonies of grief, the whole exhibiting, though in a ſuppoſed termination of public calamities, a lively expreſſion of the diſtreſs which the late troubles had occaſioned, and ſtriking marks of the wounds which were recently open, and bleeding in the vitals of the commonwealth, and in the boſom of every private houſe [24].

At the cloſe of this ſcene, the leaders mutually invited each other to a feaſt. Pompey, by lot, gave the firſt entertainment on board his ſhip; he made an apology for the want of accommodation, and playing on the word *Carinæ*, which ſignified a ſhip, and likewiſe was the name of his late father's villa and garden in the ſuburbs of

[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 37. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

Rome, which were occupied by Antony, "This," he ſaid, "is now "my *Carinæ.*" While the company were yet on board, Menas, once the ſlave of the great Pompey, but now emancipated, and the firſt ſea-officer in the fleet of his ſon, whiſpered him, that then was the time to revenge the death of his father and of his brother, and to recover the rank of his family, by diſpatching theſe authors of all their calamities. "Let me cut the cable," he ſaid, "and put to "ſea; I promiſe you that none of them ſhall eſcape." "This might "have been done by Menas, without conſulting me," ſaid Sextus; "but my faith is ſacred, and muſt not be broken."

The gueſts accordingly were ſuffered to depart, without having, in any way, been made ſenſible of the danger they ran, and they gave entertainments in their turns. At theſe feaſts, additional articles were thought of to confirm the treaty, and to regulate the meaſures of the future adminiſtration. To ſtrengthen the coalition of parties, the daughter of Sextus Pompeius was betrothed to Marcellus, the nephew of Octavius, and now the ſtep-ſon of Antony. The ſucceſſion to the Conſulate was fixed for four years. Antony and Libo were named Conſuls for the firſt year, Cæſar and Pompey were to follow, next Ænobarbus and Soſius, and laſt of all Antony and Cæſar. Under the adminiſtration of theſe laſt, it was ſuppoſed that the public order and public tranquillity might be ſo well reſtored; for this was the language which the Triumvirs ſtill affected to hold, that the republic would no longer need the interpoſition of extraordinary powers, and might be left to run its uſual courſe.

Sextus Pompeius ſet ſail for Sicily; the collegiate ſovereigns of the empire ſet out on their return to Rome; and, in their entry to the city, paſſed through multitudes, who, on the preſent occaſion, gave very ſincere demonſtrations of joy. The People flattered themſelves, that they were now to experience no more of their late diſtreſſes—no

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more civil diſſentions—no more tearing of the father from his family, to ſerve in the wars—no more oppreſſion and cruelty from the licentiouſneſs of armies—no more deſertion of ſlaves—no more devaſtation of their lands—no more interruption of agriculture—no more famine. In the return of exiles, who lately fled from the ſwords of their fellow-citizens, but who were now reſtored to the enjoyment of peace and ſecurity, they might perceive, it was ſaid, the ſureſt evidence of a general act of oblivion for all offences, and a termination of all party animoſities and diſputes.

Octavius and Antony, during the remainder of their continuance together at Rome, paſſed their time in literary amuſements, and in the faſhionable paſtimes of the age, cock-fighting and quail-fighting[25]. They conducted affairs of State with ſo much concord and ſilence, that no public tranſaction is mentioned, beſides the completing of the aqueducts projected by Julius Cæſar, and the celebration of the feſtivals, which had been vowed for the deſtruction of thoſe who had conſpired againſt his life[26].

[25] Plutarch. in Antonio.

[26] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 32, 33.

CHAP. VI.

Alarm of the Parthian Invaſion of Syria.——Arrangements of Octavius and Antony.——Departure of the latter, and Reſidence at Athens.——State of the Commonwealth.——Marriage of Octavius with Livia.——War with Sextus Pompeius.——Actions near the Straits of Meſſina.——Agrippa ſucceeds to the Command of Octavius's Fleet.——His Victory at Sea.——Flight of Sextus Pompeius.——Breach between Octavius and Lepidus.

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SUCH was the ſtate of affairs at Rome, when the accounts which had been ſucceſſively received from Syria, made the preſence of Antony appear to be neceſſary in that part of the empire which had been ſpecially committed to his care. His lieutenant Deſidius Saxa, in oppoſing the Parthians under Pacorus and Labienus, had received a defeat, and being unable to brook his misfortune, had killed himſelf. In conſequence of this cataſtrophé, the province of Syria was over-run by the enemy. Tyre, and all the principal towns on the coaſt were already in their hands, and the province of Cilicia lay open to their inroads.

Upon this report, Antony ſent forward Ventidius, to collect ſuch forces as yet remained in the province of Aſia, and to give ſome preſent check to the immediate progreſs of the Parthians, while he himſelf propoſed to follow, and to conduct the war in perſon. Before his departure, he obtained from the Senate and People the form of an act to confirm all the arrangements which the Triumvirs had made reſpecting the revenue, or any other department of the State. In concert with his colleague he made up the roll of the Senate, and marked out the ſucceſſion of Conſuls and other titular magiſtrates for

eight

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eight years. In their choice of perſons for theſe ſeveral honours, each was careful to balance the nomination of his rival with an equal number of his own dependants, clients, and perſons over whom he had intire influence; and in this competition for power, they named for the offices of State mere aliens, ſoldiers of fortune, perſons who had recently obtained their freedom, or confidential ſlaves manumitted for this purpoſe [1].

Theſe arrangements being made, Antony, attended by his wife Octavia, ſet out for Athens. Here he learned that the war in Syria was in a great meaſure at an end; that Pacorus, the ſon of the king of Parthia, with Labienus, having attacked Ventidius in his camp, were repulſed; that their forces had been afterwards routed in different encounters, and diſperſed; that Pacorus himſelf was killed [2]; that Labienus had fled, in diſguiſe, into Cyprus, was diſcovered, taken, and put to death; that the Parthians had abandoned all their conqueſts in Syria and in Paleſtine, and were haſtening to repaſs the Euphrates.

Antony, upon this termination of a war, which ſo much alarmed his diviſion of the empire, probably would have been inclined to return into Egypt; but as the preſence of Octavia rendered a viſit to Cleopatra improper, he determined to take his reſidence at Athens. From thence he diſtributed to his officers their ſeveral ſtations and provinces, and diſpoſed of kingdoms on the frontier to princes who ſolicited his protection: that of Pontus he beſtowed on Darius the ſon of Pharnaces, and grandſon of Mithridates; that of the Jews and Samaritans, on Herod; that of Pyſidia, on Amyntas; and that of Cilicia, on Polemon. During the winter he had dropped all the

[1] One Maximus, being in the nomination for the office of Quæſtor, was claimed and adjudged to be a ſlave; another perſon of the ſame condition was diſcovered in a high ſtation, and, as a puniſhment due for his preſumption, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 34.

[2] Plut. in Antonio.

retinue

retinue of a Roman officer of State, reſigned himſelf to eaſe, domeſtic pleaſures, and the converſation of the learned [3].

In the intervals of relaxation, ſome ſpecies of extravagance and diſſipation ever make a part in the hiſtory of Antony's life. The reports, however, which remain of his behaviour at Athens, may, in a great meaſure, be conſidered as a part of the reproach, which his enemies, to juſtify their own cauſe, have thrown upon his memory; and which they have been able, by becoming the victorious party, to fix upon his name for ever. He is ſaid, at ſome of his entertainments, to have perſonated Bacchus the young and irreſiſtable conqueror of the world, and to have carried this extravagance ſo far, that the Athenians were encouraged to pay their court, by propoſing a marriage between himſelf and their goddeſs Minerva. But to ſhow that he carried ſome reaſon in his madneſs, he accepted the match, under condition that the bride ſhould be accompanied with a ſuitable portion; and in this jeſt turned the ſervility of his flatterers to profit, by exacting ten millions of drachmas [4].

But in whatever manner Antony paſſed his ſuppoſed leiſure at Athens, Octavius, whoſe conduct, on moſt occaſions, is a manifeſt contraſt to that of his colleague, did not fail to avail himſelf of the advantages of his ſituation in Italy, the ſuppoſed head of the empire, and of the bent of the times to monarchy, by uniting, as much as poſſible, all the channels of influence in his own perſon.

The concerts of the firſt Cæſar with Pompey and Craſſus, though named a Triumvirate, were the mere effects of a private combination to over-rule the public councils, and to diſpoſe of every preferment, or place of emolument or truſt. But the powers now exerciſed by Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, though extorted by force, had at leaſt the nominal ſanction of a legal appointment, and

[3] Appian. de Bell. Civ. p. 714.

[4] About 300,000 l. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 39.

were

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were of the nature of thoſe extraordinary commiſſions which had been frequently given in every age of the republic, and which were not improperly calculated for any uncommon emergence, or arduous ſtate of affairs. A commiſſion of Triumvirate, in ſo great an exigency of the State, profeſſedly given to reſtore its tranquillity, and re-eſtabliſh public order, if it had been freely granted, was well enough ſuited to former precedents, and preſerved the analogy of Roman forms, inſomuch, that if the People had been leſs corrupted, the government of the republic might have been eaſily reſtored.

The titles of Senate and People, of Conſul, Prætor, and other magiſtrates or officers of State, were ſtill retained, and preſerved the appearance of antient formalities, whether in the legiſlature, or in the exerciſe of executive power. The ſame members which formed the antient political body were ſuppoſed to exiſt, though much debilitated, and ſunk in diſeaſe. The Senate conſiſted of perſons willing to ſubmit, or known to favour, the preſent uſurpation: ſuch perſons only were now to be found. Thoſe of a different deſcription had fallen in the civil wars, or periſhed in the late executions and maſſacres; and if they had ſtill remained, would not have been ſuffered to take a part in the government of the State by thoſe who, under the title of Triumvirs, had engroſſed all its functions. Even the pretended Comitia were no longer thoſe overbearing conventions, in which multitudes aſſembled in a tumultuary manner, aſſumed the prerogatives of the Roman People, diſpoſed of elections, or carried their own mandates into execution with irreſiſtable force. This part of the republican conſtitution was become a mere name, employed to ratify the acts of the Triumvirs, and to confirm their nomination of perſons to office. The forms of their meeting, however, as well as thoſe of the Senate, were retained to give a ſanction to deeds which might not be ſuppoſed of permanent authority,

rity, without the well known initials of the Senate and People of Rome [s].

As the ſupreme power, and the exerciſe of every public function, both at Rome and in the provinces, were now veſted in his pretended commiſſion, the ordinary offices of State were filled up merely for the ſake of form, or rather that there might be an opportunity to oblige particular perſons in their advancement to public honours. The titles of Prætorian and Conſular rank, retained by thoſe who had filled thoſe offices in the commonwealth, were come to reſemble the titles of honour by which the nobles are diſtinguiſhed in monarchies; and men had, for ſome time, begun to covet the office, not on account of the power it conferred, but for the ſake of the title it was to leave behind, with the perſons by whom it had once been poſſeſſed.

For this reaſon the antient denominations of office were not likely to be diſcontinued at Rome, even upon the eſtabliſhment of monarchy. The regular term of a year indeed was already no longer annexed to the idea of magiſtracy. The honour of having been Conſul or Prætor for a few months, for a few days, or even for a few hours, gave the precedency that was wiſhed for; and many, as ſoon as they had taken poſſeſſion of the office, were removed to make way for others to whom the ſame favour was intended.

In this manner, during the joint-reſidence of Octavius and Antony at Rome, Aſinius Pollio, and Domitius, holding the Conſulate, were made to reſign it, in order that two others might be admitted for a few days, of whom one was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and the firſt of his family that ever had a place on the rolls of the People as a citizen of Rome. But this new citizen had followed Julius Cæſar, and amaſſed a conſiderable fortune in his

[s] S. P. Q. R.

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ſervice. To others, the dignity of Prætor and of Edile, vacated on purpoſe, was transferred for a few hours. Theſe preferments gave no claim, as in the former times of the republic, to the government of provinces; they gave no influence, and ſcarcely preſcribed any function in the city.

In this general abuſe of the civil inſtitutions, now reduced to mere titles and forms, the Tribunes of the People, by means of the ſuperſtitious regard that was paid to their perſons, ſtill retained a part of their conſequence; and Octavius, inſtead of attempting to reduce it, affected to revere this ſacred repoſitory of the People's rights, in defence of which Julius Cæſar made war on the Senate; and inſtead of attempting to remove the defences with which theſe officers were provided againſt violence, he procured his own name to be inſcribed in their liſt, and took part in a ſacred character which he could not deſtroy; in this, as in many other particulars, diſcovering an admirable diſcernment of the means that were neceſſary to palliate a recent uſurpation; and ſeeming to profit by the experience of his late uncle, who, after he had overcome every ſerious reſiſtance, fell a ſacrifice to trifles, and to the ſecurity and oſtentation with which he aſſumed the ſtate of a monarch.

About this time is dated a conſiderable alteration made in the Roman law, by the addition of a rule reſpecting the effect of laſt wills. This rule is aſcribed to Falcidius [e], one of the colleagues of Octavius in the college of Tribunes. Hitherto Roman citizens were free to bequeath their fortunes at pleaſure, and to divide them in any proportion among their friends or acquaintance, whether relations or ſtrangers; and property held a courſe in its paſſage, by ſucceſſion, from one generation to another, which excluded no perſon whatever from the hopes of inheritance, provided he could obtain the regard of

[e] Lex Falcidia.

his

his fellow-citizens. As it was the practice of every teſtator, even when he had no motive for diſinheriting his neareſt relations, to give ſome teſtimony in his will to the merit of every friend who ſurvived him, it was reckoned an honour to be mentioned in many wills, and perſons who had not the ordinary opportunities to amaſs fortunes, either in the government of provinces, or in the farm of the revenues, might nevertheleſs become rich by an extenſive and well-ſupported courſe of good offices in the city. This practice is poſſibly leſs ſuited to monarchy, than it is to republics, and leaſt of all to deſpotical governments, where the maſter wiſhes to leave no will independent of his own. He can awe the living, but the dying eſcape from his influence. This feeling perhaps already began to take place in the minds of the rulers at Rome, and in the minds of thoſe who courted their favour; and it may have ſuggeſted the law of Falcidius, by which teſtators were ſuffered to diſpoſe, by will, of no more than three-fourths of their effects; the other fourth was aſſigned to the heir at law.

While Antony yet reſided at Athens, Octavius paſſed into Gaul on a progreſs to review his armies, and to make the proper diſpoſition of his force in the provinces; and it began to appear, that the late treaty, which had been concluded with Sextus Pompeius, was no more than a temporary expedient to procure relief to the inhabitants of Italy from the diſtreſſes with which they had been lately afflicted. The articles were never fully performed by either party. The family alliance, which Octavius had contracted with Sextus Pompeius in his marriage with Scribonia, by whom he had iſſue, a daughter afterwards ſo famous by the name of Julia, was likewiſe, about this time, broke off to make way for his marriage with Livia, a name already mentioned, and to be often repeated in the ſubſequent parts of this hiſtory.

U. C. 715. Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Norbanus Flaccus.

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Marriage had hitherto appeared to Octavius merely as the means of obtaining ſome political end; and he had already, in difficult tranſactions, twice availed himſelf of this expedient, although it is remarked by hiſtorians, as an evidence of his youth, that, until his marriage with Livia, his beard was not ſufficiently grown to need the uſe of the razor. In this alliance, however, he ſeems to have had a different object; and was ſo far from being led by utility alone, that he not only overlooked the want of it, but likewiſe got over many other difficulties which ſtood in his way.

Livia Druſilla was the daughter of Livius Druſus, a citizen who had been in open enmity with Octavius and his party; and who, in deſpair, after the battle of Philippi, with other adherents of the republic, had fallen by his own hands. The daughter had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, who alſo was a declared enemy of the Cæſarean faction; and who, in the late conteſt of parties in Italy, put himſelf at the head of the ejected land-holders of Campania, joined Lucius Antonius, and, as has been mentioned on the reduction of Peruſia, fled with his family into Sicily, where he took refuge with Sextus Pompeius. Being included in the treaty of reconciliation which was framed at Baiæ, he returned to Rome. His wife had already born him a ſon, afterwards well known by the name of Tiberius, and was again with child, and ſix months gone in her pregnancy, when it was propoſed, that ſhe ſhould part from her preſent huſband, and bring forth the child, of whom ſhe was then pregnant, in the embraces of Cæſar. The prieſts being conſulted on the legality of this marriage, deſired to know, whether the pregnancy of Livia was well aſcertained; and being informed that it was certain, made anſwer, That as there could ariſe no doubt concerning the parentage of her offspring, her ſeparation from Tiberius Claudius, and her marriage with Octavius, were lawful.

The

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The change which now took place in the family of Octavius, by his repudiating Scribonia, was considered as the prelude to a war with Sextus Pompeius. Many articles of the late treaty had never been carried into execution. The Peloponnesus, under pretence of the time which was necessary to recover some arrears that were said to be due to Antony in that province, had not, according to agreement, been delivered to Pompey. In justification of other infractions of the treaty, it was urged against him, that, contrary to the faith he had given, he continued to augment his fleet, and suffered his cruizers to commit depredations on the traders of Italy. Some pirates being taken, and threatened with the torture, alleged, in their own vindication, that they acted under his orders. The confessions of these men being published, with complaints and remonstrances; an altercation ensued that was likely to end in hostilities and open war.

After these complaints had become mutual between Octavius and Sextus Pompeius, the rupture was hastened by the defection of Menas, one of Pompey's officers, the same person who proposed to carry off Antony and Octavius, by cutting the cable while they were at dinner on board his master's ship. This officer, being intrusted with the command of a fleet in the ports of Sardinia, upon some disgust to his master, entered into a correspondence with Octavius, made offer of his service, and proposed to surrender the island. This act of perfidy became known only by the acceptance and execution of the offer. Octavius obtained the possession of Sardinia, and received Menas with sixty galleys into his service, rewarded his treachery by employing him in the same rank which he possessed under Sextus Pompeius, and by conferring upon him the gold ring, the well known badge of nobility at Rome [7].

[7] Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 45. Orosius, Appian, &c.

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As this tranſaction took place while the treaty was yet ſuppoſed to be in force, Pompey demanded that the traitor ſhould be delivered up to him, and the iſland of Sardinia reſtored; but was anſwered, that he himſelf had been the aggreſſor, in giving refuge to deſerters and fugitive ſlaves.

Pompey, on receiving this anſwer, proceeded to immediate hoſtilities [s]. He ſent Menecrates, who ſucceeded Menas in the chief command of his fleet, to the coaſt of Campania, with orders to make repriſals, and to plunder Vulturnus, and ſome other places of that neighbourhood.

Octavius, on his part, had been ſome time endeavouring to ſupply his want of ſhipping, had built ſome veſſels in the ports of Italy, which, with the addition of thoſe he received by the deſertion of Menas, put him in condition to enter on the war with advantage. He had ordered his equipments at two ſeparate ſtations; the one at Tarentum, the other on the coaſt of Etruria; and, being now to make war on Sicily, he propoſed to bring his naval forces together at Rhegium, in the ſtraits of Meſſina. Thither he likewiſe directed a powerful land army to march, in order to invade the iſland, and to begin the war, by expelling Pompey from the principal ſeat of his power. He himſelf came round to Rhegium with that diviſion of his fleet which had been fitted out at Tarentum. Calviſius commanded the other diviſion, and made ſail from the coaſt of Etruria to the ſame place.

Sextus Pompeius, having notice of this diſpoſition that was made to attack him, likewiſe divided his forces. He himſelf took poſt at Meſſina to obſerve Octavius, and ſent Menecrates to intercept Calviſius, and to prevent the junction of their fleets.

[s] Zonaras, lib. x. c. 23.

Menecrates

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Menecrates accordingly came in ſight of his enemy in the evening of the ſame day, lay that night under the iſland Ænaria, while Calviſius came to anchor near Cumæ. Next morning, at break of day, both fleets got under ſail; but Calviſius, having orders to bring his diviſion ſafe to the general rendezvous at Rhegium, was deſirous to avoid an engagement, and kept under the land. Menecrates, ſteering the ſame courſe, kept abreaſt of the enemy, till perceiving their deſign to avoid him, by lying cloſe to the ſhore, he too ſtood in with the land to attack them.

Calviſius, finding an action unavoidable, and thinking himſelf inferior in the ſkill of his mariners, determined to bring his ſhips to anchor under the land, where they could not be ſurrounded, and where his men, if attacked, having ſmooth water, might uſe their ſwords as on ſolid ground; and he accordingly formed a line cloſe to the ſhore, turning the prow and the beak of his ſhips to the ſea.

In this poſition the ſquadron of Octavius received the ſhock of the enemy, and on the right, where Calviſius himſelf commanded, made a good defence, but in the centre, many of the ſhips were forced from their anchors, and ſtranded, or burnt. Menecrates, in coming to engage, diſtinguiſhed the galley of Menas, his antient rival, and the traitor to their common maſter; bore down upon him, and, in the ſhock, broke away the beak of his galley; but, in paſſing along his ſide, as the veſſel bruſhed, loſt all the oars of his own ſhip. They afterwards grappled, and fought till both the commanders were wounded; and Menecrates, finding himſelf diſabled, and in danger of being taken, went headlong into the ſea. His galley inſtantly ſtruck, and was towed off by the enemy. This event, although the advantage was otherwiſe greatly on the ſide of Pompey, diſpirited the whole ſquadron; and Democharès, who ſucceeded Menecrates in the command of Pompey's fleet, neglecting the advantage he might have reaped from the ſituation and loſs of the enemy, withdrew to

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the iſland Ænaria, and from thence, on the following day, ſet ſail for Sicily. Calviſius, having endeavoured to repair his damage, continued his voyage, under the land, towards Rhegium.

Octavius, at the ſame time, not knowing of this action, but being impatient to effect the junction of his fleets, made ſail from Rhegium, and ſtood to the northward through the Straits. When the greater part of the fleet had paſſed the port of Meſſina, he was obſerved by Sextus Pompeius, who put to ſea, and attacked his rear. He nevertheleſs continued on his way through the gut, and would have declined an action, if it could have been avoided; but finding himſelf in danger of ſuffering an abſolute defeat from the enemy, who, taking advantage of his courſe, preſſed on his rear is an actual flight, he made a ſignal to halt; and from the ſame motives which determined Calviſius to form under the land, making a like diſpoſition, he hoped, that, by being at anchor, his men might engage on equal terms with an enemy who were greatly ſuperior in the management of their ſhips. In the event, however, he was much more unfortunate than Calviſius, and had great part of his fleet either ſtranded or burnt. He himſelf, while his ſhips were ſtill engaged, left Cornificius to continue the fight, got on ſhore, and with a number of men, who had eſcaped from the wrecks, took refuge on the neighbouring hills.

At the approach of night, the lieutenant of Octavius, while the enemy ſtill preſſed upon him, ſeeing the danger of having all his ſhips forced on ſhore before morning, made a ſignal for the remains of the ſquadron to cut their cables, and ſtand out to ſea. In making this movement, his own galley grappled with that of Demochares, and having diſabled her, obliged the commander to move into another ſhip. At this inſtant the other diviſion of Octavius's fleet, commanded by Calviſius, appeared to the northward; being ſeen firſt from the enemy's fleet, occaſioned a ſudden pauſe in the action.

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Pompey, believing this to be a freſh enemy, whom, after ſo much loſs and fatigue, he was not in condition to engage, took his reſolution, to the great ſurpriſe of the ſquadron he had vanquiſhed, to relinquiſh his prey, and retire to Meſſina.

Cornificius again came to anchor in the place of action, and being joined by Calviſius, paſſed the night in taking an account of his damage, in ſaving ſuch ſhips as could be got off, or in removing the baggage and ſtores from ſuch as were aſhore. Octavius, at the ſame time, made fires on the hills to aſſemble the ſtragglers who had eſcaped from the wrecks, of whom many were found without arms or neceſſaries of any ſort.

Towards morning, a gale of wind aroſe from the ſouth, and rolled a great ſea through the ſtraits. It continued to blow all day and the following night; during which time, Menas, being an experienced mariner, had not only originally come to an anchor with his diviſion, as far as he could from the land, but continued all night to eaſe his anchors, by plying againſt the wind with his oars. Of the reſt of the fleet, ſuch ſhips as were near the land having drove in the night, many periſhed on the rocks. At break of day the wind abated; but, from the effects of the ſtorm which had blown in the night, the ſtrand was covered with dead bodies, and with the fragments of ſhips. The veſſels that were ſtill afloat, being about one half of the fleet, having ſtopped for a little time to ſave as many as they could from the wrecks, ſet ſail in a very ſhattered condition for Vibo. Here they arrived without any moleſtation from the enemy, who were contented to have remained in ſafety at Meſſina. Octavius himſelf having beheld the wreck of ſo many of his ſhips, took the route of Campania by land, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to fruſtrate any attempts which Pompey might make on the coaſt.

The ſummer having been ſpent in theſe undeciſive operations, both parties prepared for a vigorous renewal of the conteſt in the following

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U. C. 76. M. Agrippa, L. Caninius Gallus, T. Statilius.

ſpring. Pompey himſelf continued to alarm the coaſt of Italy during the winter, and ſent Apollophanes, one of his officers, to make a deſcent upon Africa. Octavius gave orders to repair the loſs of his ſhips, and to recruit his land-forces. He had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of Antony, who had hitherto expreſſed a diſlike to the war, and was probably jealous of the acceſſions of power which Octavius was likely to gain by the deſtruction of Sextus Pompeius.

Antony however, upon this requiſition from his colleague, ſet ſail from Greece, and appeared at Tarentum with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, though ſtill undetermined, it is ſuppoſed, which ſide he ſhould take in the preſent conteſt. But Octavia, who had accompanied her huſband to Tarentum, had the addreſs to turn the ſcale in favour of her brother. She undertook to be the mediator of their differences, went on ſhore, and procured an amicable interview between them. At this meeting they made an exchange of ſea and land forces. Antony gave to Octavius a hundred and twenty ſhips, and had in return twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers. To confirm the removal of all their ſuſpicions, Julia, the infant daughter of Octavius by Scribonia, was, on this occaſion, betrothed to Antyllis, one of the ſons of Antony by Fulvia; and a daughter of Antony was betrothed to Domitius. Theſe ſchemes of alliance, projected in the infancy of the parties, never took effect, but were among the artifices with which the parents endeavoured to amuſe each other.

Octavius and Antony now agreed, with very little heſitation, that Pompey had forfeited the Conſulate, the prieſthood, and all the other advantages which had been yielded in his favour by the late treaty; and they made new arrangements reſpecting the ſucceſſion to office, in behalf of themſelves and their friends. The principal object in theſe arrangements was the gratifying their adherents with titles of rank. In the preceding year, no leſs than ſixty-ſeven perſons had paſſed through the office of Prætor. This dignity, as well as that of Conſul,

was

was frequently, for the ſake of the title, taken up and reſigned in the ſame day. The office of Ædile, which uſed to be of ſo much conſequence under the republic, as it gave an opportunity to court the favour of the People with entertainments and ſhows, being now of no value on this account, and being the loweſt in rank, though ſtill expenſive, was generally declined [9].

The period for which the pretended commiſſion of the Triumvirs had been granted by the Roman Senate and People being now about to expire, Octavius and Antony, without having recourſe to the ſame form, reſumed the exerciſe of their power for five years longer. And having, in appearance, amicably ſettled the ſeveral points in diſpute between themſelves, they ſeparated in purſuit of their reſpective objects; Octavius being intent on the war with Sextus Pompeius, and Antony on that with the Parthians. But, to the great danger of their future agreement, the laſt was no longer attended by Octavia, who had hitherto ſerved as a bond of union between them, and had checked the jealouſies and extravagancies of her huſband. She had born him a child, was again pregnant, and being unable to attend him in the dangers to which he was likely to be expoſed in the Parthian war, choſe to remain in Italy, and to fix her reſidence at Rome [10].

In the proſpect of the approaching campaign, Agrippa was recalled from Gaul, where he had been employed by Octavius in the preceding ſummer, and during the miſcarriages on the coaſt of Italy. This officer, although of mean extraction, roſe to the higheſt honours which could, in this ſtate of his country, be attained by a citizen. As he was not born to the dignity and pretenſions of a Roman Senator, he cannot be accuſed, with others, of having betrayed that character; but coming forward amidſt the ruins of the

[9] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 43—53.
[10] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 46, &c.

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republic, and after the extinction of thoſe virtues which were neceſſary to its preſervation, he was the firſt perſon who underſtood and poſſeſſed the habits and accompliſhments which are required in ſupport of a monarchy; ſubmiſſion without ſervility or baſeneſs, application, fidelity, and courage; eſtimating honours by his nearneſs to his prince, and merit by the degree in which he could promote his ſervice [11]. He had in the preceding ſummer obtained ſome victories on the Rhine, and was the firſt Roman, after Julius Cæſar, who had paſſed that barrier of the German nations. Upon his arrival at Rome he might have had a triumph on account of theſe ſervices; but preferring the reſpect that was due to his maſter, to the ſenſe of his own perſonal conſequence, he ſaid, that it did not become him to triumph while the affairs of Cæſar were not in proſperity.

Agrippa was by his genius qualified for the execution of magnificent works, as well as for the ſteady and able conduct of military operations. Obſerving, that the diſaſters of the preceding year were to be imputed, in ſome meaſure, to the want of harbours and proper retreats for ſhipping on the weſtern coaſt of Italy, he made it his firſt object to ſupply this defect, by opening a communication from the ſea to the lakes of Cumæ, which were ſpacious baſons, and when thus rendered acceſſible by navigable entries, might furniſh every conveniency for the reception and conſtruction of fleets. In deſcribing the maſonry which was neceſſary in the formation of theſe communications, mention is made of the peculiar advantage derived from the uſe of burnt earth taken from the neighbouring mountains; and which being uſed for ſand in the compoſition of mortar, made an excellent cement for buildings that were to remain under water [12].

[11] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 79.

[12] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

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While the ſummer paſſed in the execution of theſe works, and in the equipment of a proper fleet to encounter that of Pompey, Menas, repenting of his late deſertion, entered into a correſpondence with his former maſter; and being aſſured of pardon, withdrew with ſeven ſhips from the fleet of Octavius, then under the command of Calviſius, and returned to his former ſervice. Octavius took this occaſion to ſuperſede Calviſius, upon an imputation of neglect, and appointed Agrippa to ſucceed him in the conduct of the war.

U. C. 717. L. Gellius Poplicola, L. Munatius Plancus, M. Cocceius Nerva, P. Sulpicius Querinus.

About a year was ſpent in the equipment of ſhips and in training the mariners, which, for the convenience of harbours and docks, was executed as before, at two ſeparate ſtations; one at Tarentum, under Statilius Taurus, where the ſhips which had been furniſhed by Antony ſtill remained; the other in the new harbour at Puteoli, under Agrippa.

Lepidus, to ſecond the operations of Octavius, had aſſembled his forces on the coaſt of Africa, and it was concerted that Sicily ſhould be invaded in three places at once; at Lillybæum, the neareſt part to Africa, by Lepidus; at Mylæ, on the northern ſide of the iſland, by Agrippa; and at Taurominium, on the eaſtern coaſt, by Statilius Taurus. It was projected that the armaments equipped for theſe different ſervices, ſhould be at their places of deſtination as nearly as poſſible about the firſt of July.

While theſe preparations were making, Octavius, reſiding chiefly at Tarentum or at Cumæ, left the adminiſtration of civil affairs at Rome in the hands of Mæcenas, who, though not veſted with any office of magiſtracy, or any other public character beſides that of a perſon in the confidence of his maſter, poſſeſſed a ſupreme authority. Octavius himſelf, when the plan of the war was ripe for execution, joined that diviſion of his forces which was led by Agrippa, and ſailed from Puteoli at the appointed time; but after he had croſſed the bay of Baiæ, to the promontory of Minerva, he met with a ſtorm, by which many

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many of his ſhips were damaged, and forced to put back into the port he had left.

This accident was likely to diſconcert the operations of the campaign, or to delay the invaſion of Sicily for another ſeaſon. But the complaints of the people of Italy, ſuffering under the obſtruction that was given by Pompey to the importation of corn, required an immediate relief. Some of the projected operations of the campaign were already begun, and required to be ſupported. Lepidus had ſailed with the firſt diviſion of his army, and had landed in the neighbourhood of Lilly bæum, and Statilius Taurus had advanced from Tarentum to Leucopetræ, oppoſite to Taurominium, the place at which he was ordered to make his deſcent. Urged by theſe conſiderations, Octavius, with ſuch repairs as he could accompliſh, in about thirty days after he had been put back into port, again put to ſea. At Strougylé he learnt that Pompey, with the greater part of his fleet, lay off Mylæ to guard that acceſs to the iſland. Thinking this, therefore, a favourable opportunity to puſh his other attack from Leucopetræ to Taurominium, he himſelf returned to the coaſt of Italy, landed at Vibo, went from thence by land to Leucopetræ, and put the ſquadron from that place in motion for their intended deſcent on Sicily.

While Octavius was thus employed at the other extremity of the Straits, Agrippa had come to an action with Pompey's fleet off the harbour of Mylæ, and obliged them to put back into port with the loſs of thirty ſhips [15]. This circumſtance ſtill farther confirmed Octavius in his intention to paſs with his army into Sicily; and he accordingly, without meeting with any obſtruction, arrived at Taurominium, and landed his forces.

Sextus Pompeius, in the mean time, having had intimation of this deſign, ſoon after the action at Mylæ, had withdrawn in the

[15] Oroſius, lib. vi. p. 266.

night to Meſſina; and having put freſh men on board his ſhips, ſteered for Taurominium, and came in ſight of the harbour ſoon after the enemy had diſembarked. By the unexpected appearance of a fleet much ſuperior to his own, Octavius was greatly alarmed; and leaving the command of the forces he had juſt landed, to Cornificius, he ordered his ſhips to ſlip their cables, and make what ſail they could to recover the harbour of Leucopetræ. He himſelf went on board a ſmall pinnace, in order the better to eſcape the purſuit of the enemy, and with a very few attendants landed in a creek on the coaſt of Italy. His ſhips were diſperſed, part taken, and many ſtranded on the oppoſite ſhores; but he himſelf made his way in the night to Leucopetræ, where a diviſion of the army, under Meſſala, waited for the return of the ſhips in which they were to follow the former embarkation. CHAP. VI.

Octavius, without being diſconcerted by this diſaſter, or by a conſciouſneſs of the part which he himſelf had acted, and which ſerved to confirm all the former imputations of cowardice, without loſs of time ſent immediate diſpatches to all the ſtations of his troops, to intimate his ſafe arrival in the camp of Meſſala. Before he ſhifted his wet clothes, or took any food, he made all the neceſſary arrangements; ſent a pinnace to Cornificius, whom he had left in the command of the army in Sicily, with orders to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; and another to Agrippa, with inſtructions to move as ſoon as he could, by ſea or by land, to his relief. And he ordered Carinas, who with three legions lay embarked at Vibo, to ſail without loſs of time, and to join Agrippa at Liparé.

While Pompey paſſed with his fleet along the coaſt from Meſſina to Taurominium, he had ordered a great body of horſe on the ſhore to keep pace, as nearly as poſſible, with the motion of his ſhips; and as they approached to Taurominium, while he himſelf ſhould block up the harbour, to lay waſte the country, or to reſtrain the foraging parties of the enemy.

Cornificius,

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Cornificius, whom Octavius had left in the command of his forces at this place, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, took his reſolution to depart from the coaſt, and, if poſſible, to join Agrippa, who, he had reaſon to believe, might by this time have effected his landing at Mylæ, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland. He accordingly endeavoured to convey intelligence of his deſign, and requeſted Agrippa to come forward to meet him with a proper force, and with the neceſſary ſupplies, to give relief to his army, and to favour his junction.

The route by which Cornificius was moſt likely to avoid Pompey's ſtations, led by the ſkirts of Mount Ætna, and over barren tracts that were ſtill covered, inſtead of ſoil, with pumice and lava, which had been diſcharged from the mountain, and which were not any where ſupplied with vegetation or water. His way over this ſpecies of ſoil lay through difficult paſſes, occupied by the natives, who either haraſſed his rear, or diſputed his paſſage in front. But after having undergone great labour and diſtreſs, and having loſt a conſiderable part of his army by fatigue and famine, he was met by Laronius, with a reinforcement of troops and ſupply of proviſions from Agrippa; and, upon the appearance of this relief, was ſuffered by the enemy to continue the remainder of his march undiſturbed.

Thus the two ſeparate diviſions of the army of Octavius, with which he intended at once to have attacked the oppoſite ſides of the iſland, were aſſembled together on the northern coaſt. Hither he himſelf ſoon after repaired, and began his operations by land at the head of twenty-one legions, twenty thouſand horſe, and above five thouſand light or irregular infantry.

Pompey was yet ſtrong in the neighbourhood of Meſſina, or in that angle of the iſland which pointed towards Italy. The ground being rugged and mountainous in the interior parts, forming a ridge from Mount Ætna to the head of Pelorus, his quarters were acceſſible only,

only, or chiefly, by the roads on the coaſt, leading from Mylæ on the one hand, and from Taurominium on the other, to Meſſina. Of theſe communications he was ſtill maſter, by means of the fortreſſes which he poſſeſſed at Mylæ, and at Taurominium. As he ſuppoſed that Lepidus, from the ſide of Africa, would attempt to cooperate with the forces of Octavius from Italy, he had ſtationed at Lilybæum a part of his fleet, and a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by Plennius, to oppoſe the deſcent and advances of the enemy on that quarter. The officer who had charge of his fleet on this ſtation, had ſuffered the firſt embarkation of Lepidus to eſcape and to effect their landing; but being ſo fortunate as to intercept the ſecond, he in a great meaſure diſconcerted the intended operation on that ſide.

Lepidus, with that part of the army he had landed in Sicily, remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, until having accounts that Octavius was arrived in the iſland, had united the different diviſions of his army at Mylæ, and had obliged Sextus Pompeius to collect all his force in the neighbourhood of Meſſina, he ſuppoſed that the country from thence might be open to him; and he accordingly, notwithſtanding that Plennius, with a conſiderable body of Pompey's forces, remained behind him at Lilybæum, marched from one end of the iſland to the other; and having effected his junction with Octavius, they determined to preſs upon Pompey at once with their united forces both by ſea and by land.

In execution of this plan, Agrippa made a feint to land at the head of Pelorus; and having drawn the attention of the enemy to that quarter, favoured the deſign of Octavius, who, in the mean time, ſurpriſed and took the fortreſs of Mylæ. The combined army having gained this important advantage, continued to preſs upon Pompey, made movements which threatened to inveſt Meſſina, and to cut off the communications of his fleet and army with

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the country in the neighbourhood of that city. In order to avoid theſe inconveniences, Pompey found himſelf under a neceſſity to hazard a battle either by ſea or by land, or wherever his antagoniſts preſented an opportunity the moſt likely to procure him relief. He himſelf relied chiefly on his naval force; and accordingly, without ſeeking for any advantage of ſituation or ſurprize, preſented himſelf to the enemy near to Naulochus, between the promontories of Mylæ and Pelorus, and was there met by Agrippa.

The fleets which were now to engage, conſiſted of about three hundred ſhips on each ſide. When formed in order of battle, their lines were nearly of equal extent. The conſtruction of ſhips was the ſame, and they advanced deliberately on ſmooth water, without any circumſtance that appeared to prognoſticate the victory on either ſide. The armies, at the ſame time, were drawn upon the ſhore, and in ſight of the ſcene which was to be acted before them. After an obſtinate fight, in which the fleet of Pompey already ſuffered conſiderably, ſeventeen of his ſhips at once withdrew from the action, and ſtood away for the Straits of Meſſina. Thoſe that were neareſt the land ran upon the ſhore, and were wrecked or taken; the remainder being farther at ſea, and cut off from their own harbours, ſtruck, and delivered themſelves up to the enemy.

The progreſs of the action at ſea was accompanied from the land with ſhouts and acclamations on the one ſide, and with ſilent affliction, or with cries of deſpair, on the other. Twenty-eight ſhips of Pompey's fleet were ſunk; above two hundred and fifty, being the whole that remained beſides the ſeventeen that fled to Meſſina, were ſtranded, taken, or burnt [14]. Octavius loſt only three ſhips.

Pompey perceiving the extent of his calamity, was ſeized with deſpair; and, without having given any orders in camp, made haſte to

[14] Oroſius, lib. vi. c. 18.

Meſſina.

Meſſina. The army he had left in the field, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by their leader, went over to the enemy. He himſelf, at Meſſina, made a feint of muſtering his forces as for an obſtinate defence. He called in all the ſhips that any where remained on the coaſt, and all the forces that could be found on the iſland [15]. But, in the midſt of theſe pretended arrangements for a vigorous reſiſtance, he had taken a reſolution to depart from Sicily; and having a veſſel prepared for his reception, accordingly embarked, with his daughter, and a few perſons whom he had choſen to attend him in his flight.

As ſoon as the veſſel, on board of which it was known Pompey had embarked, appeared under ſail, all the ſhips which were then in the harbour put to ſea, with intention to follow the ſame courſe; but without receiving any orders or intimation of a place at which to re-aſſemble, in caſe of ſeparation. The unfortunate leader obſerving, among the ſhips that followed him, ſome that were commanded by officers in whom, in the preſent ſtate of his fortunes, he could not confide, wiſhed to ſeparate from them, and gave out that he meant to avoid the coaſts; and, in order to deceive them in the night, extinguiſhing his lights, rowed cloſe to the ſhore of Italy, and turning round the head-lands till he was oppoſite to Corcyra, he ſtood over for that iſland, from thence to Cephalonia, and laſt of all to Leſbos, where he landed at Mytilené, a place at which he had reſided with his mother Cornelia, during the campaign between his father and the firſt Cæſar in Theſſaly, and from whence he had been carried about twelve years before this date, to witneſs the cataſtrophé of his father's fortunes on the coaſt of Egypt. At Mytilené, notwithſtanding the memory of theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, and the low ſtate of his own affairs, he met with a hoſpitable reception, and paſſed the winter in humble

[15] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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expectation of protection from Antony, to whoſe generoſity he intended to commit himſelf.

Octavius, in the mean time, ſuſpecting that Pompey muſt have taken refuge in ſome part of the provinces which were in the juriſdiction of his colleague, was cautious not to awaken his jealouſy by preſuming to violate his ſanctuary, or by pretending to anticipate the reſolutions he might be inclined to take on the ſubject of this ſuppliant [16].

After the head of the Pompeian party had made ſo wretched an exit from Sicily, Plennius, who, ſoon after the departure of Lepidus from the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, had ſet out with ſix legions to join his commander, and who had come too late to be comprehended in the ſurrender of the army at Naulochus, threw himſelf into Meſſina, more with an intention to obtain favourable terms for the troops under his command, than with any hopes to retrieve the affairs of his maſter.

At this time Lepidus being near to Meſſina, while Octavius ſtill remained at Naulochus, inveſted the place, and, without conſulting his colleague, granted the terms which were aſked by Plennius, took poſſeſſion of the town, and incorporated the troops that had ſerved under that officer with his own army. In concluding this treaty, and in taking the advantage of it to ſtrengthen himſelf, without the concurrence or participation of Cæſar, he had earneſt remonſtrances made to him by Agrippa, who had come with his victorious fleet to Meſſina; but it ſoon after appeared that Lepidus not only thought himſelf intitled to decide in that inſtance, but, upon the acceſſion of ſtrength which he now gained, began to form much higher pretenſions. He now reckoned under his own ſtandard twenty-two legions, with a numerous body of horſe, and propoſed not only to

[16] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 18.

keep poſſeſſion of Meſſina, but to claim the whole iſland of Sicily as an appendage of his province in Africa. He accordingly ſent detachments to ſecure the principal towns.

Octavius, already provoked at the precipitation with which Lepidus had granted a capitulation to the troops at Meſſina, without his concurrence, loudly complained of the meaſures which he took to appropriate the iſland of Sicily to himſelf, without the conſent of his aſſociates in the empire; alleged that he had been called thither as a mere auxiliary, and had borne no part of the expence incurred in the war. Lepidus, on his part, complained of the injuſtice which had already been done to him in withholding Spain, his original lot in the partition of the provinces; and ſaid, if it were ſuppoſed that Africa and Sicily were more than an equivalent for Spain, he was willing to ſurrender them both in exchange for that province.

This diſpute being likely to end in a ſerious quarrel, the ordinary intercourſe between the two camps was diſcontinued, and precautions were taken by their reſpective officers, as in the preſence of an enemy. Both armies ſaw with diſlike the ſymptoms of an open rupture and of a freſh war, in which ſoldiers, without any proſpect of advantage, even to the victors, were mutually to imbrue their hands in blood, to decide a queſtion of mere jealouſy or emulation between their leaders.

In comparing the character and proſpects of the chiefs to be engaged in this quarrel, the preference, in the eſteem of both armies, was certainly due to Octavius. To his poſſeſſion of Spain and the two Gauls, he joined that of Italy, with the metropolis, or ſeat of the empire. He bore the name of Cæſar, and was at the head of that formidable military power, which had broken the force of the republic, and extinguiſhed the authority of the Senate. By his means

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means the retainers of Cæſar had obtained the preferable lots in the late diſtribution of ſettlements and military rewards.

Lepidus, on the contrary, without any party attached to his perſon, and without any high reputation, had been placed in the command of armies by the appointment or ſufferance of others. The origin of his merit with Julius Cæſar, which conſiſted in proſtituting the dignity of Prætor to his firſt uſurpations in the city, was an act of baſeneſs. His place from thenceforward, in the military arrangements which enſued, was matter of courſe, or due merely to his rank, without any regard to abilities or merit. His being admitted as a third in the preſent diviſion of the ſovereignty, proceeded ſolely from the mutual jealouſies of the other two, who wiſhed for a perſon to witneſs their tranſactions, and to hold ſome ſpecies of balance between them. In the choice which they made of Lepidus, his want of any pretenſions, that could interfere with either in the deſign which they ſeverally entertained of poſſeſſing the empire, was a principal recommendation.

In this compariſon, Octavius was conſcious of a ſuperiority, in the opinion even of the troops who were inliſted to ſerve under the command of his rival. He accordingly thought this a favourable opportunity, while Antony was at a diſtance, and no enemy exiſting, either in Sicily or Italy, to avail himſelf of the weakneſs and incapacity of Lepidus, to ſtrip him of his ſhare in the empire, and to ſeize upon the province of Africa, and the army now in Sicily, as an acceſſion to his own ſtrength. For this purpoſe he employed proper agents in the camp of Lepidus, gained many of his principal officers by preſents, and by the expectation of greater rewards. Having much contempt for the character of their leader, and thinking the way ſufficiently prepared for an open declaration, he preſented himſelf with a party of horſe in the front of their camp, entered with a few attendants,

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as into the midſt of his own army; and mounting an eminence, from which he might be heard by the crowds that aſſembled around him, he complained of the ſteps which had been taken by their general toward a rupture between the two armies, and expreſſed his ſincere deſire that all differences might be removed, without engaging in new ſcenes of blood ſo many valiant men who had deſerved ſo well of their leaders.

It appears that numbers of officers and ſoldiers in the camp of Lepidus were prepared for the part they were to act on this occaſion; they applauded the concern which Octavius expreſſed for the armies, and declared themſelves willing to obey his commands. Others, though not in the concert, followed this example, ran to their arms, and haſtened to preſent Octavius with their colours, in token that they received him as their general.

Lepidus, to whom this viſit and its conſequences were altogether unexpected, being rouſed by ſuch an alarm, ran forth to the ſtreets of the camp, ſounded to arms; and, as many of the troops from mere habit obeyed his command, without conſidering who was their enemy, attacked Octavius, obliged him to repaſs through the gate at which he had entered, and to place himſelf under cover of the cavalry, who were waiting to receive him, and whoſe protection was now neceſſary to conduct him in ſafety to his own camp.

In this manner the deſign of Octavius, on the point of being executed, appeared to be defeated. But his declaration had made too deep an impreſſion to be ſo ſlightly removed. The doubts which it raiſed, and the choice now to be made of a leader, was generally decided in favour of Cæſar. The effect of this deciſion accordingly appeared in a great deſertion from the camp of Lepidus, either then, or during the ſubſequent night. The legions, lately come over from the ſervice of Sextus Pompeius, beginning to leave him in a body, he threw himſelf, with the uſual guards of his perſon, in the way to

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ſtop them. But finding that the very body with which he expected to prevent this deſertion joined thoſe who were going over to the enemy, he mixed intreaties and threats, laid hold of an enſign-ſtaff, and attempted by force to ſtop the officer that was carrying it to his rival. "*Dead or alive*," ſaid the bearer, "*you ſhall quit your hold.*" The cavalry at the ſame time mounted their horſes, and, without leaving their ground, ſent a meſſage to Octavius, deſiring to know, whether he choſe that Lepidus ſhould be ſecured or put to death? Having for anſwer, that Octavius had no deſign upon the life of their general, they moved away without any farther notice of him.

Lepidus, ſeeing the deſertion of his army complete, and having no longer any friends or retinue to attend his perſon, laid aſide his imperial robes, and, in the ordinary dreſs of a citizen, walked towards the camp and the tent of his rival. Multitudes followed him, to gratify their curioſity, in ſeeing what was to paſs in ſo new a ſcene. A perſon who, the moment before, had been at the head of a great army, and reputed a third in the ſovereignty of the empire, was now, by the ſudden deſertion of his own troops, reduced to the condition of a private man, and was to appear as a ſuppliant before an antagoniſt whom he had recently ſet at defiance. To complete the ſcene of his humiliation, in entering the preſence of Octavius, he would have thrown himſelf on the ground, but was prevented by the courteſy of his rival, who, content to ſtrip him of his command, and of his perſonal conſequence, would not accept this mark of abaſement, and gave him leave to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards equally unobſerved by thoſe againſt whom he had been made the inſtrument of injuſtice, and by thoſe who had made him their tool.

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Forces of Octavius after the Acquiſition of Sicily, and the Junction of the Armies of Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus.——Mutiny and Separation of theſe Forces.——Arrival of Octavius at Rome.——His Reform of the Army.——Expedition of Antony againſt the Parthians.——His Retreat.——The Death of Sextus Pompeius.——Open Breach between Octavius and Antony.——Progreſs of Antony and Cleopatra towards Greece.——Operations of Antony and Octavius on the Gulph of Ambracia.——Battle of Actium.——Flight of Antony.——Immediate Arrangements of Octavius after his Victory.——Death of Antony——And of Cleopatra.

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IN conſequence of the events which had taken place in Sicily, Octavius found himſelf at once at the concluſion of a hazardous war, and maſter of all the forces which had been employed in it, whether as friends or as enemies. His fleet now conſiſted of near ſix hundred gallies with ſtore-ſhips and tranſports; his land army of forty-five legions, which, though ſuppoſed to be incomplete, may have amounted to above two hundred thouſand men. To theſe he joined above fifteen thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand irregular infantry. They had been levied for different maſters and in different parts of the empire, were perſons of different deſcriptions; originally ſlaves, as well as freemen; natives of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, mixed with Italians and Roman citizens; adherents of Cæſar and of Pompey, of Antony, of Octavius or Lepidus. It was very difficult to diſpoſe of an aſſemblage conſiſting of ſuch various and diſcordant parts. The troops that came over from Sextus Pompeius or Lepidus were to be retained by indulgence and favours,

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and thoſe who had been the original ſupport of Cæſar's fortunes had peculiar merits; all were ſenſible of their own conſequence, and even of a power to diſpoſe of the empire.

Octavius ſaw the neceſſity of ſeparating ſuch an army into different quarters before any cabals ſhould be formed, and before any mutinous ſpirits had leiſure to work on their minds, or to fill them with dangerous hopes or pretenſions. That they might part in good humour, he made a diſtribution of ſome money, in token of his gratitude for recent ſervices; and promiſed a great deal more. But what he now gave appeared to be contemptible, when compared with the reward which had been formerly given at Mutina and at Philippi, and ſtill more, when compared with the ſettlements lately made for the veterans of Cæſar in Italy. Theſe were minutely recorded, as the ſtandard by which every legion had formed its expectations; and a general diſſatisfaction was apparent in every rank and deſcription of men. Octavius for ſome time affected to be ignorant of their diſcontent, and would have proceeded to make the arrangements he had planned for ſeparating them, and for placing the legions in quarters remote from each other; but he had reaſon to doubt that his orders would not be obeyed, and ſtill remained in ſuſpence. When his knowledge of the mutinous ſpirit that prevailed in the army could no longer be diſſembled, he endeavoured to ſoothe the moſt clamorous by additional marks of his favour, conſiſting chiefly of public honours, badges of military ſervice to the men, and the title of ſenators beſtowed on many of the officers. In diſtributing theſe favours, he aſſembled the army, and made a ſpeech, ſetting forth the nature of the honours which he now conferred, and his farther intentions reſpecting the rewards which he meant to beſtow. "*Theſe are* "*baubles,*" ſaid a Tribune, named Offilius, interrupting him; *children* "*only are amuſed in this manner; but men who have expoſed themſelves in* "*the ſervice of their general, expect to be rewarded with lands and ſettle-*"*ments.*"

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"*ments*[1]." This Tribune was ſeconded by the clamours of the whole army. Octavius retired from the audience in ſome diſorder; and, ſenſible of the danger to which he had expoſed himſelf, from this time forward never ventured to meet theſe troops in a body, but employed ſecret arts in removing the heads of the mutiny.

The Tribune Offilius, who had dared to interrupt his general in ſuch mutinous terms, whether won by favour, or taken off by violence, was ſecretly diſpoſed of. The legions who had ſerved at Mutina and Philippi, amounting to twenty thouſand men[2], were ſeparately appeaſed by donations and promiſes; were prevailed upon to accept of their diſcharge from the ſervice, and, without any farther diſturbance, to depart from the iſland.

When this part of the army was removed, Octavius affected to conſider thoſe who were gone as the ſole cauſe of the late diſcontents, and *the guilty*, he ſaid, being thus ſeparated from the innocent and from the deſerving, he made an additional preſent in money to thoſe who remained, and held out the hopes of convenient ſettlements; and of plentiful fortunes, at the final expiration of their time in the ſervice. By theſe artifices, and prudent meaſures, he effected the propoſed ſeparation, and extricated himſelf from a danger which frequently ariſes in the ſequel of civil wars, and threatens the victor with an overthrow, from that very engine which he had employed to raiſe his fortunes.

Octavius, before his departure from Sicily, ordered a contribution to be levied of ſixteen hundred talents[3]; and being no way diſpoſed to follow out the plan of Lepidus, in the annexation of Sicily to the province of Africa, he appointed ſeparate governors to each. Having diſmiſſed the ſhips which Antony had furniſhed in the war, with inſtructions

[1] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 13, 14.
[2] Oroſius, lib. vi.
[3] About 175,000 l.

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to wait at Tarentum for the orders of their own ſuperior, he himſelf paſſed into Italy.

The meſſengers who had been ſent with accounts of the victories obtained by Octavius in Sicily being arrived before him at Rome, all ranks of men vied with each other in the applauſe which they beſtowed on his conduct, and in celebrating the occaſion with demonſtrations of joy. In the name of the Senate and People, who had no longer any real political conceſſions to make, a variety of flattering proclamations were iſſued, ordering, in honour of the victor, ſtatues, triumphal arches, proceſſions, wreaths of laurel, anniverſary rejoicings, and immediate thankſgivings to be prolonged beyond any former time aſſigned to ſuch feſtivals. When he approached to the city, multitudes of every rank, adorned with chaplets, went forth to receive him, and conducted him in ſolemn proceſſion to the temple, in which he was to perform the ſacrifice of thankſgiving for his ſafe return.

Octavius, on the day after his arrival, proclaimed the peace which was obtained by the reduction of Sicily; and in two ſeparate harangues, of which he gave copies in writing, one addreſſed to the Senate, the other to the People, he gave an account of his whole conduct, from the time that he firſt aſſumed the adminiſtration of the government, to the preſent time. And, agreeably to the dictates of that maſterly judgment with which he now, at leaſt, began to conduct the intereſts of his ambition, he choſe this time of victory and proſperity in which to exhibit the effects of his clemency, of his moderation, and of his diſpoſition to ſpare thoſe who, being ſuppoſed diſaffected to him, were now in his power. He remitted all the arrears of taxes that were any where due within his juriſdiction, either by farmers of the revenue or by private perſons. Of the honours that were decreed to himſelf he made choice of a few, and declined ſuch as were in any degree invidious and burdenſome to the People.

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The inhabitants of Italy, and Roman citizens in general, having, among other evils, ſuffered greatly during the civil war, by the deſertion of their ſlaves, who were readily received, and taken into the levies that were continually forming by different parties; Octavius took this opportunity, as far as it was in his power, at once to repair the loſs which had been ſuſtained by the maſter in the deſertion of his ſlave, and to purge the army of a dangerous claſs of men, by whom it was overcharged and contaminated. In order to remove them in a manner that ſhould prevent any diſturbance on their part, he ſent to every legion a ſealed order, to be opened on a certain day, bearing, that all who had been in the condition of ſlaves ſhould be ſecured; that as many as were claimed ſhould be reſtored to their maſters; and that the remainder ſhould be put to death. According to this order, it was reported that thirty thouſand were remitted to ſervitude, and ſix thouſand killed [4].

The author of this ſevere, but well-concerted reform, now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, had, by accommodating himſelf, on every occaſion, to his circumſtances, and by ſucceſſively availing himſelf of the ſupport of different parties, more eſpecially by courting the military retainers of his late uncle, ſet himſelf above the civil conſtitution of his country; and now, by affecting a regard to property, to civil rank, and to the peace of his fellow-citizens, he was about to make the army itſelf dependent on his will. From the real impreſſion which he made by this policy, as well as from adulation and fear, the people were ſtill farther incited to load him with public honours, and had his effigy carried at Rome, and in every country-town of Italy, among the idols of the tutelar gods.

The advantage now gained by Octavius, in the acquiſition of armies and provinces lately belonging to Lepidus, were ſufficient to

[4] Oroſius, lib. vi. c. 18.

have

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Antony during his ſtay in Italy or Greece, while he was chiefly attentive to the event of affairs in the weſtern provinces, had entruſted the Parthian war to his Lieutenant Ventidius. This officer acquitted himſelf with great honour in the diſcharge of his truſt, recovered the province of Syria, which had been over-run by the Parthians, and drove them back beyond the Euphrates. Upon this account, he was judged worthy of a triumph, and came into Italy to receive this honour.

In the mean time, Antony was eager to gather the laurels which yet remained in this field, or was ſuppoſed to be jealous of the victories gained by his lieutenant over an enemy, who, till then, ſcarcely had yielded any advantage to the Roman arms. After his laſt viſit to Italy, he had in the winter paſſed to Corcyra, and ſo far was attended by Octavia, but parted with her there, in the proſpect of this arduous ſervice; early in the ſpring he continued his voyage. Upon his arrival in Aſia, notwithſtanding the reſpect that was due to his alliance with Octavia and her brother, it ſoon appeared that he was ſtill under the dominion of former paſſions. He already had two children by the Queen of Egypt, who were named Alexander and Cleopatra, but whom the mother likewiſe diſtinguiſhed, by the pompous appellations of the Sun and the Moon. Being prevented by the urgency of the ſervice, at this ſeaſon, from making a viſit at Alexandria, he ſent an officer of rank, Fonteius Capito, thither, to conduct Cleopatra from her own kingdom into Syria; and having received her in that province, in his way to the Euphrates, among other marks of his liberality, and of his paſſion, inſtead of trinkets and tokens of love, he made her a preſent of Phœnicia, Cœleſyria, Cyprus,

Cyprus, and ſome part of Cilicia to be annexed to her kingdom. It was concerted between them, that at the end of the campaign he ſhould paſs the winter in Egypt; and they parted with mutual expreſſions of impatience for the return of this happy ſeaſon.

The army, now muſtered by Antony, conſiſted of ſixty thouſand Roman infantry, ten thouſand Spaniſh and Gauliſh cavalry, thirty thouſand irregulars, being an aſſemblage of horſe and foot, and of different nations. While he advanced with this force towards the Euphrates, he made his demand, that the Parthians ſhould reſtore the captives and military enſigns taken with Craſſus [5]. This was become a point of national honour among the Romans, and, joined to the late provocation, was made the ground of the preſent quarrel.

The Roman general had undertaken this invaſion of the Parthians, in concert with the king of Armenia; and finding, at his arrival on the Euphrates, all the paſſages of the river, contrary to his expectation, ſtrongly guarded, he continued his march, having the Euphrates on his right. When he arrived in the Leſſer Armenia, the ſeaſon was too far advanced to effect the ſervice he had planned againſt the Parthians; but having intelligence that the Medes, or people of the Greater Armenia, had joined the enemy againſt him in the preceding part of the war, he formed a deſign on Praaſpa or Phraata [6], the capital of their country; in expectation of taking this place by ſurpriſe, he paſſed the Euphrates, leaving his heavy baggage and engines, with a guard of two legions, under the command of Statianus. With the remainder of the army he penetrated into the kingdom of the Greater Armenia, and preſented himſelf at the gates of the capital.

This was a place of great ſtrength, and every neceſſary precaution had been taken for its ſafety. Antony found that it could not be

[5] Plut. in Anton.

[6] Ibid. Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 26, 27, 28.

taken.

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taken by aſſault, and the Parthians, although they haſtened to its relief, knowing that the Roman army had come altogether unprepared for a ſiege, ſuffered them at firſt to remain before it undiſturbed. They directed their whole force againſt Statianus, whom, with the two legions he commanded, they ſurpriſed and cut off, and by this means made themſelves maſters of all the equipage and baggage of the Roman army.

Antony, upon the firſt alarm of the enemy's intention to attack Statianus, having left the greater part of his forces before Praaſpa, marched with a ſtrong detachment to ſupport him; but coming too late, found the field covered with the ſlain of the Roman legions, without either friend or enemy in ſight. He underſtood that Artavaſdes, the King of Armenia, to whoſe alliance he truſted in the preſent war, had remained an unconcerned ſpectator of this diſaſter, and he made no doubt that he was betrayed by this prince; but thought proper for the preſent to diſguiſe his reſentment. The loſs he had ſuſtained, made it neceſſary for him to think of extricating his army from its preſent ſituation. Being alarmed for the ſafety of that part of it which he had left before Praaſpa, he, with haſty marches, returned to its relief; but, at his arrival, finding no enemy near, and ſtill flattering himſelf that the town might be obliged to ſurrender, and that it might, by its ſpoils, make up for the loſs of his baggage, he lay before it, until he had exhauſted all the proviſions and forage that was to be found in the neighbouring country; and, in proportion as the other difficulties of his ſituation encreaſed, began to feel himſelf haraſſed with the ſallies of a powerful garriſon, and the frequent attacks of numerous parties of Parthians in the field, who began to act againſt him from every quarter, and made it equally difficult for him to decamp, or to ſubſiſt on his preſent ground.

Under theſe difficulties, the Roman general was frequently obliged to divide his forces; and leaving part to awe the town, marched with

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the remainder to cover his foragers, and the providers of his camp. As the enemy preſſed upon him, in order to diminiſh the range from which he received his proviſions, he ſaw the neceſſity of hazarding a battle; and for this purpoſe, marched from his camp with ten legions, three Prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry. The Parthians affected to abide his attack, but gave way at the firſt onſet, and fled with every appearance of rout and confuſion: they were purſued by the Roman infantry for fifty ſtadia, or about ſix miles, and by the cavalry over a hundred and fifty ſtadia, or about eighteen miles.

In this action, Antony flattered himſelf that he had put an end to his troubles from the Parthians; but, on numbering the priſoners and the ſlain, he found that only eighty of the enemy were killed, and thirty taken; and, on returning to his camp before the town of Praaſpa, he found, that without being at all diſconcerted by what had happened to them, they were returned to their former ſtations, and took meaſures, as before, to haraſs his camp, and to circumſcribe his foraging parties. From this ſpecimen of a victory over the Parthians, he learned to deſpair of being able to gain any advantage over an enemy, whoſe defeats were more pernicious to their antagoniſts than they were to themſelves [s]. To complete his mortifications,

[s] Among the Romans who were ſeized with the paſſion of making offenſive war on the Parthians, Julius Cæſar is mentioned. And it is a problem, which never can be ſolved, in what manner this able ſtateſman and warrior would have acquitted himſelf in ſo arduous a taſk. The Parthians had their haunts beyond the Tigris; and beſides leaving no means on the frontier, by which an enemy could ſubſiſt in approaching them, probably preſented no hold by which they could be ſeized, even in their own country. As they had no ground which it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to defend, ſo there was no ground on which an invader could be ſecure from their attacks. They gave way while an enemy advanced, and reckoned it an advantage to draw him far from his reſources and ſupports. They waited with patience, till time, hardſhips, diſeaſe, or want of proviſions had rendered him an eaſy prey, or ripe for deſtruction; and they then preſſed upon him with a ferocity and ardour, which abundantly corrected any belief of their cowardice that might have been taken from their manner of receiving his firſt attacks.

If Cæſar had not already conceived ſome new or uncommon means of reducing them, it is probable, that his firſt obſervations would have ſatisfied him, that he could not conquer,

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tions, he found that the garriſon of Praaſpa had made a powerful ſally in his abſence, driven his guards from their approaches, and deſtroyed all the works he had conſtructed againſt the town [9]. Judging it vain to renew his attack, or to remain any longer in his preſent ſituation, he ſent a deputation to Phraates, probably rather to conceal his intended purpoſe of flight, than with hopes to obtain any reaſonable terms of peace.

The King of Parthia received the meſſage of Antony, ſeated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bended bow, the emblem of war. In order to ſound the intentions of the Roman general, he propoſed, as a preliminary to peace, that he ſhould raiſe the ſiege of Praaſpa. Antony was prepared to decamp, as ſoon as his meſſengers ſhould be out of the hands of the enemy, but affected reluctance in agreeing to this condition, hoping that by theſe means he might conceal his intention, gain a few marches a-head, and reach the frontier of the Leſſer Armenia, before the Parthians could take any advantage of his flight; but the king being equally refined in his artifices, perceived, in the affected reluctance of Antony to agree to what he knew to be neceſſary, an intention to fly, without waiting the reſult of a treaty, and, in this apprehenſion, he had his cavalry already prepared to purſue him, diſputed every paſs, hung upon his rear and upon his flanks, occupied the ſprings of water, and laid waſte the country before him.

Many of the Roman army, overcome by famine and fatigue, expired on the march; others had laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the enemy. But thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, being cruelly treated, ſerved, by their example, to check the inclination of others to ſue for quarter, and taught the ſoldier to look for ſafety

quer ſuch a people, although he might, in victory, and thus, with more ability than time, have ſettled a new nation on the Tigris to ſupplant them; and it is probable that he would have availed himſelf of ſome of their ordinary flights, to lay claim to a others of his countrymen, finiſh the war with a triumph at Rome.

[9] Plut. in Antonio.

only

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only in perſeverance, and in the uſe of his arms. Antony himſelf, in every encounter, was prepared for the laſt extremity, and had a perſon retained, with orders, in caſe of his being likely to fall into the enemy's hands, to end his life; or, in caſe he were killed in battle, to diſfigure his body, that it might not be known. But he paſſed through all theſe difficulties, as uſual, with uncommon conſtancy and valour, making, in twenty-one days, a march of three hundred miles [10], under a continual attack of the enemy, in which, it is reckoned that his army was eighteen times engaged in battle [11]. At the end of this march, in reviewing the legions, with which he began the retreat, it was found, he had loſt about a fourth of their number [12]; or, as Plutarch ſtates his loſs, twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe.

It appears that Antony, upon his arrival in the Leſſer Armenia, left a conſiderable body behind him in that country, to check the farther purſuit of the enemy [13], and with the remainder of the army, proceeding from thence with great precipitation, and under great hardſhips from the ſeaſon, by which he added eight thouſand men more to his former loſſes, he arrived at Comi, a ſmall ſea-port, between Berytus and Sidon, on the coaſt of Syria. At this place, he was received by Cleopatra on board her fleet, and with her effected his paſſage by ſea to Alexandria, where he endeavoured to conceal his loſſes, and to efface the memory of his ſufferings in the midſt of diſſipation and pleaſure.

U. C. 718. L. Cornificius, Sext. Pompeius.

During the dependance of theſe events, the ſtate of the war in Aſia had been variouſly reported in the weſtern parts of the empire. It was believed for ſome time, that the Roman army in Armenia, with its leader, had periſhed. On this ſuppoſition, Sextus Pom-

[10] Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxix. &c.
[11] Plut. in Antonio.
[12] Vel. Pater. lib. ii. c. 82.
[13] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 30.

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peius, who ſtill remained in the iſland of Leſbos, began to reſume his pretenſions. He was not without hopes, that on the demiſe of Antony, the armies of Aſia might declare for himſelf, and, during ſome time, affected to receive every perſon who repaired to him, as the head of a party that was ſtill of ſome conſideration in the empire. He even proceeded to ſolicit the alliance of all the princes of the Eaſt, from Thrace to Pontus, and the banks of the Euphrates [14]. But upon the report of Antony's return into Syria, he laid aſide his ambitious thoughts, and ſent a meſſage to ſue for protection. Among other particulars, he ſet forth, that he had committed himſelf to the juſtice and clemency of Antony, not from deſpair, or from any ſudden impulſe whatever, but from previous thought and mature deliberation. He might have had a ſafe retreat, and a powerful ſupport, he ſaid, in Spain, where the friends of his father were yet numerous, and full of zeal; but from a thorough conviction, that the intereſts of Antony were the ſame with his own, he had preferred his alliance to any other. "Octavius," he continued, "will ſoon have the "ſame quarrel with you, that he has lately had with me, and afterwards with Lepidus. He conſiders the empire as his property, and "cannot endure a partner. His open force is not ſo dangerous, "as the inſidious profeſſions, and the artful diſguiſes with which he "hides his deſigns. I make you an offer of a friendſhip that is ſincere, and of a faith that is yet unbroken. I made you the ſame "offer, while I was maſter of Sicily and Sardinia, and in the height of "my fortune. By accepting of it, you will ſave the remains of a "family, yet reſpected by the Roman People; and, by joining "with me, you will gain the acceſſion of a party, whom even adverſity has not made to abandon their leader."

[14] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

While

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While Sextus Pompeius addreſſed himſelf to Antony in theſe terms, he endeavoured to preſerve the appearance of an armed force, and hovered about with ſome ſhips on the coaſt of Ionia. Being purſued by Titius, who had orders from Antony to obſerve his motions, he ſailed up the Propontis, and put into the harbour of Nicomedia. Here he again offered to negotiate [15]; but being told that he muſt ſurrender at diſcretion, he ſet fire to his ſhips, and attempted to eſcape by land. Having got into Phrygia, he was taken in his flight, and ſoon after, by order of Antony, was put to death.

This event being known at Rome, Octavius ordered public rejoicings. Among theſe was a ſolemn proceſſion, led by two carriages or chariots of ſtate: in one of them, Octavius himſelf appeared; by the other, he marked the place that was due to Antony. Still farther, to ſoothe the jealouſy of his colleague in the empire, he gave orders that a ſtatue ſhould be erected to him in the Temple of Concord, and that he ſhould have a ſhare in the honours which had been recently decreed to himſelf. This indecent triumph over the laſt of a family, which had been ſo long in high eſtimation at Rome, was far from being acceptable to the People. The misfortunes of the young man himſelf, who from his earlieſt years had been an exile, and ſtript of his inheritance, the memory of his father and of the republic, filled the minds of men with ſecret indignation, and with a tender melancholy which they could not diſguiſe; and though Octavius himſelf eſcaped on this occaſion without any public inſult, yet Titius ſome time afterwards exhibiting public ſhews in the theatre of the great Pompey, was, on account of the part which he had taken in the murder of the ſon, driven from thence by the execrations of the People [16].

[15] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlviii. c. 18.

[16] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 79.

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The forces of the empire were now parcelled in two ſeparate lots, under the direction of maſters, who were ſoon to entertain the views and the jealouſies of ſeparate monarchs. Octavius was become the ſovereign of Rome, and occupied chiefly in removing obſtructions to his government, and in conſolidating the arrangements he had made in the ſtate. He had taken meaſures to repreſs many diſorders, the dregs of the civil wars, which ſtill afflicted the city and the contiguous provinces. He had brought his armies under tolerable diſcipline, and even in a great meaſure reconciled the People to the loſs of their political conſequence, and of their liberties. He took care to deſtroy, with much oſtentation, all papers and records from which thoſe, who had acted againſt himſelf, might fear being drawn into trouble. He retained the uſual names, and the forms of office; and wherever he himſelf was to exerciſe any uncommon power, he talked of it as a mere temporary expedient to obviate the diſorders of the times, and ſpoke of his intention, in concert with Antony, to diſcontinue every irregular mode of adminiſtration, as ſoon as the war with the Parthians ſhould be brought to a period. He even ſent Bibulus into the Eaſt, with open and publick inſtructions to concert with his colleague, the manner and time of their reſignation [27].

But Antony, acting as ſovereign of the eaſtern empire, appeared on his part to be altogether intent on the entertainments of the court at Alexandria, on the renewal of the war which he affected to meditate againſt the Parthians, or on his project againſt Artavaſdes, the king of the Leſſer Armenia, who he thought had betrayed him in his late expedition. He was encouraged in his deſigns on that quarter, by the offers of a league, which were made to him from the king of Medea, who thinking his ſervices, during the late invaſion

[27] Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

ill requited by the Parthians, was now diſpoſed to take arms againſt them. CHAP. VII.

Antony having accepted of this alliance, formed the project of a new invaſion of Armenia, chiefly intent on his deſign to get the perſon of Artavaſdes into his power; but he was, for one ſeaſon, diverted from the execution of his purpoſe, by an incident, which brought into the ſcale of public councils the weight of paſſions and of motives at all times powerful; and at a time when the world was to be governed by the humours of a few perſons, ſcarcely to be balanced by any other conſideration whatever.

Octavia was become impatient of the neglect with which ſhe was treated by her huſband, and jealous of the preference which he gave to Cleopatra. Hearing that he was to leave Alexandria on a new Parthian expedition, ſhe determined to place herſelf in his way as he paſſed through Syria. To enhance the pleaſure of their meeting, ſhe was furniſhed with a variety of preſents, and, among the reſt, attended by a body of two thouſand choſen men, cloathed and accoutred in the manner of the Prætorian bands, which had been formed by her brother for the guard of his own perſon, and which he now ſent as a token of friendſhip to Antony. She was arrived in Greece with this attendance, when her intention became known in Egypt [u].

On hearing of this journey of Octavia, Cleopatra being greatly alarmed, had the addreſs to appear ſunk under a weight of affliction, which ſhe affected to bear with fortitude; but was ſometimes ſurpriſed in tears, which ſhe endeavoured to dry up, and either encreaſed the anguiſh of real paſſion, or gave more appearance of ſincerity to her diſſimulation, by her affectation of a deſire to conceal what ſhe felt. Her health, in appearance, declined, and it was

[u] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxiii. Plut. in Antonio.

 whiſpered,

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whiſpered, that her life was in danger. She herſelf continued obſtinate in her ſilence; but her confidents inſinuated that the fear of loſing Antony was the cauſe of her diſtreſs, and that the day he left Alexandria, would probably be the laſt of her life. Thus, with a mixture probably of artifice and real paſſion, not uncommon in caſes of this ſort, the Queen of Egypt had the addreſs to retain Antony at Alexandria, and prevailed on him to ſend a peremptory order to Octavia, not to advance in her intended progreſs to the Eaſt. He excuſed himſelf at the ſame time, from even accepting the preſents which ſhe brought from her brother [19].

Upon the return of Octavia to Rome, under all the circumſtances of this affront, her brother propoſed that ſhe ſhould renounce her connection with Antony, and remove from his houſe; but if in this he wiſhed her to act from reſentment, her own conduct, though proceeding from a different motive, was better calculated to unite the people in avenging her quarrel. Being willing to await the return of her huſband's inclinations, ſhe remained at the head of his family, continued to manage his affairs, and acted in every particular as the mother of his children, even of thoſe by a former marriage, and undertook the protection of ſuch adherents and friends as came to ſolicit their affairs in the Capitol [20].

The unworthy treatment which Octavia received in return for ſo much duty, as it intereſted the public in her favour, ſo it gave an immediate proſpect of a breach between the leaders, who now divided the empire. Antony and Octavius had been rivals for the ſucceſſion of Cæſar's power, had frequent quarrels, which were ſuſpended from time to time by apparent and ambiguous reconciliations. Even the marriage of Octavia, was no more than a mere expedient to put off to a more convenient time a final breach, which, between parties of

[19] Plut. in Antonio.

[20] Ibid.

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ſuch oppoſite pretenſions, muſt in the end be deemed unavoidable.

It is probable that Octavius, in all the viciſſitudes of his connection with Antony, or with any other party, had never loſt ſight of the expectations he had formed from his earlieſt youth, not only as the heir of Julius Cæſar, but as the ſucceſſor likewiſe to his power in the commonwealth. He united or broke with different parties, according to the ſtate of his affairs, and procured theſe breaches or coalitions in the preciſe conjunctures that were moſt favourable to himſelf. He at one time joined with the Senate, and the aſſaſſins of his uncle, to pull down the power of Antony; he afterwards joined with Antony to reduce the Senate, and to deſtroy the republic. He courted Antony occaſionally, to prevent his forming any dangerous combination with Sextus Pompeius or with Lepidus, and, in general, kept terms with him, while either of theſe leaders continued to be formidable, or could caſt the balance by uniting againſt him.

This refined politician, upon becoming ſole maſter of Italy, and of the weſtern provinces, was now better enabled, than formerly, to brave the power of his remaining competitor in the empire; and he prepared for a conteſt, which could not be long avoided. He had greatly reduced his military eſtabliſhment, by purging his armies of improper ſubjects, not only the armies which had come over to him from his antagoniſts, Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus, but thoſe likewiſe which had been levied in common between Antony and himſelf. But even, after he had thus diſmiſſed ſuch as were of doubtful faith, and reduced his eſtabliſhment to that meaſure which he wiſhed to maintain, he had ſtill remaining a greater number than his preſent occaſions ſeemed to require, and he ſought for pretences, under which, in the preſent ſtate of tranquillity to which his diviſion of the empire was reduced, he might avoid giving any alarm to his rival, and juſtify his maintaining ſo great a military force. For this pur-

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pose probably it was, that he formed the project of a war first in Africa, in the execution of which, he actually passed into Sicily; and being there some time detained by contrary winds, he changed his object, and sent the army destined for Africa to the opposite side of Italy, beyond the Hadriatic, to make war on the Japydes, Savi, Pannonii, and other nations on the side of Illyricum, who were more likely than the Africans to furnish his troops with the experience of real service, as well as himself with a plausible pretence for keeping them on foot. They accordingly penetrated, by his orders, beyond the frontier of the empire on that side, and were employed to gather laurels at the expence of the barbarians, by whom, he alleged, that his provinces had been often infested.

U. C. 719. L. Scribonius Libo, M. Antonius absens. L. Sempronius Atratinus. Ex Kal. Julii. Paul. Æmilius, C. Memmius. Ex Kal. Novem. M. Herennius.

In the mean while, according to the arrangements that were made relating to the succession of Consuls, Antony was elected into this office; and though not present in person on the first of January, had his name entered on the record. In accepting of this nomination, he meant no more than to ascertain his right to dispose of the Consulate, and had given a commission, by which, on the very day of his admission, he vacated the office in favour of another, and brought forward a number of his friends in the course of the year. He wished by these means to make known, that although Octavius was pleased to occupy the seals of government; yet he was not to engross for his friends and retainers the ordinary honours that were enjoyed in the state.

Octavius, probably, treading as nearly as he could in the steps of his late uncle, still sought for occasions to keep his armies in service; and although he was not inclined to make war abroad, or make new acquisitions of territory to the empire, yet he affected to have many designs which required the possession of a military force. Among these, he projected an enterprise for the reduction of Britain, made the

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the neceſſary preparations, and proceeded himſelf to the northern parts of Gaul. Here, however, his attention was again diverted to a different quarter. Having an army employed on the ſide of Illyricum, in ſeparate diviſions, under Agrippa and other officers, Meſſala and Geminus, whoſe names only are known; it was reported, that the diviſion, under Geminus, acting in Panonia, had received a check, and been obliged to retire from ſome parts of the country they had formerly occupied. Upon this alarm, Octavius himſelf thought proper to lay aſide his deſign upon Britain; but finding, upon his arrival in Illyricum, that the ſuppoſed loſs was already repaired, the enemy in different encounters defeated, and the former ground of his army recovered, he himſelf joined Agrippa, who was employed againſt the Dalmatians, and continued for ſome months to take a part in the campaign with this favourite officer [22].

Antony, at the ſame time, as if equally diſpoſed to have an army inured to ſervice, ſought likewiſe for occaſions of war; and having quieted the jealouſies of Cleopatra, by a ſeemingly irreconcilable breach with her rival, was permitted to form projects of enterpriſe beyond the limits of Egypt. He renewed his deſigns againſt the Kings of Armenia and Parthia. In the ſpring, he advanced to Nicopolis, a place ſo named, from the victory of Pompey over Mithridates; and ſuppoſing that the treachery of Artavaſdes, in betraying Statianus, would juſtify any meaſures he could take againſt him, he ſent repeated meſſages, under pretence of friendſhip, deſiring a conference; but with a real intention of ſeizing his perſon. The more effectually to remove all ſuſpicions of any ſuch deſign, he propoſed a marriage between Alexander, one of his own ſons by Cleopatra, and the daughter of that prince; but not ſucceeding in this artifice, he advanced into the heart of Armenia, and threatened to lay the king-

[22] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlxix. c. 39.

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dom waſte with fire and ſword. The king being unprepared for defence, took his reſolution at laſt to try the ſincerity of Antony's profeſſions, and was actually taken.

The firſt advantage which the Roman general propoſed to make of this capture, was exacting a ranſom; and for this purpoſe, the king, being carried round the fortreſſes of his kingdom in which the royal treaſure had been depoſited, was made to demand great ſums of money under this pretence; but the officers, to whom this demand was addreſſed, knowing that their ſovereign was a priſoner, ſhut their gates againſt him, and refuſed to comply. The army of Armenia at the ſame time aſſembled, and conſidering the throne as vacant, placed upon it Artaxes, the eldeſt ſon of their captive king. Being led by this young prince into immediate action with the Romans, they were defeated, and he himſelf was obliged to take refuge with the Parthians.

Antony contented with this victory, which gave him poſſeſſion of the country, put his army into winter quarters in the Leſſer Armenia, and entered into a defenſive treaty with the King of Media, whoſe daughter, upon that occaſion, was betrothed to the ſame ſon of Cleopatra, whoſe propoſed marriage with the daughter of Artavaſdes had been employed as a ſnare to betray that prince.

At the concluſion of theſe tranſactions, Antony ſet out on his return to Egypt, and meditating a triumphal proceſſion into the city of Alexandria, deſtined his captive for a part in the ſcene, gave orders that he ſhould be conducted thither in chains; and accordingly, upon the arrival of the troops and the equipage which were to form his retinue, he made his entry with all the parade of a Roman triumph, repeated all the forms which were uſual on ſuch occaſions at Rome, made a ſpeech to the People, and ordered a public feaſt. In theſe ſeveral particulars, ſeeming to place the inhabitants of Alexandria upon a foot of equality with the Roman People, and proſti-

tuting a ſolemn inſtitution of the Romans to the vanity of a barbarous court, he gave much ſcandal and offence at Rome. Every circumſtance being exaggerated by his enemies, his own extravagance gained a ready belief to every report that was circulated againſt him.

It has been obſerved, on different occaſions, that Antony, although he ſtemmed the current of adverſity with vigour and ability, was generally carried by proſperity into every exceſs of ſenſuality, extravagance, and diſſipation. In this time of feſtivity, he aſſumed, in the midſt of his debauch, not only the eaſtern dreſs, and all the badges of royalty, but likewiſe [24] the attire and deſignation of a God; wore the buſkins, the golden crown, and the chaplet of ivy belonging to Bacchus, held the Thyrſus in his hand, and was drawn through the ſtreets of Alexandria on a car like thoſe which were employed in the proceſſions of the Gods [25]. It was ſaid, that Cleopatra at the ſame time aſſumed the dreſs of Iſis; that being ſeated together on thrones of gold, elevated on a lofty platform, Antony preſented Cleopatra to the People, as Queen not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but likewiſe of Africa and Cæleſyria, and that he aſſociated with her in theſe titles Cæſarion, her ſuppoſed ſon by Julius Cæſar. To his own ſon Alexander, in theſe drunken aſſignations of empire, it was reported that he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, which, though not in his poſſeſſion, he conſidered as a certain conqueſt: to Ptolomy, another of his ſons, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia [26], and preſented each of them to the People in the dreſs, and with the enſigns and the retinue ſuited to the ſeveral deſtinations; Alexander, with the Perſian tiara; and Ptolomy, with the dreſs and diadem worn by the princes of Macedonia.

[24] Florus, lib. iv. c. 11. Dio. Caſſ. lib. l. c. 5.
[25] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 83.
[26] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 41.

This

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This mock diſtribution of the eaſtern kingdoms was executed in formal deeds or writings, of which copies were ordered to Rome to be depoſited in the records of the Temple of Veſta, and in the keeping of the Virgins. And as Octavius looked forward to an immediate quarrel with Antony, the whole circumſtances with which theſe acts had been ſolemnized at Alexandria, were induſtriouſly publiſhed at Rome to his prejudice. The writings, however, not being actually brought to the city before the ſubſequent year, in which Domitius and Soſius were Conſuls, part of the ſcandal was for ſome time ſecreted by the influence of theſe magiſtrates, who were inclined to favour Antony againſt Octavius in the impending conteſt for empire.

U. C. 720. Imper. Cæſar iterum. L. Volcatius Tullus.

While Antony indulged himſelf in theſe extravagances at Alexandria, Octavius, with L. Volcatius Tullus, aſſumed the title of Conſuls at Rome; but the firſt, at his admiſſion, thought proper to follow the example that was lately ſet to him by Antony; on the firſt of January vacated the office, and ſubſtituted another in his place. By like ſucceſſive ſubſtitutions, he communicated this dignity in the courſe of the year to ſix different perſons.

P. Autronius Paetus.
ex Kal. Mart. L. Flavius.
Ex Kal. Jul. C. Fonteius.
M. Acilius Aviola.
Ex Kal. Sept. L. Vinucius.
Ex Kal. Oct. L. Lentulus.

The office of Ædile, which had been generally declined on account of the expence which attended the diſcharge of it, and which had been for ſome time diſcontinued, was now revived in the perſon of Agrippa, who, though he had been already of a higher rank, and in the ſtation of Conſul, voluntarily undertook the duties of Ædile; and, at his own expence, applied himſelf to the more ſerious objects of the truſt, by conſtructing highways, erecting public works, and cleanſing the common ſewers, works of great antiquity, that ſeemed to exceed the force of the times to which they were referred [37]. He

[37] Plinius, lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

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at the ſame time repaired the Circus, made new regulations for conducting the entertainments of that place, and himſelf exhibited magnificent ſhews.

Under this magiſtracy of Agrippa, the People were gratified with preſents, as well as with paſtimes. Articles of finery, trinkets, and even ſums of money were diſtributed by a ſpecies of lottery. Counters or billets, entitling the bearer to certain prizes, which were marked upon each, were thrown out by handfuls to be ſcrambled for in the crowd. Public baths, furniſhed with all the uſual apparatus, were provided, and attended with keepers and dreſſers at the public expence [28]; acts of munificence and popularity, in which it was thought proper to cultivate the public favour.

Octavius at the ſame time, on ſo near a proſpect of a quarrel with Antony, who was to employ half the forces of the empire againſt him, had the good fortune to diſengage himſelf from foreign wars. Thoſe which he carried on in Dalmatia, terminated in the ſubmiſſion of that people, in their giving hoſtages for their good behaviour, and in their reſtoring the colours which had been taken from a Roman army they had defeated under the conduct of Vatinius. Theſe he hung up in a portico, which bore his own name; but a triumph being decreed to him, he declined or deferred accepting of it; on this, as on many other occaſions, diſcovering a mind, though fond of dominion, indifferent to pomp, and the exterior appearances of power.

Antony paſſed the ſummer at the head of his army in Syria, without having made any attempt againſt the Parthians. He renewed his defenſive alliance with the King of Media; and the parties in this treaty, being to name the powers againſt whom they reſpectively wiſhed, in the event of a war, to ſecure an alliance, the King of Media made particular mention of the Parthians, and Antony named

[28] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 43.

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Octavius. At the end of this negociation, they mutually made an exchange of ſome troops [29].

Thus Antony made no ſecret of the diſtruſt which he conceived of his colleague in the empire, or of a breach, which, from their mutual jealouſies and provocations, was gradually widening. He affected to treat Cæſarion, the reputed ſon of Julius Cæſar by Cleopatra, as the legitimate heir of the Julian family. He likewiſe retorted on Octavius, the artifice which had been practiſed againſt himſelf, by profeſſing an intention to reſign the power of Triumvir. He complained of the violence which had been done to Lepidus; but aſked, if Lepidus were juſtly depoſed, why he himſelf was not admitted to his ſhare in the provinces? He complained of his being excluded from a ſhare in the ſpoils of Sextus Pompeius, as well as of Lepidus; and of his being excluded from Italy, which was the common ſeat of government to the whole empire, and which Octavius had not any right to appropriate to himſelf.

To theſe complaints Octavius replied, That Antony, without making any compenſation to his colleagues in the weſtern provinces, had ſeized on the kingdom of Egypt; that he had unwarrantably put Sextus Pompeius to death; that he had diſhonoured the Roman name by his breach of faith with the King of Armenia, and had given no account at Rome of the ſpoils of that kingdom; that he had preſumed to diſmember the Roman empire in behalf of Cleopatra, and of her children; and that he ſupported her in an attempt to intrude into the family of Cæſar one of her ſpurious progeny [30].

Theſe mutual complaints were publicly made, and ſupported at Rome. Neither of the parties profeſſed any intention of going to war; but, under vaarious pretences, collected money, and augmented their forces. They held a continual correſpondence by agents

[29] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xlix. c. 44.

[30] Ibid. lib. l. c. 1.

and

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and meſſengers, merely to have an opportunity of obſerving each others motions; and ſoon involved in their diſputes and jealouſies, not only their own immediate retainers and friends, but ſuch as now compoſed the Senate and aſſemblies of the People, who could not remain unconcerned ſpectators in a difference between perſons who were likely again to involve the empire itſelf in a civil war.

U. C. 721. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caius Soſius. Ex Kal. Jul. L. Cornelius. Ex Kal. Nov. U. Valerius.

Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Caius Soſius, having in conſequence of preceding engagements ſucceeded to the Conſulate, and being attached to Antony, openly eſpouſed his cauſe. Soſius, on the firſt of January, in entering upon his office, ventured to arraign the conduct of Octavius, enumerated the injuries which he had offered to Antony, and moved the Senate for redreſs.

Octavius, having previous intimation of what was to be moved by the Conſul, and wiſhing to know the full extent of the charge before he ſhould be obliged to reply, on that day abſented himſelf from the Senate; but took care to have Nonius, one of the Tribunes of the People, prepared to watch over his intereſt, and to put a negative on any proceeding that might be attempted to his prejudice. At the next aſſembly of the Senate, he appeared with a numerous body of armed men, ſeated himſelf between the Conſuls, and from that place made his anſwer to the accuſations, which in the former meeting had been ſtated againſt him, and retorted much blame on his enemies. He called upon Antony, in particular, to return into Italy, and to reſign the Triumvirate, the period for which that temrary power was created being now expired [31].

To this defiance, on the part of Octavius, no reply being made by the friends of Antony, the aſſembly was adjourned for ſome days, during which time both the Conſuls thought proper to withdraw

[31] Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxii.

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from the city; and not ſuppoſing themſelves ſafe within the juriſdiction of a perſon againſt whom they had taken ſo hoſtile a part, continued their retreat into Aſia, where Antony, whoſe cauſe they eſpouſed, had the means to protect them.

Octavius, pleaſed to find himſelf, by the flight of the ordinary magiſtrates, left maſter of the city, and freed from the neceſſity of employing immediate force againſt the forms of commonwealth, gave them no interruption, nor attempted to prevent their eſcape. He even gave out, that theſe officers had withdrawn by his permiſſion, and that every one elſe who was diſpoſed to join his antagoniſt, might follow their example [32].

Antony, when he received an account of what was thus paſſing at Rome, being arrived in the Leſſer Armenia, on his laſt expedition into that country, aſſembled all the Senators of his party who were then with his army, laid before them his grounds of complaint againſt Octavius, renounced in form his marriage with Octavia, and declared war on her brother [33]. At the ſame time, he took a ſolemn oath, in which he bound himſelf, at the end of ſix months, after he ſhould have relieved Italy from the tyranny of Octavius, to reſtore the government entire to the Senate and People, agreeably to the ancient conſtitution. Having taken this method to gain all thoſe who wiſhed for the reſtoration of the commonwealth, and having remitted great ſums of money into Italy, to be dealt out in preſents and gratuities to the army of his rival [34], inſtead of purſuing the pretended object of the war in Armenia, he put his army in motion weſtward. Having Canidius advanced with ſixteen legions, he himſelf conducting the Queen of Egypt, who was to have her ſhare in the enterpriſe, took the route of Epheſus, where all his ſhips were

[32] Dio. Caſſ. lib. l. c. ii. [33] Ibid. lib. l. c. 3. [34] Ibid. lib. l. c. 7.

ordered

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ordered to aſſemble. Of theſe he had eight hundred ſail, of which Cleopatra furniſhed two hundred completely equipped, together with twenty thouſand talents in money [35].

The Conſuls Domitius and Soſius having joined Antony at Epheſus, and finding all his councils governed by the caprice of Cleopatra, and all his meaſures made ſubſervient to her vanity or intereſt, warmly recommended that the Queen of Egypt ſhould return into her own kingdom, and there remain until the war ſhould be at an end; but ſhe, dreading the loſs of her influence, the reſtoration of Octavia, and a reconciliation of parties, to which her pretenſions, intereſts, and paſſions muſt be the firſt ſacrifice, employed all her artifice to defeat their counſel, and to maintain her aſcendant over Antony. For this purpoſe, with more care and aſſiduity than ſhe muſtered the forces of her allies, or collected the reſources of her kingdom for the ſupport of the war, ſhe aſſembled from every quarter the means of diſſipation, and the inſtruments of pleaſure.

Many Roman officers, who had hitherto embarked their fortunes with Antony, diſguſted by the appearances of levity and diſſipation which attended him on this occaſion, withdrew from his cauſe, and threw themſelves into the arms of his enemy. Plancus, in particular, with Titius, long diſſatisfied with the influence and conduct of Cleopatra, deſerted him. They brought with them into Italy particular accounts of Antony's levity, and of Cleopatra's inſolent ſpeeches, inſinuating that ſhe flattered herſelf with the hopes of becoming miſtreſs of the Roman empire. They produced copies of Antony's will, already mentioned as having been ſent to the records of the Veſtals, and which, by its extravagance, procured credit to every other report which was raiſed to his prejudice, ſo much as to make it believed, that if he ſhould prevail in the conteſt with Octavius, he meant to

[35] Plut. in Antonio, near three millions ſterling.

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declare Cleopatra Queen of the Romans, and to transfer the ſeat of the empire to Alexandria.

Theſe reports tending to render Antony an object of ridicule, or of ſcorn, were propagated with great effect among the People. They were even introduced in the Senate, and employed as the pretence for a motion that was made to diveſt him of his preſent command in the Eaſt, and of that ſhare of the ſovereignty which he held in the capacity of Triumvir, and to declare him incapable of holding the office of Conſul, to which he was deſtined for the enſuing year.

Plancus, in ſupport of the motion that was made to this purpoſe, urging, together with the reports now mentioned, the manifold diſorders which were imputed to Antony, and the many offences he had committed againſt the commonwealth, was anſwered with great courage and aſperity, by perſons who ſtill ventured to eſpouſe the cauſe of the abſent Triumvir. "While you were of his councils," ſaid Coponius to Plancus on this occaſion, "I doubt not but the con-
"duct of Antony was ſufficiently blameable [26]."

Octavius, however, being maſter at Rome, the motion was carried, and a decree was obtained, in conſequence of it, to ſuſpend Mark Antony in the exerciſe of all his powers. War at the ſame time was formally declared againſt the Queen of Egypt, while Octavius, with his uſual diſcretion, to avoid making enemies unneceſſarily of thoſe who muſt have been involved with Antony in any perſonal attainder, did not include him in this declaration. A proclamation however was publiſhed, "requiring all citizens to withdraw them-
"ſelves from Antony, as being abandoned to the caprices of a
"ſtranger, and a woman, who, by a kind of faſcination, led him
"in her train, and prevailed upon him to countenance, againſt his

[26] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 83.

"own

" own country, a war which was to be conducted by the eunuchs " Mardio and Pothinus, keepers of the palace of Alexandria; and " by Ira and Charmion, the waiting women of Cleopatra, who " hoped ſoon to reign in the capital of the Roman empire, as abſo- " lutely as they had for ſome time governed in the provinces of the " Eaſt [37]."

In the ſequel of theſe declarations, ſome taxes for the expence of the war were laid on the inhabitants of Italy; an uncommon ſtretch of power, which, on the approach of an enemy who was likely to divide the People, appeared to be impolitic and dangerous. All freed ſlaves, having two hundred ſeſtertia or upwards, were required to pay an eighth of their effects, free citizens were required to pay a fourth of their yearly revenue; and theſe exactions being violently enforced, gave riſe in many places to inſurrection and bloodſhed [38]; and the minds of men being greatly agitated, reports of preſages and prodigies were circulated as uſual, in times of great alarm, and on the eve of important events.

Antony, in the mean time, advanced with his fleet and army from Epheſus to Samos, and from thence to Athens, where, together with the Queen of Egypt, he was received with a flattering pageantry, and with many complimentary addreſſes, in compoſing which, this people now exerciſed that ingenuity for which they were formerly celebrated in conducting matters of ſtate and of war. Cleopatra was admitted to the freedom of the city of Athens. Antony, being already a citizen, led the proceſſion, in which the republic came to confer this honour on the Queen; and made her a ſpeech in name of his fellow citizens, the Athenian people.

From thence Antony proceeded to the iſland of Corcyra, where all his forces aſſembled, and ſeemed to threaten Italy with an immediate invaſion. He had undoubtedly got the ſtart of his antagoniſt, might

[37] Plut. in Antonio.

[38] Dio. Caſſ. lib. l. c. 10

have

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have ſurpriſed him, and divided the inhabitants of Italy, and other parts of the weſtern empire. Of theſe, numbers were diſcontented on account of recent exactions, many were diſpoſed to favour the abſent party, or from animoſity to a government, under which they had experienced oppreſſion, were deſirous of any change.

With all theſe advantages in his favour, Antony either never had the intention to invade Italy in the preſent ſeaſon, or laid it aſide, and determined to paſs the winter in Greece. He ſent his fleet into the gulph of Ambracia, and quartered his army in the Peloponneſus, or round the gulph of Corinth, where, beſides the ordinary reſources of the country, they had continual ſupplies of every neceſſary by ſea, from Aſia and Egypt.

U. C. 711. Imper. Cæſ. Mar. Val. Meſſala Corſinus. Ex Kal. Mart. M. Titius, ex Kal. Oct. Cn. Pompeius.

By the laſt arrangement, which had been concerted between Octavius and Antony, for the ſucceſſion of Conſuls during eight years, of which this was the laſt, they themſelves were now to have entered on the office; but Antony being ſet aſide by a public act of the Senate and People, Octavius aſſumed for his colleague Meſſala, already mentioned as the particular friend of Marcus Brutus. This almoſt only remaining partizan of the republic had been among the proſcribed, but was afterwards taken into favour, and reconciled to the ſucceſſor of Cæſar [39].

Octavius now holding the office of Roman Conſul, endeavoured to ſink, under this deſignation of a legal magiſtrate, his pretenſions as a military adventurer, and qualified the troops, which he employed againſt Antony, as the forces of the commonwealth, aſſembled to repel the attack of a foreign enemy. He drew them together on the coaſt of Apulia, and while he ſtationed the greater part of his fleet in two diviſions at Brundiſium and Tarentum, ſent Agrippa with a

[39] Dio. Caſſ. et ſupra.

ſquadron

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ſquadron to ply off the harbours of Greece, and to interrupt the naval communications of the enemy.

By the vigilance and activity of Agrippa, many captures were made in the winter, and the conveyance of corn, arms, and military ſtores from Aſia, Syria, and Egypt, intended for the uſe of Antony's fleet and army [40], was rendered difficult and extremely precarious. To ſupply their neceſſities, both his ſea and land forces were obliged to plunder the country around them; and, in the want of horſes and carriages, drove the inhabitants like beaſts of burden, laden with corn and other proviſions, to the ſea coaſt. Antony, when he joined his fleet at Actium, being told that half his rowers had periſhed from ſcarcity and diſeaſe: "*The oars*, he ſaid, *I hope* "*are ſafe* [41]."

In the mean time, Octavius brought his land forces to Brundiſium and Tarentum; and either to ſhew the ſtrength of his party, or to ſecure the perſons of thoſe of whoſe fidelity he entertained any doubt, ſummoned all the Roman citizens of note to attend him on the coaſt. From thence, in order to profit by Antony's delay, and to fix the theatre of the war in Greece, he embarked with his army, and ſtood for the oppoſite coaſt of Epirus. He landed under the promontory of Acroceraunus, the ſame place at which Julius debarked in purſuit of the war with Pompey; and from this place, ordering the fleet to coaſt round the head lands, and the iſland of Corcyra, he marched with the army along ſhore towards the gulph of Ambracia.

This gulph opens into the channel that ſeparates the iſlands of Corcyra, Leucada, and Cephalonia. It is narrow at its entrance [42]; but is wider within [43], and ſtretches eaſtward [44] about twenty or thirty

[40] Oroſ. lib. vi. c. 19.
[41] Ibid.
[42] About half a mile, or five ſtadia.
[43] One hundred ſtadia.
[44] Stretches in land three hundred ſtadia. Polyb. lib. iv. c. 63.

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miles. At its opening, on the ſouthern ſhore, ſtood Actium, and oppoſite to this place ſtood Toryné, afterwards called Nicapolis. Antony had taken poſſeſſion of Actium, and having a proper harbour in the gut, commanded the whole navigation of the gulph.

Octavius advancing with his fleet and army from the northward, and having no oppoſition made to him by the enemy, took poſſeſſion of Toryné, entrenched himſelf in a ſtrong poſt on ſhore, and ſtationed his fleet behind him in a creek, which furniſhed a harbour ſufficiently ſafe [43].

Antony already poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the gulph, either did not think himſelf in condition to prevent the enemy from making this lodgment in his preſence, or determined by ſome other motive, choſe to act on the defenſive; and thus the armies were ſtationed, Octavius in Epirus, and Antony in Acarnania, on the oppoſite ſides of the entrance to the gulph of Ambracia.

The ſtate of the forces on each ſide is variouſly reported. Plutarch ſays, that in entering on the war, Antony had five hundred galleys, of which there were many mounting eight and ten tire of oars; that the land army, which had been tranſported by his fleet, conſiſted of a hundred thouſand infantry, and twelve thouſand horſe; that Octavius had two hundred and fifty galleys, eighty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. Others place the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of Octavius, but ſtate them as more nearly equal [44].

As the Egyptian fleet ſtill commanded the paſſage of the gulph, Antony, after it was too late to diſturb the enemy in making their lodgment, ſeized a poſt, with a conſiderable part of his army, on the ſide of Toryné, to reſtrain their excurſions, and to cut off their forage. Octavius, on his part, detached Agrippa, with a powerful

[43] Plut. in Antonio.

[44] Ibid.

ſquadron, to make deſcents on the coaſts, to ravage the towns that were in the poſſeſſion of Antony, and to cut off the ſupplies that were brought him by ſea.

According to theſe inſtructions, Agrippa took poſſeſſion of Methoné, on the coaſt of Meſſenia and of Patræ, near the mouth of the gulph of Corinth, entered that gulph, and made a deſcent near the city of Corinth, afterwards took poſſeſſion of the promontory of Leucada, which lay in the courſe of Antony's convoys [45], and obliged him, after a check he had received in the neighbourhood of Toryné by the defeat of the cavalry he employed on that ſide, to abandon his ground in Epirus, and to repaſs the ſtraits to Actium.

In theſe operations paſſed the greater part of ſummer: but as nothing was decided, Domitius, who, in the preceding year, notwithſtanding he was Conſul, had left his ſtation in the city to join Antony, now diſguſted with his conduct, went over to Octavius. A general diſtruſt enſued in the party [46], and Antony, being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſaw the neceſſity of making his retreat, or of riſking a general action. His fleet having ſuffered greatly in winter from ſcarcity and from diſeaſe, he deliberated whether he ſhould not abandon his ſhips, and reſt his cauſe on the event of a battle on ſhore [47]; but Cleoapatra, who governed all his councils, and who dreaded being deprived of a retreat by ſea, urged him without delay to ſet ſail for Alexandria. She propoſed, that, to check the progreſs of the enemy, proper detachments ſhould be left to keep poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong-holds in Aſia and Greece; that theſe detachments ſhould be ſupported from Egypt; and that Antony, in the mean time, ſhould prepare the whole forces of that kingdom to contend for the empire of the world.

[45] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 84. [46] Ibid. [47] Plut. in Antonio.

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The partizans of Cleopatra, in the council of Antony, contending for this plan of retreat which ſhe propoſed, among other arguments againſt riſking a battle, urged many fatal preſages and ſigns of impending calamity, ſufficient to ſtrike a panic in the troops, and to render the flight they adviſed, in ſome meaſure neceſſary. It was determined, however, as a kind of middle courſe, that the fleet ſhould put to ſea; if permitted, withdraw from the enemy; but if attacked, give battle. As it was obſerved, that many of the ſhips were ill manned, and in diſrepair, and ſome altogether unſerviceable; theſe being ſelected and burnt, the remainder prepared for the ſea.

When this reſolution was taken, Antony called his officers together, put them in mind of the diligence with which he had made his preparations for the preſent war, and referred for proof to the armament itſelf, which was then in their view.—In a war, which was to turn on the event of naval operations, they had an undoubted ſuperiority, he ſaid, either in the number, or loftineſs and ſtrength of their ſhips.—He contraſted his own reputation, the maturity of his age, his experience, and his ſucceſs, with the oppoſite circumſtances in the deſcription of his enemy:—He put his officers in mind, and wiſhed them to remind the army, that they were about to contend for the empire of the world; that great as this object was, the loſs of it, if they failed, was to be the leaſt of their ſufferings; that every indignity and inſult was to be expected from an enemy[48], who on former occaſions had ſhewn himſelf ſufficiently averſe to mercy. Having addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the officers who were to be left on ſhore, he ordered on board all thoſe who attended him in the character of Roman citizens, or of whoſe inclination to the enemy

[48] Dio. Caſſ. lib. l. c. 15—22.

he

he had any ſuſpicion, and reinforced his fleet from the land army with as many archers and ſlingers as could ply in the ſhips.

Octavius, in the mean time, having intelligence of theſe deliberations and counſels, and ſeeing the buſtle which the embarkation of ſo many men from the land, and the movements of ſhips to get into their ſtations, occaſioned, he likewiſe prepared for action. In his addreſs to the officers of his fleet, he ſtill affected to conſider Cleopatra as the principal party in the war. "Antony had conde-" ſcended," he ſaid, "to become her dependant and follower, and " was now preparing, not to fight, but to accompany the queen of " Egypt in her flight." In reſpect to the conduct of the action, he was inclined to let the enemy get under ſail, and even to wait until they ſhould have turned the promontory of Actium, thinking this would be the proper time for him to attack their rear, to purſue them in their retreat, and by theſe means to gain the advantage and reputation of a victory, without the hazard of a battle; but being diſſuaded from this deſign by Agrippa, he took his reſolution to meet them at the mouth of the Straits, and if he prevailed, was in hopes he might put them out of condition to renew the war. For this purpoſe he reinforced his fleet with as many men from the land as could conveniently act on board [49].

After both fleets were in readineſs, they were detained in their harbours four days by a ſtorm, and a high ſea which ſet into the gulph. But on the fifth day the wind having abated, and the ſea becoming ſmooth, Antony's fleet began to form in the Straits. He himſelf, with Poplicola, embarked with the firſt diviſion on the right, Cælius on the left, and an officer, whom Plutarch names Marcus Octavius, with M. Juſteius in the centre [50]. His ſhips being heavier and loftier, but leſs active than thoſe of Octavius, he heſitated for

[49] Dio. Caſſ. lib. I. c. 23—30.

[50] Plutarch. in Antonio.

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ſome time whether he ſhould not remain in cloſe order, and endeavour to bring on the action in the narrow entrance of the gulph, where his antagoniſts, for want of room, could not derive any great advantage from the ſuperior agility of their veſſels, or quickneſs of their motions.

While Antony deliberated on this matter, Octavius got under ſail, turned the headland of Toryné, and formed in a line before the entry of the Straits, about a mile from the enemy. The right diviſion was commanded by M. Larius, the left by Aruntius, the whole by Agrippa [51]. Both armies, at the ſame time, were drawn out on the ſhore to behold the event; but the fleets, for ſome time, did not make any movement, and it continued uncertain whether Antony, being ſtill in the road, might not return to his anchors; but about noon his ſhips began to clear the Straits, and came forward where the ſea-room was ſufficient for their line. As in this movement the fleets came cloſer together, Agrippa began to extend his front, in order to turn the enemy's flank; but Poplicola, on the other ſide, to keep pace with him, ſtretching to the ſame ſide, the centre of both fleets was equally opened, and they engaged ſoon after, without any apparent advantage on either ſide.

The conteſt, for ſome time, remained undecided. In the beginning of the action, the queen of Egypt's yacht had been near to the line, and ſhe herſelf continued to look on the battle, till, overcome with anxiety, affright, and horror, ſhe gave orders to remove her galley to a greater diſtance, and being once in motion fled with all the ſail ſhe could make; her veſſel being diſtinguiſhed by a gilded poop and purple ſails, made her flight be conſpicuous to the whole fleet [52], and drew away from the line about ſixty ſhips of the Egyptian ſquadron, who, under pretence of attending their miſtreſs, withdrew from the action.

[51] Veil. Pater. lib. ii. c. 84. [52] Florus, lib. iv. c. 11.

Antony,

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Antony, apprehending the conſequence of this defection, whether in deſpair of his fortunes, or in ſome hopes to rally thoſe who fled, put on board of a quick ſailing veſſel, and endeavoured to overtake them. Being obſerved from Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but no longer capable of any vigorous or rational purpoſe, he became the companion of her flight, without any attempt to rally her fleet. Although he quitted the chance of a victory to follow the object of his paſſions, he could not endure to behold her, turned his eyes aſide, threw himſelf upon the deck, and continued in the deepeſt anguiſh of ſhame and deſpair.

The flight of Antony, joined to that Cleopatra, an event ſo little expected, was not for ſome time obſerved, and the fleet, notwithſtanding the deſertion of their leader, continued the action till four in the afternoon, when they were overpowered; and many of them being greatly damaged in their oars and rigging, were not in condition either to reſiſt or to eſcape, and fell an eaſy prey to the enemy. Three hundred ſhips were taken or ſunk, and about five thouſand men were killed [54]. The ſtrand was covered with wrecks and dead bodies. Octavius detached a ſquadron in purſuit of ſuch of the enemy's ſhips as had got to ſea from the engagement, and himſelf continued in the channel during the remainder of the day, and the following night, to gather the fruits of his victory [55].

The land army of Antony having, from the heights on ſhore, beheld the ruin of their fleet, retired to their camp as with an intention to maintain it to the laſt extremity. They flattered themſelves, that their general, though forced to yield to his enemy at ſea, would make for the neareſt port, and again ſhew himſelf at the head of his legions. Theſe, they ſaid, he never ſhould have left to commit his fortunes to an uncertain element, and a treacherous ally. In theſe

[54] Plut. in Antonio. Oroſius ſays, 12,000 were killed in battle, 6000 were wounded, of whom 1000 died under cure, lib. vi.

[55] Sueton. in Octavio.

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hopes they remained for ſeven days unſhaken in their duty, and rejected all the offers which Octavius made to induce them to change their party. Being ſatisfied, however, at laſt, that their hopes were vain, they conſulted their ſafety in different ways. Some laid down their arms; Canidius himſelf, who commanded them, withdrew in the night [55]; others, remaining together in ſmall parties, took the route to Macedonia; but, being purſued by the enemy, were ſeparately overtaken, and forced or perſwaded to ſurrender. All the Roman citizens, who had taken refuge in the eaſtern provinces, all the foreign allies and princes, who made a part of the vanquiſhed army, ſucceſſively made their peace [57]; and the empire itſelf now ſeemed to be reduced under a ſingle head.

Antony having continued his flight by the coaſts of the Peloponneſus to the head of Tenarus, without appearing to recover his courage, made a halt at this place, rather from indeciſion and irreſolution, than from any ſettled purpoſe reſpecting the conduct of his affairs. Here he was joined by ſome ſhips that remained in the action to the end of it; and being informed by them, that the fleet was entirely demoliſhed, but that the army continued firm in their camp; he ſeemed to be revived by this laſt part of the account, and diſpatched an order to Canidius to make the beſt of his way into Macedonia, and from thence to continue his march into Aſia. Such of his friends as came up with him at Tenarus, he treated with his uſual liberality, divided his plate and jewels among them, and gave them orders, for the ſupplies they might want, on the keeper of his treaſure at Corinth. In performing theſe acts of munificence, he ſeemed to recover his mind, and reſumed ſome part of his uſual manner, but returning at the ſame time to his former habits with Cleopatra [58], he ſuffered himſelf again to be governed by her councils; and, in compliance

[55] Plut. in Antonio. [57] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 1. [58] Plut. in Antonio.

pliance with her desire, steered directly for Egypt, without making any attempt to rally his forces in Greece, or to join his army, which, in reality, by this time, had been separated, or obliged to make their peace.

The victor having entirely dispersed, or gained to his own party all the forces of his rival in Europe, sent such a part of his army into Asia as was thought necessary to finish the remains of the war, and permitted the veterans, whose turn it was to be disbanded, to return into Italy. He himself, in order that he might be at hand to observe the motions of Antony, and to renew his operations in the spring, proposed to pass the winter at Samos [59]. From thence, being master of a country in which his rival had once been favourably received, he exercised his power in punishing those who had taken part against him. Many towns, by his order, were laid under heavy contributions, and deprived of their municipal privileges. All the petty princes who held their territories by grant from Antony, except Archelaus [60] and Amyntas [61], were dispossessed. Alexander [62], the son of Jamblichus, was not only stript of his territories, but reserved in chains to make a part in the procession of the victor's triumph; and when that ceremony should be over, was doomed to die. The principality of Lycomedes [63] was given to a certain Mede, who had deserted from Antony, and who had brought with him a considerable body of the allies. The Cydonii [64] and Lampæi, on account of their particular services, were restored to their liberties.

Of the Roman citizens of rank, who had espoused the cause of Antony, some were pardoned, some laid under heavy fines, and others put to death [65]. Among those who were pardoned, was Sosius

[59] Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 3 and 4. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17.

[60] King of Cappadocia.

[61] Of Galatia. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 32.

[62] A prince of Arabian extraction.

[63] On the frontier of Pontus.

[64] The people of certain towns of Crete.

[65] Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 2.

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the late Conſul, who had abſconded for ſome time after the battle of Actium, and remained in concealment, until, by the interceſſion of his friends, he made his peace. With him likewiſe is mentioned M. Scaurus, the uterine brother of Sextus Pompeius, who had been condemned to die, but ſpared at the interceſſion of his mother. Among thoſe who were put to death is mentioned Curio, the ſon of that Curio, who, in the ſteps which led to the civil war, acted for ſome time in ſupport of the Senate, but afterwards ſo effectually ſerved the ambition of Julius Cæſar [64].

While Antony, ſtill poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Egypt, or had any means of renewing the war, it was thought expedient that Octavius in perſon ſhould reſide in Aſia. The adminiſtration in Italy was committed to Mæcenas and Agrippa; the firſt intruſted with the civil, the other with the military department; but acting under orders and inſtructions from Cæſar, which, though in form addreſſed to the Senate, were previouſly ſubmitted to theſe miniſters; and, after having received ſuch alterations and corrections as they thought proper, were likewiſe intruſted to their execution.

Agrippa, as has been mentioned, having borne his part in the victory at Actium, returned into Italy with a particular charge of the veterans who were now intitled to their diſmiſſion, and to the reward of their ſervices. He was choſen for this truſt, as having ſufficient authority to repreſs the mutinous ſpirit which this order of men had ever diſcovered as often as they were encouraged by victory to ſtate their pretenſions and to over-rate their merits. The taſk, however, was too arduous even for the daring courage and unblemiſhed reputation of this officer. The troops had been told, after the late action, that, on account of the ſtate of Cæſar's finances, the reward of their ſervices muſt be deferred to the end of the war;

[64] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 2.

ſuch

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ſuch of them as were deſtined to act in Aſia and Egypt acquieſced in this delay, expecting to enrich themſelves in the mean time with the ſpoils of thoſe opulent countries[65]. But thoſe who were ſent back into Italy, expecting ſuch ſettlements in that country as the veterans had formerly received, upon their arrival laid claim to immediate ſatisfaction, and complained that Cæſar, in employing his lieutenants to treat with them, meant to evade their juſt demands.

In conſequence of earneſt repreſentations from Mæcenas and Agrippa, ſtating theſe diſcontents of the veterans as of the moſt dangerous tendency, Octavius, after he had determined to fix his reſidence at Samos for the winter, ſet ſail for Italy in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon, and in his paſſage was twice expoſed to great danger; once in doubling the headlands of the Peloponneſus, and again near to the rocks of Acroceraunus. Being arrived at Brundiſium, he was met by many of the principal citizens of Rome, with the Senate and magiſtrates, who, having committed the government of the city to the Tribunes, were come forward to receive him, and to pay their court. He likewiſe found the diſcontented veterans ſtill at the ſame place, and obſtinate in their purpoſe of not ſuffering themſelves to be diſbanded, until they ſhould have obtained their juſt gratification in money and allotments of land.

Octavius, having occaſion for all the arts in which he was already ſo well verſed, now affecting to haſten what he alleged had been only delayed to a more convenient time, proceeded to make way for theſe mutinous troops, by diſlodging many poſſeſſors of land, on pretence that they had favoured the queen of Egypt in the late war; and, in order to provide the intended gratuities in money, he pretended to offer his own eſtate to ſale, or propoſed to pledge it as ſecurity for a loan. But no man having the courage to become either his creditor

[65] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 3, 4.

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U. C. 723. Imp. Cæſ. 4to. M. Licinius Craſſus, ex Kal. Jul. C. Antiſtius Vetus, ex Id. Sept. M. Tul. Cicero, ex Kal. Nov. L. Julius.

or the purchaſer of his eſtate, he repreſented his having made the offer as a ſufficient excuſe to the army for the delay which he was ſtill obliged to make in gratifying their juſt requeſts. But the riches of Egypt, he ſaid, now forfeited by Cleopatra, would be an ample fund for the gratification of thoſe who forbore their demands for the preſent, to have them more fully complied with hereafter[63]. Having, by theſe means, pacified the clamours of thoſe who were moſt urgent; and having been, during his ſtay at Brundiſium, veſted a fourth time with the titles and enſigns of Conſul, he ſet ſail again for the coaſt of Aſia, with intention to give Antony and Cleopatra as little time as poſſible to recollect themſelves, or to reinſtate their affairs.

Theſe unfortunate adventurers, whoſe arrival at the point of Tenarus has been mentioned, ſteered from thence for the coaſt of Africa, and parted from each other near to Paretonium, a ſea-port of Lybia, which had been held by the kings of Egypt, as a barrier at ſome diſtance beyond the weſtern frontier of their kingdom. In the neighbourhood of this place, Antony expected to be received by Pinarius Scarpus, whom he had placed at the head of his forces in that quarter[64]. But this officer, from whatever perſon he may have received his appointment, or however he may have been inclined, while the Triumvirs divided the empire, was now, by the event of the battle of Actium, ſufficiently determined in the choice of his party. He had declared for Octavius, and now ordered the meſſengers of Antony, and all the officers under his own command, who were diſpoſed to enter into any correſpondence with the vanquiſhed party, to be put to death.

[63] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 4.

[64] Ibid. lib. li. c. 5. Plut. in Antonio, p. 935. Both theſe writers ſeem to underſtand that Pinarius Scarpus had belonged to Antony, and deſerted from him on this occaſion.

Upon

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Upon this diſappointment, Antony relapſed into his former melancholy, propoſed to kill himſelf, and was prevented only by the perſuaſion of a few friends, who earneſtly entreated him to try his fortunes once more, at the head of the forces of Egypt [79].

Cleopatra, in order to outrun the news of her diſaſter, and to prevent the diſorders that might attend the fall of her authority, made all poſſible haſte into her own dominions. When her ſhips came in ſight, ſhe hoiſted the enſigns of victory, and entered the harbour of Alexandria with ſhouts of joy and triumph. Upon her landing, ſhe gave an order to cut off, or to ſecure, ſome perſons of whoſe affections ſhe was doubtful, and then acknowledging the event of her late unfortunate expedition, took meaſures for the defence of her kingdom. Under pretence of collecting money for this purpoſe, ſhe ſeized the effects of corporations and of private perſons, and ſtript the temples of their ornaments and of their treaſures. But, having ſtill upon her mind all the impreſſions of her late defeat, ſhe rather looked for a retreat, to which ſhe might fly with the money ſhe amaſſed, than for a ſtation at which to withſtand her enemy. Under theſe impreſſions, ſhe formed a project to have her fleet dragged over land, from the Nile to the gulf of Arabia, and ordered ſhips to be built in the ports of that ſea, truſting that her enemy could not, for ſome time, be in condition to moleſt her with any naval armament in that quarter.

After this project began, in part, to be executed, the Arabs, apprehending ſome danger to themſelves, from the preparations which appeared to be making on their coaſts, demoliſhed the docks which the queen of Egypt had ordered to be fitted up, plundered her ſtores, and deſtroyed the ſhips which ſhe had already built; ſo that ſhe was reduced to the neceſſity of making her defence on the Nile,

[79] Plut. in Antonio, p. 136. 4to. edit. Lond. ann. 1724. Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 5.

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and of abiding the fate which threatened her country from this ſide".

She had heard of Cæſar's having gone back into Italy; and from this circumſtance, as well as from the difficulties of a winter navigation round the coaſts of Greece, both ſhe and Antony thought themſelves ſecure for that ſeaſon. In this, however, they were diſappointed by the activity and reſolution of their enemy, who, having loſt no time unneceſſarily at Brundiſium, had, in order to avoid the difficulties of the winter-navigation, ordered ſome gallies to be dragged over land at the Iſthmus of Corinth; and by this means, while he was yet believed to be beyond the ſea of Ionia, was actually well advanced in his voyage to the Nile [72]. His plan was to invade the kingdom of Egypt on two ſides at once; at Paretonium, on the ſide of Africa, by an army under the command of Cornelius Gallus; and at Peluſium, on the ſide of Syria, with an army which he himſelf was to command [73].

Antony, upon his return to Alexandria, with the mortification of having been rejected by the Roman legions that were ſtationed on the frontier of the province of Africa, thinking it might ſtrengthen his own party againſt that of Octavius, to point out an immediate offspring of the Julian family, and a ſucceſſion of leaders to the party of Cæſar, declared Cæſarion, the reputed ſon of Julius Cæſar by Cleopatra, to be now of age, and qualified to enter upon the inheritance of his father. But while he exaſperated Octavius by this ſpecies of perſonal inſult, he appeared incapable of any rational plan of defence for himſelf or the kingdom he occupied. He even abſented himſelf from the councils that were held on this ſubject, declined any ſhare in the management of affairs, and withdrew from the palace.

[71] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 7. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 33.
[72] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 5.
[73] Oroſius, lib. vi.

While

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While Antony continued in this humour, he was joined by Canidius, the late commander of his land-forces at Actium. From this officer he had the melancholy account, that all his armies in Greece were diſperſed; that Herod, the king of Judea, had declared againſt him, and all the princes he had lately placed upon different thrones in Aſia had either followed this example, or been diſplaced; that he had not any poſſeſſion, nor any certain friend beyond the limits of Egypt. Upon receiving this account, he ſeemed to recover from his melancholy, and acquired that ſpecies of eaſe which reſults from deſpair. He left his retreat, returned to the palace, and, with Cleopatra, gave himſelf up to diſſipation, profuſion, and continual riot. They formed parties of pleaſure, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as profeſſed their reſolution to die rather than to fall into the hands of the enemy [74]. Antony had an officer retained to put a period to his life in the ſuppoſed extremity in which this choice was to be made, and Cleopatra had a collection of poiſons for the ſame purpoſe.

In the midſt of this ſeeming indifference to life, both the queen and her lover, however, ſubmitted at times to make advances to Cæſar, and to ſue for mercy. They diſpatched their meſſengers together; but as Cleopatra ſent, on her own account, preſents of a crown, a ſceptre, and a throne of gold, and privately inſtructed her agent to ſound the diſpoſition of Cæſar with reſpect to herſelf, this crafty politician perceived that ſhe wiſhed to be conſidered apart from Antony, and encouraged her to hope for a ſeparate treaty. While he made no reply to Antony, and in public inſiſted that Cleopatra herſelf ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion, he, in private, encouraged the queen to hope for better terms, and even to imagine what he ſuppoſed her willing to believe, that ſhe might ſtill make ſome impreſſion on his mind by the charms of her perſon.

[74] Plut. in Antonio.

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As Octavius had an agent at the court of Egypt to inſinuate theſe hopes, and to cultivate the diſpoſition which the queen had ſhown to a ſeparate treaty, Antony became jealous of the frequent conferences to which this agent was admitted, and ordered him to be whipped, and expelled from the court. Senſible, however, of the enormity of this outrage, he wrote to Octavius ſoon after to make an apology. "My misfortunes," he ſaid, "have made me peeviſh, "and this fellow had provoked me; but you may take your revenge "on the perſon of my agent, who is with you." In the ſubſequent part of this letter he put Octavius in mind of their former intimacy, of their near relation, of their parties of pleaſure, or rather debaucheries; and obſerved, that his frolics with Cleopatra did not deſerve to be more ſeriouſly treated, than affairs of the ſame kind in which they had paſſed ſome idle hours together. He, at the ſame time, delivered up P. Turvilius, a Roman Senator, who had been ſuppoſed acceſſary to the death of Julius Cæſar, and who had, for ſome time, been attached to himſelf; and he concluded his letter with ſome expreſſions of magnanimity, ſaying, That he was willing to die, provided he could obtain any favourable terms for the queen of Egypt [74].

Octavius however continued inexorable; and urging his military operations on both frontiers of the kingdom of Egypt, got poſſeſſion of Peluſium and of Paretonium; of the firſt, it was ſaid, in conſequence of his intrigues with Cleopatra, and by her connivance; of the ſecond, by the intire defection of the troops which Antony had ſtationed for the defence of the place, and who now became an acceſſion to the army of his rival.

Cleopatra, as if ſenſible of the ſuſpicions ſhe had incurred on the ſurrender of Peluſium, and deſirous to recover the confidence of Antony, doubled her attention to his perſon, kept the aniverſary of

[74] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 9.

his

his birth-day with unuſual ſplendor; and, to remove any ſuſpicion of her having connived at the loſs of Peluſium, delivered up the officer of the name of Seleucus, who had ſurrendered that place, that he might atone for his treachery by a ſuitable puniſhment. CHAP. VII.

Antony, obſerving the progreſs which his enemy made on the frontiers of the kingdom, and being weary of the project of ending his life in a riot, took a better reſolution, and muſtering what forces he could, both by ſea and by land, was determined to try the fortune of a war, or to die, at leaſt, ſword in hand. When the enemy advanced to Alexandria, he attacked their cavalry, and put them to flight. Encouraged by his ſucceſs in this encounter, he ordered all his forces to aſſemble on the firſt of Auguſt [76]. On this day he propoſed to bring the conteſt to a deciſion, at once, both by ſea and by land [77]: but the Egyptian fleet being ordered to begin the action, ſtruck their colours, and ſurrendered themſelves without a blow. The cavalry, at the ſame time, deſerted to the enemy; and the infantry being routed, fled into the city.

Upon this diſperſion of all his forces, Antony complained, that he was betrayed, and was heard to accuſe the queen. This unhappy author of his misfortunes had taken refuge, during the action, with a few attendants, in the monument which, upon a plan of great magnificence, was then recently built for a royal ſepulchre. Thither ſhe had already tranſported all her jewels, money, and moſt valuable effects. The acceſs of the place was contrived to be ſhut from within, in ſuch a manner as not to be opened without great labour [78]. It was given out, that the queen had retired in order to kill herſelf at the tomb, in which ſhe was to be buried; and ſoon after, the report was ſpread that ſhe was actually dead.

[76] Oroſius, lib. vi. p. 268.
[77] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 10.
[78] Plut. in Antonio.

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Antony, being now arrived at the end of all his hopes, and of his efforts, made haſte to follow the ſuppoſed example of the queen, and gave his ſword, for this purpoſe, to Eros, a freed ſlave, who had promiſed to uſe it when required in the laſt action of friendſhip to his maſter; but Eros, unable to fulfil his promiſe, inſtead of killing his maſter, plunged the ſword into his own boſom. Antony then ſnatching the weapon, wounded himſelf; but not expiring immediately, he was told, as he lay bleeding, that Cleopatra was yet alive, and ſafe in the monument. Seeming to revive at theſe tidings, he gave directions that he ſhould be carried to her preſence. Upon his coming, ſhe appeared on the battlements; but under pretence that ſhe feared a ſurpriſe, refuſed to have the gates unbarred, and made it neceſſary to have him towed over the walls. Although ſhe had wiſhed to diſengage herſelf from this unfortunate man, and had even ſubmitted to betray him, now when ſhe ſaw him laid at her feet expiring [79], and covered with his blood, ſhe beat her breaſt, and tore her hair in the agonies of real ſuffering, mixed with the affectation of pretended paſſion.

Antony, having ſomewhat in his mind which he wiſhed to expreſs, called for wine, recovered ſtrength enough to utter a few words, and expired [80]; thus ending his life in the fifty-third, or, according to others, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age [81]; diſpoſed, even in the laſt ſcenes of it, to occupy the intervals of relaxation in riot and debauchery; and verifying, in all the ſteps of his manhood and age, the charge of extravagance and profligacy, which marked his youth, and his firſt appearances in public affairs. He was poſſeſſed of talents for the council and the field, which he never exerted for any valuable purpoſe, or rather never exerted at all, except when he was preſſed by the moſt urgent neceſſity of his ſituation. Under this preſſure, indeed,

[79] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 10. [80] Zonar. lib. x. c. 30. [81] Plut. in Antonio.

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he ſometimes repaired by his induſtry and vigour the breaches which were made by his diſſipation or neglect. In conſequence of his connection with Julius Cæſar, and of the place he gained among the military factions, which endeavoured to engroſs or to divide his power, he was tempted to conſider the Roman empire itſelf as the ſcene of his pleaſures; and, in aiming at the ſovereignty of the world, experienced thoſe reverſes which fully diſplayed the verſatility and inſtability of his own character. But he fell, at laſt, deſerted by every Roman citizen who had ever been attached to his intereſt; betrayed by that perſon to whoſe caprices chiefly he ſacrificed his fortunes, and under the fatal experience, that the utmoſt efforts of reſolution, incited by the ſenſe of extreme neceſſity, will not always retrieve the errors of paſt diſſipation and folly.

When Antony gave himſelf the wound of which he died, one of his attendants, extracting the dagger from his body, ran with it to Octavius, who, ſeeing the weapon ſtained with blood, and being told what had paſſed, perhaps in imitation of Julius Cæſar, who is ſaid to have wept for the death of Pompey, was obſerved to ſhed tears [82]. Suetonius reports that he afterwards deſired to ſee the body [83].

Cleopatra, as ſoon as the ſcene in the monument was over, and ſhe had recollected herſelf, ſent an intimation of Antony's death to Cæſar, and then probably indulged her hopes, that the great obſtacle to her peace being removed, ſhe might obtain that conſideration for her ſeparate intereſts, which Octavius, by inſinuations, or expreſſions of civility, had given her cauſe to expect.

After the late conteſt was, in a great meaſure, decided, the victor continued to encourage the queen of Egypt to hope for a ſeparate treaty; and amuſed her with civilities, while he endeavoured to inform himſelf of her treaſure, and to make ſure of her as a captive to adorn his triumph, a circumſtance eſteemed of

[82] Plut. in Antonio. [83] Sueton. in Octav. c. 17.

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the higheſt importance at Rome; but he had avoided coming under any engagements that ſhould preclude him from the full uſe of his victory. Upon receiving her meſſage, he ſent Caius Proculeius, a Roman Knight, and Epaphroditus, an emancipated ſlave, to ſoothe her fears, to adminiſter comfort, and, if poſſible, without ſtipulating any conditions, to ſecure her perſon.

What Octavius chiefly apprehended from the unfortunate queen, was ſome violent attempt on her own life. His emiſſaries, therefore, having ſuffered her, at her own earneſt requeſt, to remain where ſhe was until the funeral of Antony ſhould be over; they made a ſtrict ſearch, in order to remove from her hands every weapon, or ſuppoſed inſtrument of death; and, under pretence of doing her honour, placed a guard on the monument. They prevailed upon her afterwards to remove to the palace, where ſhe was attended with the uſual ſtate and dignity of a ſovereign [a]. But being ſtill kept at a diſtance from Cæſar, and in ſuſpence with reſpect to his intentions, ſhe expreſſed great anxiety, and ſeemed to meditate ſome deſperate purpoſe. In order to divert her from any fatal reſolution, which might deprive Cæſar's triumph of a principal ornament, ſhe was told, that he conſented to ſee her, and was to make her a viſit in her own apartments. Upon this intimation, ſhe ordered the chambers to be fitted up in the moſt elegant manner, and decorated, in particular, with the picture and buſt of Julius Cæſar. When the expected viſit of Octavius was to be paid, ſhe took care to have bundles of the late Cæſar's letters and memorials before her. She herſelf was dreſſed in mourning, which ſhe knew was ſuppoſed, at all times, to become her, and which, on this occaſion, might give an expreſſion of tender melancholy that rendered her perſon and her ſtate more affecting. When Octavius preſented himſelf ſhe roſe from her couch; but, as if overawed by his

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 12.

preſence, with an air of modeſty and dejection, fixed her eyes on the ground. In accoſting him, ſhe called him Maſter. "To his father," ſhe ſaid, "ſhe owed all her fortunes, and now willingly reſigned them to the ſon. The memory of the great Julius ſhould be a ſufficient comfort in all her afflictions; ſhe would even conſider him as revived in the perſon of his ſon. But would to God," ſhe ſaid, burſting into tears, "that I had died before him, ſo ſhould I have eſcaped the evils which his death, and the conſequences of it have brought upon me!" Octavius bid her be of good courage; and aſſured her, that no hurt was intended her. But ſhe obſerving, that he ſpoke theſe words with coldneſs, and turned his eyes away, threw herſelf upon the ground in agonies of deſpair. "I neither wiſh," ſhe ſaid, "nor can I continue to live. I ſhould have died when Cæſar fell; and there is another now who calls upon me to follow him; ſuffer me to reſt with him on whoſe account I die[85]."

This interview concluded with a requeſt on the part of the queen, that ſhe might be allowed to perform the obſequies of Antony, to which ſhe proceeded with all the appearances of an affectionate widow in the deepeſt affliction; but as there is no doubt, that ſhe had betrayed the perſon whom ſhe now appeared ſo much to lament, it is probable that her tears, though pretended to be ſhed on account of the dead, were, in reality, directed to move and to win his ſurviving rival. She ſtill truſted to the effects of her beauty, and was, in her preſent ſituation, what ſhe had been in the moſt ſerious councils of State, a mere coquette, who, being naturally diſpoſed to violent paſſions, could perſonate any character, or turn her real paſſions to account in ſerving any diſguiſed purpoſe of vanity or ambition.

[85] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xli. c. 12.

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The ſcene which Cleopatra acted on the preſent occaſion, in whatever degree ſhe was poſſeſſed by real or affected deſpair, had no other effect on Octavius, than to make him redouble his attention to prevent any attempt which ſhe might intend to make againſt her own life. Epaphroditus had orders to watch her with great diligence; a circumſtance from which ſhe had the ſagacity to infer a fixed determination to carry her as a captive to Rome. She was ſoon confirmed in her ſuſpicions; having intelligence, that Octavius himſelf, being to march by land, had given orders that ſhe, with her children, ſhould be ſent into Italy by ſea. Equally anxious to avoid being led in triumph, as the victor was deſirous to preſerve her for this purpoſe, ſhe inſtantly took meaſures to end her life. But in order to elude the vigilance of her keeper, ſhe affected to be reſigned to her fate, gave an inventary, and delivered up all her effects, reſerving only a few jewels, which ſhe profeſſed an intention to deliver with her own hands, in preſents, to Livia and Octavia. She even affected to dreſs in her uſual gay and ſumptuous manner; and pretending to have ſome buſineſs of conſequence to communicate to Cæſar, ſhe gave Epaphroditus a letter, and charged him to deliver it with his own hands. It contained expreſſions of exultation at having obtained her end, and having eſcaped from her enemies.

Octavius, on ſeeing this letter, inſtantly gave orders to prevent what he apprehended was her purpoſe; but the queen, at the arrival of the meſſenger, was already dead, and laid upon a couch of ſtate. One of the women, who uſually attended her, was likewiſe dead; the other was expiring; but while the meſſenger of Octavius was entering the chamber, obſerving that the crown had fallen from her miſtreſs's head, ſhe made an effort, with what ſtrength ſhe had left, to replace it. No mark of violence appeared on the body of the queen, except a ſmall puncture in her arm; and ſhe was therefore ſuppoſed to have died of a venomous bite, or of a ſcratch with

a poiſoned inſtrument. To render the laſt of theſe conjectures the more probable, it was ſaid, that ſhe always carried a pin in her hair, the point of which was tainted with poiſon. She was now at the age of nine-and-thirty years, and of theſe had lived fourteen years with Antony.

Octavius, being diſappointed of his deſign to lead the queen of Egypt as a captive in his triumph, had her effigy, with an aſpick fixed upon the arm, fabricated to ſupply her place in the proceſſion. He no longer kept any meaſures with her family or kingdom. Cæſarion her ſon, ſuppoſed by Julius Cæſar, and of courſe a pretended heir to Cæſar's fortunes, had too high pretenſions to be ſpared; endeavouring to make his eſcape into Ethiopia, he was taken in his flight, and killed. Antyllas, the ſon of Antony by Fulvia, being of an age to receive impreſſions which might render him dangerous, was likewiſe ſacrificed to the ſafety of the conqueror. He had taken refuge at the ſhrine of Julius Cæſar, but was forced from thence, and ſlain. The other children, whether of Cleopatra, or of Antony, were ſpared, and honourably treated. Thoſe of the latter, by Octavia, being near relations of Cæſar, and afterwards intermarried with the reigning family, left a poſterity who ſucceeded to the empire [25].

Among the partizans of the vanquiſhed party who were ordered for execution, only two or three Romans of note are mentioned: Canidius, who had commanded the land-forces of Antony at Actium, and who ſtill adhered to him in the wreck of his fortunes; Caſſius Parmenſis, a man of letters and a poet, who had been attached to Brutus and Caſſius, but, having employed his wit againſt Octavius, was received by Antony, and lived with him in great intimacy; and Ovinius, who, having been a Roman Senator, is ſaid to have degraded himſelf by taking charge of the manufactures which were carried on in the palace of the queen of Egypt.

[25] Sueton. in Octav. c. 17. Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 19. Plut. in Antonio.

In

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In limiting the ſeverity of his executions to theſe examples, Octavius appeared greatly to reſtrain the cruelty which he had formerly exerciſed againſt his enemies; he, at the ſame time, gave proofs of his munificence, by releaſing all thoſe who were in cuſtody at Alexandria whether as priſoners of ſtate, as captives, or hoſtages from foreign nations[24].

[24] Oroſius, p. 269. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 87.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The Merit or Demerit of Parties in the later Period of the Roman Republic.——Return of Octavius to Rome.——His triumphs and public Entertainments.——Reform of the Army.——Propoſition to reſign his Power.——Conſultation of Agrippa and Mæcenas.——Preludes to the pretended Reſignation of Octavius.——His Speech in the Senate.——His conſent to retain a Part in the Government of the Empire.——Diſtribution of the Provinces.——Title of Auguſtus.——The Eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus.

ALTHOUGH, in compiling this Hiſtory, it has been intended to avoid expreſſions of mere praiſe and blame, other than are contained in the detail of facts and ſpecification of characters; and to ſtate, in every inſtance, the tranſaction itſelf, rather than the judgment

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judgment of the writer; yet it is hoped that where queſtions of merit or demerit are in any conſiderable degree problematical, and where readers are likely to take oppoſite ſides, he too may be indulged in ſome general diſcuſſion.

We may ſuppoſe the Roman republic to have been haſtening to its
U. C. 620. ruin from the ſedition of Tiberius Gracchus, to the times on which
U. C. 723. we are now entered. A great revolution has been ſo long in dependance, and more blood has been ſhed in an age of boaſted learning and politeneſs, than perhaps has been known to flow in any equal period of the moſt barbarous times.

In judging of thoſe who were concerned in this tranſaction, we may form our opinions now upon ſpeculative conſiderations, as they themſelves joined their party from motives of intereſt, ambition, or public virtue. Although it be allowed that, in point of juſtice, we muſt give a preference to thoſe who endeavoured to preſerve the conſtitution of their country, and who acted merely in defence of themſelves and their fellow-citizens; yet in this inſtance it will be alleged, that the event has had the effect of an experiment, to ſhow that what they ſtrove to perform was impracticable, and that notwithſtanding the juſtice of their cauſe, the circumſtances of the times were ſuch as to have rendered their ſucceſs not only deſperate, but in a great meaſure inexpedient. They were born to a republic, it is true; but the people who were deſtined to govern in that republic could no longer be ſafely intruſted with government; and to contend for ſuch a truſt in behalf of men who were unworthy of it, was a dangerous error, for which the beſt intentions could not atone. Even the Roman Senate itſelf could not ſupply all the exigencies of government over a dominion of ſuch extent, and containing ſo many ſources of corruption. Its own members were degenerated, and fallen from the virtue of their anceſtors. They were trained up in a luxury at home, which was to be ſupplied by the moſt cruel rapacity abroad,

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abroad in the provinces. Such an empire could be preſerved only by the force and prompt executions of deſpotiſm. The change therefore from republic to monarchy, it may be alleged, was ſeaſonable; and Cato, with Cicero, Brutus, and all the other partizans of the commonwealth, actuated by a miſtaken, though commendable zeal for liberty, would have ſupported their fellow-citizens in their pretenſions to government after they were unworthy of it; in this attempt fell a neceſſary ſacrifice to their own error; and in their ruin made way for an eſtabliſhment better fitted for the condition of the age, and to the character of the people, than that for which they contended and bled.

In this manner of ſtating the ſubject, we lay the taſk of vindicating their own conduct on thoſe who endeavoured to preſerve, not upon thoſe who deſtroyed, the republic. But in judging of the merits of men in ſo diſtant a ſcene, we muſt not proceed on conceptions drawn from the experience of ſubſequent ages, on our own predilection for monarchy in general, or even on our judgment of its expedience in that particular caſe; we muſt ſuppoſe ourſelves in the ſituation of thoſe who acted, and who, in the reſult of this conteſt, from the condition of equals, were to become maſter and ſervant, or lord and vaſſal. One party ſtrove that they ſhould be maſters, the other that they themſelves ſhould not be ſlaves. The latter contended for the rights, which, together with their fellow-cirizens, they had inherited, as Romans; they endeavoured to preſerve the manners, as well as the inſtitutions, of their country, againſt the deſtroyers of both. The other party, at firſt, under pretence of zeal for higher meaſures of popular government than thoſe they enjoyed, endeavoured to corrupt the people whom they meant to enſlave; and having, upon plauſible pretences, got poſſeſſion of the ſword, they turned it againſt the eſtabliſhed government of their country. Neither of thoſe parties, probably, ſtated the ſpeculative queſtion which

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we may now be inclined to diſcuſs, whether republic or monarchy was beſt accommodated to the Roman State in the height of its dominion, and in the full tide of luxury?

The wiſe, the courageous, and the juſt alone are intitled to power; the innocent alone are intitled to freedom. But they who are not conſcious of having forfeited their right to either, are undoubtedly juſtifiable in perſiſting to maintain it. The virtuous who reſign their freedom, at the ſame time reſign their virtue, or at leaſt yield up that condition which is required to preſerve it. Citizens who were born to inherit this condition, and who had the courage to harbour and to cheriſh that elevation of mind which belongs to it, were intitled to maintain for themſelves the poſt of honour to the laſt, and muſt for ever receive from thoſe who reſpect integrity and magnanimity the tribute of eſteem, even of tenderneſs, which is due to their memory.

If ever there was a body of men fit to govern the world, it was the Roman Senate, compoſed of citizens who had paſſed through the higher offices of State, who had ſtudied the affairs of their country in the execution of its councils, and in the command of its armies; and it will for ever be remembered, in behalf of thoſe who wiſhed to preſerve its authority, that if their removal from the ſcene on which they acted was expedient or ſeaſonable, it was ſo becauſe that ſcene was become unworthy of their preſence.

Some of the characters, indeed, that appeared in this cauſe, may require a ſeparate treatment. In that of Cato, virtue was the reſult of a deciſive and comprehenſive reflection. To him rectitude of conduct was in itſelf, without regard to conſequences, the ſupreme object of deſire and purſuit. His penetration, as well as courage, in the early endeavours he made, and in the manly ſteadineſs with which he perſiſted to oppoſe the deſigns of Cæſar and Pompey, while others wavered, and either did not perceive their intention, or tamely

 ſubmitted

ſubmitted to them, gave him a ſtriking ſuperiority over his contemporaries [1]. He is repreſented by Cicero, in ſome inſtances, as retaining his inflexibility, when ſome degree of compliance was more likely to preſerve the republic. The ſame cenſure has been repeated by others; but Cato was preſent to the ſcene, had no by-views to miſlead him, and there is not any reaſon to prefer the judgment of thoſe who cenſure him to his own. Cicero temporiſed, made the experiment of what compliance on ſome occaſions could effect, and even flattered himſelf that he had gained the affections of Cæſar and Pompey to the republic, by giving way to the arts which they employed to deſtroy it.

The fellow-ſufferers of Cato, in the ſame cauſe of the republic, were perſons of a different character from himſelf. To him virtue was the end, to them it was the means which they employed for the attainment of their end, and they meaſured advantages by the ſucceſs of their purſuits. Cato poſſeſſed independence in the courage and reſolution of his own mind; they ſought for it in the inſtitutions of their country; they wiſhed to preſerve their own rights, and would yield them to no individual or ſet of men whatever. This character is indeed in a high degree meritorious; no more is required to form an excellent citizen, and no more was required but the prevalence or frequency of ſuch a character at Rome to have preſerved, and even to have reformed, that ſickly and periſhing conſtitution of government.

The natural antidote of vice is reſtraint and correction; but in great diſorders, and where the ſyſtem itſelf is corrupted, what is

[1] The impreſſion of Cato's character remained ſo deep with poſterity, as well as with the immediate witneſſes of his conduct, that no authority on the part of thoſe who wiſhed to traduce him had any effect. It is remarkable, that even the authority of the Cæſars did not ſilence thoſe who in other inſtances ſubmitted to flatter them, nor prevent their joining in the praiſes of Cato. Virgil and Horace, though courtiers, could not be reſtrained on this ſubject. Vid. Eneid. lib. viii. ver. 670. Hor. lib. i. od. 12. He was revered, it has been ſaid, rather as a good than as a great man; but mankind do not revere without an opinion of great ability, as well as benevolent intention. Vid. Lord Bolingbroke's Patriot King.

BOOK VI.

applied for a remedy is ſometimes an evil, as well as the diſeaſe. They who peruſe the hiſtory of Rome, under the continued effects of a revolution, which is now accompliſhed or faſt approaching, will find no cauſe to congratulate the world, on its having eſcaped from the factions of Clodius and Milo, to incur the evils that aroſe under Caius and Nero.

The impoſſibility of preſerving the republic, or its unfitneſs to remain at the head of ſo great an empire, is no doubt the moſt plauſible excuſe which is made for its ſubverſion; but this apology neither Cæſar nor Pompey was intitled to make for himſelf. Cæſar affected a zeal for popular government, and Pompey ſtrove to inflame all its evils, in order to render himſelf neceſſary to the ariſtocracy. Cæſar fomented political troubles, in order to weaken the hands of the Senate, or in order to find a pretence to make war upon them; and at laſt, under the ſhew of releaſing the people from the tyranny of that body, drew that ſword with which he accompliſhed the ruin of of both.

The Senate indeed had many difficulties to encounter; that of protecting the provinces from oppreſſion, in which many of their own members were concerned; that of reſtraining the tumults and diſorders of a licentious people, led by different factions, deſirous of change, or impatient of government; and that of conducting a pretended popular aſſembly, in whom the legiſlation and ſovereignty of the empire was nominally veſted. It is, however, difficult to judge how far ſo able a council, while they themſelves remained in any degree uncorrupted, might not have found antidotes, or at leaſt temporary expedients, to reſiſt every other evil, if they had not been ſo ably attacked as they were by the firſt Cæſar and Pompey, who joined intereſts together, to break down the defences of a fortreſs, which they afterwards ſeverally intended to occupy.

The

CHAP. I.

The ordinary train of affairs at Rome; the ſubſtitution of tumults for regular aſſemblies of the People; the practice of committing the provinces, with ſo many reſources, and the command of ſuch armies, with ſo little controul, to the diſcretion of ambitious citizens; the dangerous powers which accompanied the higher offices of State, without any check upon thoſe who were inclined to abuſe thoſe powers, the eaſy recourſe which perſons of dangerous pretenſions, when rejected by the Senate, had to popular riots, under the denomination of Comitia, or Aſſemblies of the People, made the deſtruction of the commonwealth in ſome meaſure neceſſary.

With ſuch citizens as the Gracchi, as Apuleius, as Marius and Cinna, Clodius and Milo, it was difficult to preſerve a republic; but with ſuch citizens as Cæſar and Pompey, it was altogether impoſſible; or rather the republic may be conſidered as at an end from the time it was in their power to diſpoſe of it.

The firſt claſs of theſe adventurers were miſled by their paſſions, or fell into the vices of their ſituation. They endeavoured to rule by popular tumults or military force, and when they could not pervert the ordinary forms of the State to their purpoſe, employed violence to ſet them aſide; but even in this, by their mutual oppoſition, they preſerved a kind of balance, in which the freedom of the commonwealth ſeemed to remain.

Pompey and Cæſar promoted ſyſtematically all the evils to which their country was expoſed. They had recourſe to the populace for grants which the Senate refuſed; they prolonged the term of provincial appointments, which were ſufficiently dangerous, however ſhort; they united together powers that were ſufficiently dangerous when ſeparate; united the command of armies in the provinces with the authority of office at Rome; and, inſtead of ſuſpending the fate of the commonwealth by their mutual obſtructions to each other, haſtened its ruin by concerting together their meaſures againſt it; leaving

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leaving the deciſion of their reſpective claims, till after they had rendered the republic a neceſſary prey to the one or the other.

Pompey for ſome time thought himſelf in actual poſſeſſion of the monarchy; Cæſar, in the mean time, provided the moſt effectual means to raviſh it from him. To ſtate the difficulty of preſerving the republic in ſuch hands, as an excuſe for their having deſtroyed it, were to offer the character of criminals as an excuſe for their crimes. When the highwaymen are abroad, the traveller muſt be robbed; but this is not an excuſe for the crime. Cæſar and Pompey are blamed, not becauſe the republic had an end, but becauſe they themſelves were the evils by which it periſhed.

The neceſſity of ſubmitting, at leaſt for a time, to the government of ſingle men, had been repeatedly experienced by the Romans, and was ſo in the higheſt degree at the times to which theſe obſervations refer; but this will not juſtify the pretenſions of every profligate perſon who may affect to place himſelf in the ſtation of ſovereign. If upon this ground Cato and Brutus were to be blamed for reſiſting the power of Cæſar; the laſt, in his turn, muſt be blamed for reſiſting the power of Pompey and other citizens, in their reſpective ages, for rejecting the advances which were made by Marius, Cinna, Cataline, and other profligate adventurers, who attempted to place themſelves at the head of the empire.

Of the two Cæſars, the firſt poſſeſſed the talent of influencing, of gaining, and employing men to his purpoſe, beyond any other perſon that is known in the hiſtory of the world; but it is ſurely not for the good of mankind that he ſhould be admired in other reſpects. To admire even his clemency, is to miſtake policy and cunning for humanity. The ſecond Cæſar, in the part which he acted againſt the republic, is in many reſpects more excuſable than the firſt. He entered the ſcene when the piece was much farther advanced,

advanced, when his countrymen had ſubmitted to monarchy, under the title of a perpetual Dictatorſhip, and when he himſelf was conſidered as the heir of a perſon who had poſſeſſed this pre-eminence. He was therefore at leaſt nearer to the condition of a hereditary prince, who may be allowed to conſider ſovereignty as his birthright, and who, however he may be diſpoſed to promote the good of mankind, has a right to maintain his own ſtation, and may be ſuppoſed to acquit himſelf ſufficiently of his duty, by making a proper uſe of his power, without being under any obligation to reſign it, or to admit of improper encroachments upon the eſtate to which he is born.

The firſt Cæſar ſtrove againſt thoſe who endeavoured to preſerve their own rights and thoſe of their country; the ſecond, although he ſucceeded to the ſame quarrel, and actually paid no reſpect to the republic, more than was neceſſary to cover his deſign againſt it, yet appears, more than the firſt, in the light of a perſon who ſtrove only with the rivals of his own ambition, and with his competitors for the ſucceſſion of his uncle and adoptive father, who, having declared him the heir of his fortune, gave him a pretence to ſupport the pre-eminence he himſelf had gained.

This apology, nevertheleſs, though more powerful in its application to the caſe of the ſecond Cæſar than to that of the firſt, is very imperfect in its application to either. If Octavius had been educated under any impreſſions of hereditary right to the ſovereignty of the Roman republic, the fate of the perſon from whom he derived his ſuppoſed right, and the ſubſequent, though temporary, re-eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, which he witneſſed, and which he pretended to approve, were ſufficient to have undeceived him, and to have taught him the part which he had to act as a Roman citizen, and the modeſty with which he ought to have waited for the legal age and the conſtitutional election, in order to obtain thoſe offices of

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State to which, in common with the other citizens of Rome, his condition no doubt highly intitled him.

Octavius, however, is not perhaps to be tried ſo much in the capacity of a Roman citizen born to the republic, as in that of leader of a party, born at a time when the competition for ſuperiority was general, and when ſovereignty or death were the alternatives to be choſen by perſons of ſuch rank and pretenſions as his own. In this capacity he effected what his grand-uncle and adoptive father had taught him to aim at; the ſuppreſſion of civil government, and the removal of all his own competitors for power.

As Pompey, with Cato and the principal ſupporters of the Senate, had ſunk under the firſt Cæſar; ſo Brutus, Caſſius, and the other reſtorers of the commonwealth, with the laſt of the family of Pompey, ſunk under Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and the two laſt, in their turn, having ſunk under Octavius, this ſucceſsful adventurer now remains ſole commander of all the armies of the republic, and ſole maſter of all its provinces, from the banks of the Euphrates to the ſea of Britain. And the conteſt for this mighty ſovereignty being now at leaſt decided, it remains that we obſerve what new form the world is to receive under the dominion of its maſter, or what mighty harveſt is to be reaped by him who is in poſſeſſion of the field, and who is now enabled to gather what ſo many heroes had ſown or planted, and what ſo many pretenders to the ſame object would have raviſhed or torn from each other.

This able adventurer having, in other ſituations, conducted his affairs with ſo much diſcretion, as well as enterpriſe, continued in his preſent elevation to exerciſe the ſame profitable virtues. In the ſeverities which he had formerly practiſed againſt thoſe who oppoſed him, there was ſufficient evidence of a cruel and ſanguinary nature [2],

[2] See the Hiſtory of the Proſcription, and his attendance at the ſacrifices or executions done at Perufia. Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

and it were monſtrous to ſuppoſe that the murders which were perpetrated by his order, or with his conſent, could be juſtified by the neceſſity of affairs in which his engaging at all was criminal. But as the horror of Sylla's cruelties, ſtill remaining in the minds of the people, was a great bar to the ſucceſs of any ſimilar uſurpation, and ſuggeſted to Julius Cæſar, in the beginning of his career, an oppoſite courſe of clemency and mercy; ſo the fate of this laſt adventurer, who, after having ſhown mercy to many of his opponents, fell at laſt by the hands of thoſe he had ſpared, probably ſuggeſted to the Triumvirate the neceſſity of ſecuring themſelves before they affected the reputation of mercy, and, as we ſhall ſee, ſuggeſted to this heir of Cæſar the caution not to affront, ſo directly as the other had done, that republican ſpirit, whoſe effects he had occaſion to dread.

Octavius, though inferior to his uncle in the capacity of a ſoldier, being equally maſter of every neceſſary artifice, had recourſe to the uſe of clemency when it ſuited the ſtate of his affairs. His ſteps became gradually leſs bloody, from the firſt fatal proſcription to the laſt victory which he obtained over Antony; and in this he reverſed the order that was obſerved by the firſt Cæſar, beginning to affect moderation in a period of the war, correſponding to that in which the military executions of the other were obſerved to have become more deciſive and bloody.

In the whole management of the conteſt with Antony, Octavius had conducted himſelf with a ſingular addreſs. Stating himſelf as a Roman Conſul merely, he diſcontinued the power of Triumvir in his own perſon, in order to ſtrip his antagoniſt likewiſe of that character. To avoid appearances which might divide any part of the Roman People againſt him, he overlooked Antony entirely in the pretended quarrel with the queen of Egypt, or he affected to conſider him as a perſon under ſome fatal deluſion, and in hazard of becoming

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a traitor to his own country, from his attachment to a ſtranger and an artful woman. The war was declared againſt the queen of Egypt alone, and, like any other foreign war, was undertaken by Octavius in the capacity of Roman Conſul, and with an obſervance of all the uſual forms of the commonwealth.

Octavius was remarkable for employing diſguiſes, which, though too thin to conceal the truth, furniſhed his own party, at leaſt, with a pretence for ſupporting him, and conſiderably helped him forwards in the execution of all his deſigns. Affecting to be no more than Conſul, or ordinary magiſtrate, he exerciſed the power of a maſter, or military uſurper, in the weſtern provinces; and haſtened, by the reduction of Egypt, and the ſuppreſſion of his rivals who had taken refuge in that kingdom, to make himſelf equally ſovereign in the Eaſt. In the abſence of this Conſul the affairs of State in the capital were not permitted, as uſual, to devolve on his nominal colleague, nor, in the abſence of both Conſuls, to devolve on the officer that was next in rank; but were in the hands of Mæcenas, a perſon known for the miniſter or confident of Octavius, without any other rank or title of office in the commonwealth. Theſe circumſtances were ſufficient to diſcredit the profeſſions which he continued to make of his zeal for the conſtitution of the republic; but when it is convenient for parties to be deceived, they ſhut their eyes upon every circumſtance which tends to expoſe the deception.

It was not indeed neceſſary at preſent that the People ſhould be impoſed upon, in order to enable the head of the army to reign with an abſolute ſway in Italy and over all the weſtern provinces. As the troops who were actually under arms looked forward to their general for future proviſions and ſettlements, ſo the veterans, then eſtabliſhed in the country, looked up to him as the guardian of their property, and conſidered his power as the principal ſecurity of what they poſſeſſed. If it were neceſſary, in this caſe, to preſerve the appearances

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of civil government, in order to conciliate the minds of the citizens, it was equally neceſſary to preſerve the reality of abſolute power, in order to gratify the army, and in order to continue to the veterans the principal ſecurity by which they held their lands. And this wary politician accommodated himſelf, with uncommon diſcernment, to the feelings or prejudices of both.

The ſuperior addreſs of Octavius, in the conteſt with Antony, gave continual preſages of victory on his ſide; and from the beginning of the war to its final deciſion at Actium, and to the laſt cloſe of the ſcene in Egypt, partizans were continually paſſing from the loſing to the winning ſide. Upon the reduction of Egypt, the victor, though pretending to act in the capacity of Roman Conſul, did not, as in former times, refer to the Senate the arrangements to be made in his conqueſt; nor did he wait the formality of a commiſſion from Rome to authoriſing him to ſettle the province. He named a governor, and gave orders for the repair of all the public works, which, on account of their effect in diſtributing the inundations of the Nile, made, in that kingdom, a great and important object of State, and by their being neglected in the late troubles, had occaſioned much diſtreſs.

The kingdom of Egypt was a principal granary for the ſupply of Italy, and it is probable that its conſequence had been ſeverely felt in the late interruption of its exports. Octavius therefore took meaſures to ſecure his poſſeſſion of a country, by which he obſerved that the ſtate of Italy and the capital of the empire might be greatly affected. He deprived the Egyptians of all the forms of their monarchy; and, in order to efface the memory of their national independence, and to diſcontinue pretenſions which the inhabitants of Alexandria uſed to ſupport by tumults and revolts, he aboliſhed all their public aſſemblies and national councils. He forbade the reſort of Egyptian nobles to Rome, and of Roman Senators to Egypt.

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As there was reaſon to apprehend that there might ſtill exiſt, under the ruins of this late opulent monarchy, or under the remains of Antony's party there, ſome ſparks of fire which the ambition or intrigues of any conſiderable partizan might kindle into a flame, he choſe for governor Cornelius Gallus, a perſon of equeſtrian rank and moderate pretenſions, not likely to harbour ambitious deſigns; and made it a rule to have ſimilar qualifications in future governors, and to perpetuate the other parts of an eſtabliſhment which he now made, for the preſervation of ſo important a territory, and the government of ſo factious a people.

While Octavius made theſe arrangements in Egypt, he ſecured a great treaſure, of which a conſiderable part was found in the coffers of the late queen, and part aroſe from the contributions which he himſelf impoſed on the city of Alexandria and other parts of the kingdom. And being, from theſe funds, prepared to acquit himſelf of the pecuniary engagements he had come under to the army, and enabled to make donations to the populace of Rome, whoſe favour was neceſſary for him in the further proſecution of his deſigns, he ſet out on his return to Italy; but having ſtopt in the iſland of Samos, while the army in ſeparate diviſions was moving to the weſtward, he paſſed the winter at this place, deferring his arrival at Rome until the troops ſhould be aſſembled, and every other circumſtance prepared for the triumphal entries he meant to make into the capital.

During his ſtay in Samos, the neighbouring towns and provinces vied with each other in demonſtrations of ſubmiſſion to his perſon, and of zeal for his cauſe. The inhabitants of Pergamus and Nicomedia made offer of divine honours to himſelf, and petitioned for leave to erect a temple for the purpoſe of performing theſe honours. Thoſe of Epheſus and Nicæa, as being more modeſt or more delicate in their flattery, directed this compliment to his adoptive father, the late

late Cæſar, to whom, together with Roma, conſidered as joint deities, they propoſed to erect a ſhrine and a temple. CHAP. I.

In Italy, at the ſame time, ſimilar or more important tributes of adulation and ſervility were paid to the victor. At Rome, all the honours with which the republic had been accuſtomed to reward the eminent ſervice of her citizens, had been for ſome time laviſhed on thoſe who were moſt ſucceſsful in ſubverting her government; and theſe honours were now heaped on Octavius with a profuſion proportioned to the aſcendant he had gained by the ſuppreſſion of all his competitors. The ſtatues which had been erected to his rival Mark Antony were broken down, and the name of Marcus for ever forbid in that family: as if the extinction of this rival were an end of every war, notwithſtanding that many hoſtile nations were yet in arms on the frontiers of the empire, the gates of Janus were oſtentatiouſly ſhut, and Octavius declared to be the reſtorer of peace to the world. A triumphal arch was erected at Brundiſium, on the ſpot where it was ſuppoſed he was to ſet his foot on ſhore. The anniverſaries of his birth and of his victories were to be celebrated for ever as days of thankſgiving, and his name was to be inſerted in the hymns or public prayers which were ſtatedly ſung, or offered up for the ſafety of the commonwealth.

On the firſt of January, while Octavius was ſtill at Samos, he being admitted a fifth time into the office of Conſul, the Senate and People took an oath of allegiance, or, in words more nearly correſponding to the terms of their language, took an oath to obſerve his acts and decrees. They declared him Tribune of the People for an unlimited time, and extended the powers of this office beyond the uſual bounds of the city. They ordained, that from thenceforward the appeals uſually made to the People ſhould be made to Cæſar alone, and that in criminal judgments, what was called the vote of Minerva, an act of grace provided for the pardon of criminals when condemned: U. C. 724. Imper. Cæſar 5to. Sext. Apuleius, ex Kal. Julii Polit. Valer. Meſſala.

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demned only by a ſingle vote of majority, ſhould from thenceforward be aſcribed to him, and conſequently be termed, the Mercy, or the Vote of Cæſar [s].

The precipitancy with which the Roman Senate and People now ruſhed into ſervitude, had probably no mixture of that ſullen deſign with which the partizans of the republic had prepared the firſt Cæſar for his fate. The retainers of the victorious party raiſed the cry of adulation, and they were followed, in expreſſions of ſervility, by perſons who wiſhed to recommend themſelves in the moſt early advances, or who dreaded being marked out for reſentment in caſe they appeared to be tardy in expreſſing their zeal. But what, under eſtabliſhed monarchy, may be conſidered as the duty and the loyalty of ſubjects to their ſovereign, and like filial affection, though ſometimes partial and miſplaced, is always a virtue, and ſalutary to mankind, in ſuch rapid tranſitions, from the pretenſions of citizens to the ſubmiſſion of ſlaves, is a mortifying example of the weakneſs and depravity to which human nature is expoſed.

The apparent ſervility of all orders of men under the uſurpation of Julius Cæſar, probably inſpired that ſecurity which gave the conſpirators ſuch an advantage againſt him. The example, however, put Octavius, though leſs expoſed, much more on his guard; and may ſerve to account for many of the precautions he took, and for many of the forms he obſerved, in the ſequel of his government. He had occaſion, indeed, to experience, in his own perſon, that his precautions were not altogether unneceſſary. In the midſt of the late demonſtrations of joy for his victory, there were ſtill a few who whetted their ſwords in ſecret againſt him, as the cauſe of their public degradation, and the author of their private wrongs. Lepidus, the ſon of the late degraded Triumvir, and nephew of Marcus Brutus

[s] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxi.

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by his ſiſter Junia, incited probably by this domeſtic example, and by ſo many motives of a private and public nature, had procured ſome accomplices, and was preparing to cut ſhort the uſurpation of Octavius on his return to Rome. But this deſign, no way juſtified by any conſiderations of prudence or public utility, was defeated by the vigilance of Mæcenas, and ended in the execution of the young Lepidus, and in the impriſonment of his mother Junia, who remained in confinement until ſhe was admitted to bail, at the humble requeſt of her huſband, the late Triumvir and aſſociate in the empire with Octavius and Antony, and who, to the other marks of the humiliation which he now endured, joined that of being overlooked even by thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have ſuffered by his tyranny [4].

Octavius having, by his ſtay in the iſland of Samos, diſconcerted the effect of this conſpiracy, and given ſufficient time for the tranſportation of his army, and the other apparatus of his triumph into Italy, ſet out for that country, and in his way viſited the ſcene of his late victory at Actium. At this place, Apollo being the principal object of worſhip, he had immediately, after the action, ſelected from the captures a galley of each rate to be placed as an offering to the god; and at Toryné, on the oppoſite ſide of the Straits, where his own army had been ſtationed before the engagement, he directed a city to be raiſed under the name of Nicopolis [5].

The conqueror, upon his arrival at Rome, was received by Politus, who had ſucceeded to the office of Conſul at the reſignation of Apuleius, and who, though now his colleague, dropped the pretenſion to equality, and performed the ſacrifices of thankſgiving which had been appointed for his ſafe return. Octavius hitherto, either by the

[4] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 88. Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxv.

[5] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 1. Sueton. in Octav. c. 18.

nature

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nature of the wars in which he had been engaged, or by the event of them, had not been intitled to a triumph; or being, by his temper and great caution, averſe to oſtentation, he had neglected to avail himſelf of this honour. But though he himſelf, in appearance, was no way governed by vanity, ſomething was due to the public opinion, to the wiſhes of thoſe who had ſhared in the glories of his victories, and to the impreſſions which even pageantry makes on the minds of thoſe who are to be governed. He therefore determined to exhibit three ſeparate triumphal proceſſions. The firſt for his victory over the Panonians, the Japydes, and the Dalmatians; the ſecond for his victory at Actium; and the third for the conqueſt of Egypt. In the firſt of theſe triumphs Carinus, by whom the war of Illyricum had been chiefly conducted, was admitted to partake with the commander under whoſe auſpices the ſubject of triumph had been gained. In the third was exhibited a ſcene, which, for riches and ſplendour, greatly ſurpaſſed any of the former, being enriched with the treaſure he had amaſſed in Egypt, and with various trophies conſtructed from the ſpoils of that country. Among theſe were carried the effigy of the late queen, having, in alluſion to the ſuppoſed manner of her death, the aſpick repreſented on her arm. This pageant was followed by her ſurviving children, who were led as captives.

In theſe proceſſions a circumſtance was remarked, which indicated conſiderable innovation in the pretenſions of the perſon by whom they were to be led. It had been uſual for the officers of State to meet the triumphal march at the gates of Rome, and afterwards to advance before it into the city. In conformity with the firſt part of this cuſtom, the Conſul and other magiſtrates met the proceſſion at the gates; but ſuffering the conqueror to paſs before them, fell behind, and followed in his train to the Capitol. Here he depoſited, in the Temple of Jupiter, ſixteen thouſand pondo, or a hundred and ſixty thouſand ounces

ounces of gold, with fifty millions in Roman money, or above four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling[6]; and at the cloſe of the ceremony diſtributed a thouſand ſeſtertii, or above eight pounds of our money a man to the troops; and this, to an army conſiſting of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, amounted to a ſum of near a million ſterling. To the officers, beſides his pecuniary bounty, he gave honorary rewards. To Agrippa, in particular, he gave a blue enſign in token of his naval victories; to the People he made a donation of four hundred ſeſtertii, or about three pounds five ſhillings a man, and doubled the uſual allowance of corn from the public granaries; diſcharged all that he owed, remitted all the debts that were due to himſelf, and refuſed all the preſents which were offered to him from the different towns and diſtricts of Italy.

Theſe accumulations and diſtributions of foreign ſpoils at Rome, or the general expectations of proſperous times, produced great or very ſenſible effects in raiſing the price of houſes, lands, and other articles of ſale, whether in Italy or in the contiguous provinces; a circumſtance which, joined to the new and ſtrange appearance of the gates of the temple of Janus being ſhut, as a ſignal of univerſal peace, made theſe triumphs of Octavius appear an æra of felicity and hope to the empire.

They were followed by other magnificent ceremonies; the dedicating of a temple which had been erected to Minerva, and the opening of a great hall which had been inſcribed with the name of Julius Cæſar. In that hall was placed a noted ſtatue of victory which had been brought from Tarentum; and there too were hung up the trophies which had been collected in Egypt. The ſtatue of Cleopatra, in gold, was placed in the temple of Venus, and at the ſame time the ſhrine of Julius Cæſar, as well as thoſe of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were decorated with many enſigns or badges of victory.

[6] Sueton. in Octav. c. xxx.

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On occaſion of theſe ſolemnities, a variety of games were exhibited: that of Troy, in particular, was now inſtituted, being a proceſſion formed by youth of high rank, mounted on horſeback, and led by Marcellus and Tiberius, the nephew and the ſtepſon of Octavius. Races were run in chariots and on horſeback, by perſons of high rank; and fights of gladiators were exhibited, in which, to the ſuppoſed diſgrace of the times, it is remarked, that a Roman Senator, of the name of Quintus Ventelius, was one of the combatants. Numerous parties of captives from the Daci and Suevi, in a form that might paſs for real battles, were made to fight for their liberty, that was propoſed as the prize of the victors. Many exhibitions were made of hunting and baiting of wild beaſts, in which were preſented a Rhinoceros and Hippopotamos or Sea Horſe, animals, till then, unknown at Rome. In the time of theſe entertainments, which continued many days, Octavius either really was, or pretended to be taken ill, and left the honour of preſiding at the ſhows to ſome private Senators, who, together with many other members of their body, to encreaſe the ſolemnity, feaſted the People in their turns [7].

Such had been the arts by which candidates for public favour, in the latter times of the republic, maintained in the capital the conſideration they had gained by their ſervices on the frontiers of the empire; and the continuance of theſe arts had now the more effect, that the people, who ſtill had a claim to this ſpecies of courtſhip, were become inſenſible to any other privilege of Roman citizens, and were ready to barter a political conſequence, which they were no longer fit to enjoy, for a ſucceſſion of ſports and entertainments that amuſed their leiſure, or for a diſtribution of bread, which, without the uſual and hard conditions of induſtry or labour, helped to give them ſubſiſtence.

[7] Dio. Caſſ. lib. li. c. 22, 23.

It

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It is obſerved, that in the preceding year, while the Egyptian war was yet in dependance, a concourſe of Roman citizens, aſſuming the powers of the People in public aſſembly, beſtowed on Statilius Taurus by a formal decree, in return for his munificence, in exhibiting matches of gladiators and the baiting of wild beaſts, the privilege of naming annually one of the Prætors. So irregular and abſurd were become the proceedings of what were called the Aſſemblies of the People; and the wary Octavius could not overlook the effect of theſe arts, in gaining their conſent to the dominion he meant to eſtabliſh. But while he indulged the People in their diſpoſition to amuſement and diſſipation, he gave the neceſſary attention to his military arrangements, and took meaſures to ſecure the poſſeſſion of that principal ſupport, on which ſovereignty, in ſuch an empire, muſt be founded. He had experienced the danger which may ariſe from armies ill governed, and knew that a power may become inſecure, by an abuſe of the means by which it is gained. When to the troops, which he himſelf commanded in Sicily, were joined thoſe of Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius, the engine became too unweildy for his management, and without any other principle of government, but fear, might baffle his ſkill to conduct it. He learned, upon that occaſion, that the conſiderations of civil juſtice, and the reſpect which is paid to ſome form of political ſubordination, are neceſſary even to the diſcipline and order of a military eſtabliſhment.

Upon this account, Octavius, immediately after his victories in Sicily, had proceeded with great addreſs, to reduce and to purge the legions, by diſmiſſing ſtrangers and fugitive ſlaves, and by ordering the levies from thenceforward to be confined to citizens of Rome. The denomination of Roman citizen, indeed, was no longer appropriated to the deſcendants of the Alban or Sabin colony, nor even to the inhabitants of the municipal towns of Italy. It had been communicated to many cities and provinces beyond theſe limits, and it

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was likely now, with much greater propriety than ever, to be extended to the free, or well-born and reſpectable claſs of the inhabitants in all parts of the empire. By limiting, however, the levies of the army to this name of reſpect and of real privilege, Octavius reſtored, in ſome degree, the connection between the civil and military honours, taught the ſoldier to value himſelf on his condition as a citizen, and the citizen to conſider as an honour the name of a ſoldier.

Upon this arrangement, the commander in chief of the army, as firſt magiſtrate of the commonwealth, had a double claim to obedience, and, joined to his military power, had an authority, derived from a principle of juſtice and of civil right, without which armies are no more than companies of banditti, whoſe force may be occaſionally turned againſt the perſon who leads them, as well as againſt his enemies.

The legions aſſembled at Rome, on occaſion of the late triumphal proceſſions, were now to be diſtributed to what were intended as their ordinary ſtations in time of peace. Of theſe ſtations, the principal were on the Euphrates, on the Rhine, and on the Danube; but, before this diſtribution could be finally made, ſome troubles, which, notwithſtanding the late ſignal of general peace, ſtill ſubſiſted in ſome parts of the empire, particularly on the Moſelle and the Rhine, in the interior parts of Spain, and on the confines of Macedonia, required attention. To the firſt of theſe quarters, Nonius Gallus was ſent to reduce the Treviri [a], who, in concert with ſome German nations, made incurſions into Gaul. Statilius Taurus was ſent into Spain, againſt the Aſtures and Cantabri [b], and Marcus Craſſus, from Macedonia, had orders to repreſs the incurſions of the

[a] The Biſhoprick of Treves.

[b] The inhabitants of what is now called Aſturia and Cantabria.

Daci

CHAP. I.

Daci and Baſtarni, Scythian nations, who had paſſed the Danube and the mountains of Hæmus, and who had taken poſſeſſion of ſome diſtricts in Thrace; but, upon the approach of Craſſus, they repaſſed thoſe mountains, and left the Romans again in poſſeſſion of the lands, which they had formerly occupied in that quarter [10].

The officers employed on theſe different ſervices, were no longer, as formerly, ſupreme in their reſpective ſtations, and accountable only to the Senate and People; they were underſtood to be lieutenants of a ſuperior officer acting as general governor over all the provinces, and commander in chief of all the armies in the empire. This ſupreme command, Octavius held under the well known name of *Imperator*, was uſually given in the field to victorious generals, and which he, contrary to former practice, now retained even in the city; and, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, gradually appropriated to himſelf and his ſucceſſors.

In the character which Octavius now aſſumed, he united, in ſupport of his authority, the prerogatives of Conſul, Cenſor, and Tribune of the People; and thus, in diveſting himſelf of the name of Triumvir, he affected to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution of the republic, and to reſtore the ordinary magiſtrates and officers of ſtate; but to a perſon, who valued ſafety no leſs than power, ſuch an eſtabliſhment was far from being ſufficiently ſecure. The dignities of Conſul, Cenſor, and Tribune, being by the conſtitution of the republic ſeparate and temporary, the unprecedented conjunction, and continuance of them in the ſame perſon, was a palpable impoſition, which could be no longer ſafe than it was ſupported by force; and depending on the army merely, without any plea of right, preſented an object of ambition to every adventurer, who could bring an army in ſupport of his claim.

[10] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvii. c. 54—57. Tacit. An. lib. iv. c. 5.

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Theſe conſiderations, probably, ſuggeſted to Octavius the neceſſity of endeavouring to ſtrengthen his title. He had hitherto kept poſſeſſion of the government under various pretences; but never declared any intention to realize, or to perpetuate the ſovereignty in his own perſon. For ſome time, he had profeſſed no more than a deſire to avenge the death of his relation Julius Cæſar. Next, he pretended to remove ſome diſorders which had crept into the commonwealth; and, laſt of all, to oppoſe the deſigns of Antony, who, at the breaking out of the quarrel between them, he ſuggeſted, was likely to ſacrifice the rights of the Roman People to the caprices of a ſtranger and a woman.

Theſe rivals, in their appeals to the judgment of the public, vied in their profeſſions of zeal for the commonwealth, mutually challenged each other to reſign their unconſtitutional powers; and each retained his own power, under the ſingle pretence that he was obliged to continue in arms, until he ſhould have ſecured the republic againſt the deſigns of his antagoniſt.

This pretence being now removed, it was become neceſſary that Octavius ſhould more fully explain himſelf, and declare upon what footing he was to hold the government. The chief partizans of the republic had fallen by their own hands, or by the ſwords of their enemies. All his rivals were cut off, and the whole military force of the empire centred in himſelf; but he had experienced, in the repeated mutinies of the army, the precarious ſtate of his authority over men, who were directed by mere caprice or perſonal attachment, without any acknowledged title on the part of their leader.

An open uſurpation of kingly power was ſtill odious at Rome: it appeared as a direct attack, not only upon the forms of the Roman republic, but likewiſe as an attack upon the private right of every citizen who pretended to conſideration and power proportioned to

the rank of his family or his perſonal qualities; and though the People in general were diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion, yet the violence of a few, who might be willing to expoſe themſelves as the champions of the commonwealth, was ſtill to be dreaded. In this capacity, not only citizens having high pretenſions in the civil line, but military officers likewiſe, might be dangerous to their leader; and chuſing rather to claim preferments and honours as their right, than as the gift of a maſter, might publicly ſpurn his authority, or employ againſt him the hands of ſome ſecret aſſaſſin, whom in any ſucceſsful attempt the law would protect, and the public voice would applaud.

Julius Cæſar, whoſe perſonal qualities were ſufficient to have ſupported him in any pretenſions, ſtill found himſelf miſtaken in relying on the attachment of his own officers, as much as on the ſubmiſſion of his fellow citizens. He found perſons of every condition, ſtill animated with the ſpirit of republican government, combined for his deſtruction, and he fell a ſacrifice to his exceſſive ſecurity, or rather to the vanity and oſtentation with which he affected to hold his power. His ſucceſſor on the preſent occaſion, as he was by nature more cautious and had leſs oſtentation, ſo he was taught, by this alarming example to diſguiſe his ambition, or to proceed leſs directly to his object.

Octavius, therefore, having taken the moſt effectual meaſures to ſecure his power, ſtill thought it neceſſary to affect a purpoſe of reſigning it, and of reſtoring the republican government. It is reported, that he even held a ſerious conſultation on this ſubject with his principal adviſers and confidents, Agrippa and Mæcenas. This fact may be queſtioned; but in a character ſo entirely made up of artifice and deſign, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that he wiſhed to diſguiſe his thoughts even to his moſt intimate counſellors, or to ſecure their approbation before he diſcloſed his real intentions.

Agrippa

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Agrippa and Mæcenas are ſaid to have been of different opinions reſpecting the propriety of their maſter's reſignation; and the queſtion accordingly, as it was ſuppoſed to be debated in this famous council, has furniſhed a curious theme to hiſtorians and rhetoricians. Agrippa encouraged Octavius to perſiſt in his ſuppoſed intention to reſign his power, and ſupported this opinion, by ſtating the advantages of republican government. "It is the tendency of the repub-"lic," he ſaid, "to multiply examples of great men; it is the ten-"dency of monarchy to diminiſh their numbers, and to ſacrifice to "one perſon, the pretenſions and the elevation of many. Under "the firſt ſpecies of government, the Roman ſtate has attained to "its preſent greatneſs; under the ſecond, it may languiſh, and ſink "to the level of other nations." He put Octavius in mind of his duty to the Senate, and to the Roman People, for whoſe rights, while he took arms againſt the murderers of his father, he had always profeſſed the greateſt reſpect:—bid him beware of the reproaches he muſt incur, if it ſhould now appear, either that he had formerly employed the pretence of filial duty as a cloak to his ambition; or that, now finding the People at his mercy, he neglected their rights the moment it was in his power to violate them with impunity.—He mentioned the danger of attempting to reduce into ſervitude a People, who had been accuſtomed not only to freedom, but to dominion over other nations;—the difficulties that muſt ariſe in the government of ſo great an empire;—the thorns that are for ever faſtened in the pillows of kings;—the dangers to which he muſt be expoſed, from perſons who ſhould feel themſelves injured by his ſeizing the government, or who ſhould think themſelves entitled to ſupplant him, and whoſe courage, in every attempt againſt his perſon, would be extolled as a noble effort of patriotiſm to reſtore the freedom of their country.

Mæcenas

CHAP. I.

Mæcenas took the oppoſite ſide, and contended for the neceſſity of a new ſpecies of government, in circumſtances ſo different from thoſe in which the republic had been formed. "So great an empire," he ſaid, "ſurrounded by ſo many enemies, required the authority "and the ſecret counſels of a prince, aided, but not controuled, "by the opinions of thoſe who were qualified to ſerve him. "The time, when the republic might rely on the virtue and "moderation of the greater part of her citizens is now no more; "men are governed by ambition or intereſt, and if one perſon de-"cline the ſovereignty, many pretenders will ariſe, who will again "tear the republic aſunder by their wars and contentions." He obſerved, that the fortune or deſtiny of Octavius had placed him at the head of the commonwealth; that he ought not to deſpiſe its gifts, or to throw the Roman People again into a ſtate of confuſion and anarchy, out of which he had been deſtined to ſave them. From theſe topics, he proceeded to conſider the difficulties to be encountered in the adminiſtration of ſuch a government, delivered maxims that contain the wiſdom of monarchy, pointed at regulations calculated to preſerve ſome ſpecies of civil conſtitution, yet depending on the will of the prince, and, according to the account which is given of his ſpeech, ſuggeſted at this conference moſt parts of the plan which Octavius actually carried into execution [u].

In the reſult of this conſultation, it is ſaid, that not only Octavius, but Agrippa likewiſe, embraced the opinion of Mæcenas; and that they, from thenceforward, conſidered the ſecure eſtabliſhment of the monarchy as the common object of all their councils. They appear to have agreed, that Octavius ſhould treat the Senate as he had in this conference treated his friends; that he ſhould propoſe to reſign his power, affect to make his continuing to hold it

[u] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lii. c. 1—43.

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the reſult of their own deliberations, and, by theſe means, obtain the ſanction of a legal eſtabliſhment.

To ſmooth the way to this end, ſome previous ſteps were yet to be taken. Much had already been done by Octavius to ſecure his power, to reconcile his new ſubjects, and, in caſe of any competition, to recommend himſelf to the public choice; but ſome caution was ſtill to be employed in bringing forward a queſtion, relating to the continuance of the preſent government, or the reſtoration of the republic. The Senate, on whoſe readily embracing and acting the part that was expected from them the whole depended, was to be ſcrutinized and purged of all members, who were, by their love of republican government, or by any other circumſtances, likely to mar the deſign. A ſingle voice in this aſſembly, given for receiving the demiſſion, which Octavius was about to offer, might have greatly diſconcerted his project, obliged him to throw aſide his diſguiſe, and might have made it neceſſary for him to continue holding by force what he wiſhed to receive by conſent, or even to have preſſed upon

U. C. 725. Imperator Cæſar VI. M. Agrippa.

him by the intreaties of all orders of men. In order to cultivate the diſpoſitions with which he already endeavoured to inſpire the Senate and the People, he himſelf, in conjunction with Agrippa, entered on the office of Conſul for the ſixth time, divided the Faſces with him, as uſual in the pureſt times of the republic, and in all the exertions of their authority, or in the diſcharge of their common duties, knowing how little he had to apprehend from the pretenſions of his colleague, affected to rank with him on the moſt perfect foot of equality.

The new Conſuls, in proceeding to their principal object, which was to reform the Senate, and to fill it with ſuch members as were likely to co-operate in the deſign they had formed, of obtaining for Octavius the ſovereignty by a formal conſent, made a review or Cenſus, as uſual, of all the different orders of the commonwealth;

and

and having, in conſequence of the late troubles, much property as well as public honours in their power, they had an opportunity to enrich, as well as to promote, thoſe whom they wiſhed to oblige; and accordingly made ſuch a diſtribution of eſtates and dignities, as plainly ſhewed, that obſequiouſneſs to the will of Cæſar was the road to diſtinction and fortune.

At this Cenſus or review of the People, the Roman citizens were found to amount to four million one hundred and ſixty four thouſand men fit to carry arms [12]. So much had their number, without any increaſe of population, augmented by the continual admiſſion of the freemen of entire towns and provinces, upon the rolls of the People.

The Senate had, during the devaſtations, and in the event of the civil wars, not only loſt thoſe who made its principal ornament, conſidered as a republican council, but had even undergone a great, if not an entire change of its members. It conſiſted now of perſons occaſionally intruded by the parties lately contending for ſuperiority; many, in particular, named by Antony, and who, during the late ſtruggles, endeavoured to ſupport the cauſe of their patron. Theſe, more eſpecially, it was the object of Octavius to remove; but being deſirous to court all orders of men, as well as to ſet aſide his enemies, he affected a reluctance in expelling particular perſons, and recommended to thoſe, who were conſcious of any diſqualification, voluntarily to withdraw their names.

In conſequence of this intimation, fifty Senators retired, probably moſt of them conſcious of a diſaffection to the reigning power. One hundred and forty more were ſtruck off the rolls. In diſcharging this invidious ſervice, Octavius was guarded by ten choſen Senators, who ſurrounded his perſon with concealed weapons, and is ſaid himſelf to

[12] The whole number of ſouls muſt have exceeded fifteen millions. Euſebii Chronicon. Cæſar Imperator VI. M. Agrippa, p. 168.

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have been cased in armour under his robe. He, at the same time, endeavoured to palliate the severity of his censures in different ways, suffering those, who were excluded from the Senate, still to retain the dress of that order, and to enjoy, at the theatre and other public places, the usual precedence of the Senatorian rank. Under pretence of rendering the order itself more independent and more respectable, he raised the money qualification of a Senator from eight to twelve hundred thousand sesterces[*]; and, without any personal imputation, affected to exclude some Senators for the want of this new qualification, others he contrived to gain by a very artful method of bribery, alleging, that the public should not be deprived of the services of worthy citizens merely by a deficiency in their fortune, he, from his own coffers, made up the estates of several Senators to the new qualification. A striking instance of the policy in which he excelled; at once the most effectual to obtain his purpose, and the most artful to palliate or to conceal his design.

By the forms which the present Consuls, Octavius and Agrippa, affected to observe in the discharge of their public duties, the republic seemed so much to revive, that one Quintus Statilius was tempted to offer himself as candidate in free election for the office of Tribune; but in this instance, Octavius thought himself obliged to resume the character of master. Although he employed the forms of the republic to reconcile the minds of men to his government, he knew how to distinguish what had a tendency to ravish that government out of his hands, or to embroil him in contests with the people: he therefore commanded this candidate for the office of Tribune to withdraw his pretensions, and not to awaken, by his unseasonable canvas, the turbulent dispositions which had formerly so much afflicted the State.

[*] From about 7000l. to 10,000l.

In

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In the arts which were practiſed on the citizens of Rome, ſhows, proceſſions, and public entertainments always made a part, and they operated on this People, perhaps operate on all mankind, with ſuch powerful effects, as not to be overlooked without the danger of miſtaking the circumſtances which lead to the moſt important events. Octavius, aware of this circumſtance, on the preſent as well as on former occaſions, having temples and other public works executed with great magnificence, celebrated the dedication, or the completion of them, with many pompous entertainments and ſhows; he furniſhed, at his own expence, the circus and theatres with continual entertainments, with the fights of gladiators, and the baiting or hunting of wild beaſts. While he thus encouraged the People in their uſual vices of idleneſs and diſſipation, he avoided laying any new burdens, cancelled all arrears due to the treaſury within the city, and increaſed fourfold the gratuitous diſtributions of corn. To theſe popular arts, he joined a ſpecies of amneſty of all paſt offences and differences; repealed all the acts, which, during the late violent times, the ſpirit of party had dictated; and, to quiet the apprehenſions of many, who were conſcious of having taken part with his enemies, he gave out that all papers or records ſeized in Egypt, upon the final reduction of Antony's party, were deſtroyed; though in this Dion Caſſius contradicts him, and alleges, that ſuch papers were preſerved, and afterwards employed in evidence againſt perſons whom he thought proper to oppreſs [15].

At the cloſe of this memorable Conſulate, Octavius laid down the Faſces, and, agreeable to the forms of the republic, took the uſual oath of declaration, that he had faithfully, and with his utmoſt ability, diſcharged the duties of his ſtation. Being deſtined to the ſame office of Conſul for the following year, he reſumed the enſigns of power;

U. C. 726. Imperator Cæſar VII. M. Agrippa III.

[15] Lib. 52. c. 42, &c.

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power; and thinking the Senate and People, by the ſteps he had already taken, ſufficiently prepared for the ſubject he meant to bring under conſideration, he, on the Ides, or thirteenth of January, ſurpriſed them with a direct and full reſignation of all the extraordinary powers which he held in the empire. This ſolemn act he accompanied with a ſpeech, which, according to his uſual practice, having committed it to writing, he read. Being ſenſible that his ſincerity would be queſtioned, and that his having taken the moſt effectual meaſures to obtain and to ſecure the government was but an ill indication of his intention to reſign it, he employed a great part of his harangue in removing ſuſpicions, not merely by aſſurances of ſincerity, but by arguments likewiſe drawn from general topics of probability and reaſon. To this purpoſe, he obſerved, that many perſons, who were themſelves incapable of ſuch intentions, might doubt his ſincerity, and that many, who could not behold a ſuperior without envy, would be diſpoſed to miſrepreſent his actions; but that the immediate execution of the purpoſe he had declared, would remove every doubt, would ſilence every attempt of calumny, entitle him to credit, and to their juſt eſteem.

"That I have it in my power to retain the government," he ſaid, "no one will queſtion. Of my enemies, ſome have ſuffered "the juſt effects of their own obſtinacy, and others, having expe- "rienced my clemency, are fully reconciled. My friends are con- "firmed in their attachment, by the mutual exchange of good of- "fices between us, and by a participation in the management of af- "fairs. I have no real danger to fear, and any alarm I might re- "ceive, would only haſten the proofs I am in condition to give of "my power. I have many allies, and numerous forces, well at- "tached to my perſon; money, magazines, and ſtores of every de- "ſcription; with what is of more conſequence than all theſe put to-

" gether, I am placed, by the choice of the Senate and People of
" Rome, at the head of the republic.

" What I now do, I hope will explain my paſt actions, and
" ſilence thoſe who impute my former conduct to ambition, or who
" ſuppoſe that I am not now ſincere in the reſignation which I profeſs
" to make. Having the ſovereignty at preſent in my poſſeſſion, I re-
" nounce it, and deliver into your hands, the army, the ſtate, the
" provinces, not merely in the condition in which I received them,
" but in a condition much improved by my exertions.

" Let this action then evince the ſincerity of the declarations I
" made, when, being engaged in the late unhappy conteſt, I pro-
" feſſed that my intentions were to obtain juſtice againſt the mur-
" derers of my father, and ſome relief to the commonwealth from
" the evils with which it was afflicted.

" I wiſh, indeed, that this taſk had never been impoſed upon me;
" that the republic had never ſtood in need of my ſervices, and that
" the fatal diviſions we have experienced, had never taken place.
" But ſince the fates had otherwiſe decreed, and ſince the republic,
" young as I was, required even my aſſiſtance, I declined no labour,
" I ſhunned no danger, I made efforts above my years and my
" ſtrength. Neither toil nor danger, the intreaties of my friends,
" the threats of my enemies, the tumults of the ſeditious, nor the
" fury of thoſe who oppoſed me, could turn me aſide from the pur-
" ſuit of your good. I forgot myſelf; I became altogether yours.
" The event, with reſpect to you, is known; for myſelf, the only
" reward I deſire, is the ſenſe of having delivered my country from
" the evils with which it was diſtreſſed, and of having reſtored you
" to the ſtate of peace and tranquillity which you now enjoy. With
" theſe advantages, reſume your political truſt, and the forms of
" your conſtitution; take charge of your provinces, and the direc-
" tion of your military forces; conduct every part according to

" the

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" the rules and precedents which were laid down by your an-
" ceſtors.

" My conduct, in this reſignation, will not appear unaccountable
" to thoſe who have obſerved the moderation with which I have fre-
" quently declined the uncommon diſtinctions by which you offered
" to raiſe me above the level of my fellow citizens; nor to thoſe
" who know the real value of human poſſeſſions, will it appear a
" folly, that having ſuch an empire in my power, I chuſe to reſign
" it. If I am ſuppoſed to have any regard to juſtice, what more
" juſt than that I ſhould reſtore to you what is your own? If I am
" ſuppoſed to be governed by prudence, what more prudent, than
" to withdraw from trouble, from general envy, and from the
" ſnares of my enemies? If I am ſuppoſed to aim at glory, the
" great object for which men have moſt willingly expoſed them-
" ſelves to hazards and toils, what more glorious than to diſpoſe
" of empire to others, and to reſt ſecure myſelf in the honours of
" a private ſtation?

" Having the choice of many actions, which reflect honour on
" my father's memory, and may do ſo on my own, theſe actions I
" prefer to any other; *that he, being offered the ſovereignty of his*
" *country, refuſed to accept of it; and that I myſelf, being in actual*
" *poſſeſſion of that ſovereignty, have reſigned it.* To theſe actions,
" the conqueſt of Gaul, of Myſia, of Egypt and Panonia, the vic-
" tories obtained over Pharnaces, Juba, and Phraates, the paſſage of
" the Rhine, and of the Britiſh ſea, though far exceeding the at-
" chievements of former times, are yet of inferior account: even
" the merit of having conducted to ſo glorious an iſſue the un-
" happy conteſt in which we have been engaged, the having over-
" come as enemies all who withſtood our reformations, the having
" protected as friends all who were pacific and well inclined to the
" commonwealth, the having by moderation and clemency ſtript

" civil war itſelf of many of its greateſt evils, are not comparable to
" this; *That being in a condition to reign, we have not been in-*
" *toxicated with power: neither could he be ſeduced to accept of a*
" *crown which was offered to him, nor I to retain a dominion which*
" *is actually in my hands.*

" I do not mention any paſt action from oſtentation, or with a
" view to profit by the advantage it gives me, but merely to ſhow,
" that I know the value of my preſent conduct, and have made it
" my choice, becauſe I think it more glorious than any other con-
" duct I could hold.

" I might, indeed (not to drag any more the name of my father
" into this argument), challenge any one to compare with myſelf in
" the part which I now act. Being at the head of great and well
" appointed armies attached to my perſon; being maſter of the
" ſeas within the pillars of Hercules; of all the towns and provinces
" of this mighty empire, without any foreign enemy, or domeſtic
" ſedition to moleſt me; being cheerfully acknowledged and obeyed
" as ſovereign in profound peace, I now willingly and of my own
" accord reſign the whole, from a regard to my fellow citizens, and
" from a reſpect for the laws of my country.

" What I have to apprehend, is not your inſenſibility to the merit
" of what I perform, but your doubt of its reality, and of the ſin-
" cerity of my intention; but you give credit to illuſtrious examples
" recorded of former times. You admit that the Horatii and the
" Decii, that Mucius, Curtius, and Regulus expoſed themſelves to
" danger, even ruſhed upon certain deſtruction to eſtabliſh for them-
" ſelves a reputation after death. Why ſhould not I, to enjoy, even
" during my lifetime, a fame far ſuperior to theirs, perform the
" action which I now propoſe? Were the ancients alone poſſeſſed of
" magnanimity? or is the age become barren and unable to bring
" forth ſuch examples?

BOOK VI

" Think not, however, that I mean to revive the late public diſ-
" tractions, or propoſe to commit the government to an unruly and
" factious multitude. No; broken with toil, and overwhelmed
" with labour as I am, I ſhould prefer death to ſuch a deſertion of
" the public cauſe. To you, my Fathers, who poſſeſs wiſdom and
" virtue equal to the truſt, I reſign this government. Weary with
" ſolicitude and care, I retire from that envy which the beſt of men
" cannot eſcape, and prefer the glories of a private life to the dangers
" of empire. To your judgments, and to that multiplicity of coun-
" ſel which muſt in wiſdom ever excel the reaſon and underſtand-
" ing of any ſingle perſon, I now commit the republic. I therefore
" adjure you, in conſideration of any ſervice which I may have ren-
" dered to my country, either in a civil or military capacity, that
" you will ſuffer me to retire in quiet, and give me an opportunity
" to evince, that I know how to obey as well as how to command;
" and that, while in power, I impoſed no condition upon others,
" with which, as a ſubject, I am not myſelf willing to comply. In
" this capacity, my conſcience tells me, that unguarded and unat-
" tended I may rely for ſafety on your affection, and that I have
" nothing to fear, either in the way of violence or inſult. But, if
" there ſhould be a danger from any ſecret enemy, (for what perſon
" ever paſſed through ſcenes like thoſe, in which I have acted, with-
" out creating ſome private enemies?) it is better to die, than to
" purchaſe ſecurity by enſlaving my country. If the event ſhould
" be fatal, poſterity at leaſt will do me the juſtice to own, that ſo far
" from ſeeking a kingdom at the expence of the blood of other
" men, I have freely reſigned one at the hazard of my own. Who-
" ever wrongs me, will have the immortal Gods and you for their
" enemies; they will periſh, as the murderers of my father have
" periſhed, leaving their names as monuments of divine juſtice and
" wrath. In this, every one has had his juſt retribution; my father

" is placed among the Gods, and is veſted with eternal glory; " his murderers have undergone the puniſhment due to their " crimes.

" All men are born to die; but he who dies, as well as lives with " honour, in ſome meaſure diſappoints his fate, and acquires a ſpe- " cies of immortal life. I have lived, as I truſt, with honour; the " other and leſs arduous part of my taſk, I hope is likewiſe in my " power. I now, therefore, reſtore to you the arms, the govern- " ments, the revenue, and all the legal powers of the common- " wealth. Be not diſmayed by the greatneſs of the object on the " one hand, nor receive it too lightly on the other. My counſel, in " what relates to matters of moment, ſhall be freely given.

" Let the law be the unalterable rule of your conduct. In the " adminiſtration of government, a determinate order, though at- " tended with ſome inconveniency, is preferable to fluctuation and " frequent change, which, aiming at improvement, renders the con- " dition of men precarious and uncertain.

" In private therefore, as well as in public life, comply with the " laws; not as perſons who aim at impunity merely, but as perſons " who aim at the rewards which are due to merit.

" Commit the provinces, whether in peace or war, to men of " wiſdom and virtue; do not envy each other the emoluments that " attend the public ſervice; ſtrive not for profit to yourſelves, but for " ſecurity and proſperity to the commonwealth; reward the faithful, " puniſh the guilty; not only conſider the public property as too " ſacred to be invaded, but conſider even your private poſſeſſions as " a debt which you owe to the State. Manage well what is your " own; covet not what belongs to others; wrong not your allies or " ſubjects; do not raſhly provoke any power to hoſtility, nor meanly " ſtand in fear of thoſe who are diſpoſed to be your enemies. Be

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" always armed, but not againſt each other, nor againſt thoſe who
" are inclined to peace. Supply your troops regularly with what is
" appointed for their pay and ſubſiſtence, that they may not be
" tempted to ſupply themſelves by invading the property of their
" fellow citizens; keep them under ſtrict diſcipline, that they may
" reſpect their duty as guardians of the public peace, and not be-
" come, from a conſciouſneſs of their force, a ſchool for violence
" and the commiſſion of crimes.

" Such in general are the rules of your conduct, of which it is not
" neceſſary to make the particular applications: theſe are ſufficiently
" evident. One thing only I will mention, before I conclude. If
" you conform yourſelves to theſe rules, you will be happy, and you
" will owe thanks to me, for having placed the adminiſtration in
" your hands; but, if you depart from them, you will make me to
" repent of what I now do, and you will relapſe into all the diſ-
" orders from which I have ſo happily reſcued the common-
" wealth."

Such is the purport of a ſpeech, ſaid to have been delivered by Octavius, in announcing his intention to reſign the empire. The performance may not appear worthy of the perſon to whom it is aſcribed, and, like other ſpeeches recorded in ancient hiſtory, may have been framed by the hiſtorian [16]. The occaſion however was remarkable, and this ſpeech having been committed to writing, may have been preſerved in the records of the Senate. The hiſtorian may have copied it from thence; or, if diſpoſed to fabricate a ſpeech, could not in this caſe, without detection, ſubſtitute any fiction for what was real. The compoſition indeed may have ſuffered in the firſt tranſlation [17], as well as in this extract or paraphraſe of it;

[16] Dio. Caſſ. [17] From the Latin to Greek.

but

but the matter, though not ſuch as might have been expected from the conqueror of the Roman empire on a ſerious occaſion, and in the actual exertion of all his abilities, yet is ſuch as we may ſuppoſe Octavius to have employed in ſupporting an aſſumed character, and in propoſing what he did not wiſh to obtain.

The references which, in uſhering in this pretended reſignation, are made to the diſorders of the late republic; the arguments which are made uſe of to prove the ſincerity of a purpoſe to reſign the government of it, and the oſtentation of great merit in making this ſacrifice, are well enough ſuited to the part which the ſpeaker was acting, and to the ſolicitude under which he ſpoke, not to make too deep an impreſſion, nor to be taken at his word. The barefaced and palpable impoſture in which he was engaged, did not admit of the dignity which might have been expected in ſo high a place; and, if the hiſtory of this pretended reſignation were not confirmed by the united teſtimony of many writers, and ſtill more by the laſting effects of it, in the forms and in the ſtate of the empire, the want of dignity in other parts of this buſineſs, as well as in the tenor of this ſpeech, might create a doubt of its veracity; but the ſame forms of reſignation were again repeated, and great feſtivals [18] at certain periods were held on this account.

As ſoon as this ſpeech was ended, notwithſtanding the many evils which had been recently felt under the republic, it is probable, that if Octavius had appeared to be ſincere in making it, his propoſal to reſtore the commonwealth would have been received with joy. There were yet many who revered the ancient conſtitution, and lamented the loſs of their own political conſequence. Some, who would have been glad to renew the competition for power and dominion, which had been recently decided, and many, who would have

[18] The Decennalia.

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rejoiced to find ſo much conſequence at once beſtowed on the order of Senators to which they themſelves had been unexpectedly raiſed; but as much care had been taken in the nomination of Senators, to fill this aſſembly with unambitious men who were likely to prefer peace to every other object, or with men of a ſervile caſt, who would follow the cry when raiſed to confirm the emperor's power, it is probable, that proper perſons were prepared to lead the way in the part which the Senate was to take on this occaſion.

The majority of the meeting indeed was ſurpriſed and perplexed. There could be no doubt, that Octavius wiſhed to have his propoſal rejected; but it would have been an ill manner of paying court, to appear to have penetrated his deſign. It was neceſſary to affect implicit faith in the ſincerity of his purpoſe, at the ſame time to withſtand the execution of it in the moſt peremptory manner. This ground being pointed out by thoſe who were in the concert, or by thoſe who had diſcernment enough to perceive it, was inſtantly ſeized by the whole aſſembly [19]. They beſeeched Octavius, as with one voice, not to abandon the commonwealth; obſerved, that ſervices, ſtill greater than thoſe he had already performed, were yet due to the republic; that the fear of his intending to reſign the government, had already filled the minds of the People with a cruel anxiety; that he alone could quiet their apprehenſions, by not only remaining at the head of the empire, but by accepting the government in ſuch a formal manner, as would give them aſſurance of his continuing to hold it [20].

To this requeſt, Octavius was inexorable; but he was prevailed upon not to lay the whole load of adminiſtration at once on the Senate. He was willing to adminiſter ſome part of the government for a limited time, and to retain the command of the army for ten years;

[19] Zonar. lib. x. c. 34.

[20] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 11.

years; to continue his inſpection over ſome of the moſt refractory provinces, ſuch as were yet unſettled, ſuch as were wild and uncultivated, ſuch as had many inacceſſible retreats, under the favour of which the People ſtill continued unſubdued, or ſtill in condition to rebel. He agreed to take charge of ſuch provinces on the frontier, as, being contiguous to warlike and hoſtile neighbours, were expoſed to frequent invaſion; but ſuch as were already pacific, and accuſtomed to civil forms, ſuch as were reconciled to the tribute which they paid, he inſiſted that the Senate, as the more eaſy and profitable part of the government, ſhould take under their own adminiſtration; and that they ſhould be ready to relieve him of the whole, or any part of his burden, at the expiration of the period to which he limited his acceptance of the military command.

By this imaginary partition of the empire, the provinces which in Africa had formed the ſtates of Carthage and Cyrene, with the kingdom of Numidia;—in Europe, the more wealthy and pacific parts of Spain, the iſlands of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete; with the different diſtricts of Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and Dalmatia; and beyond the Ægean ſea, the rich province of Aſia, with the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus, were committed to the juriſdiction of the Senate.

The Emperor ſtill retained, under his own immediate charge, the more warlike diſtricts in Spain, in Gaul and in Syria, with the kingdom of Egypt, and all the great military ſtations and reſorts of the legions on the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine [21]. Some time afterwards, under pretence of a war which aroſe in Dalmatia, he accepted of this province, in exchange for the iſland of Cyprus, and the diſtrict of Narbonne.

[21] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 12. Strabo, lib. xvii. fine.

It

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It was underſtood, that the emperor and the Senate, in their quality of partners in the ſovereignty, ſhould have the nomination of governors in their reſpective provinces; that thoſe named by the Senate ſhould be civil officers merely, with the title of Proconſul, but without the power of the ſword or any military rank, and they were not to remain in office longer than one year, that the officers to be named by the emperor, were to have military rank, with the title of Proprætor, and were to act in the capacity of his lieutenants, accountable only to himſelf, and to hold their commiſſions during his pleaſure[22].

From the reformations which Octavius now made in the eſtabliſhment of the provinces, it appeared that he himſelf clearly underſtood the circumſtances by which thoſe members of the empire had become too great for the head, and by which the dependencies of the republic had become the means of its ruin; that he looked back to the ſteps, by which the firſt Cæſar and himſelf had advanced to dominion, and wiſhed to efface the track, in order that no one might follow it, or employ the ſame means to ſupplant himſelf, which Julius Cæſar had employed to ſubvert the republic.

The provinces of the Roman empire had been hitherto not ſo much the demeſne of the commonwealth, as the property of private citizens, by whom they were conveyed from one to another by quick ſucceſſion. As they were received in truſt for the republic, without any particular aſſignment of a ſhare in the profits[23], great part was diverted to private uſes; or where great ſums were to be accounted

[22] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 13.

[23] The provincial officers under the republic had no ſalary, nor public appointments. They were underſtood to ſubſiſt at the expence of the provinces; and in their journies were allowed to impreſs horſes and carriages, and to demand every ſupply of proviſions and forage for the numerous retinue or court that uſually attended them. Theſe powers being abuſed, it was propoſed that the provincial officers ſhould be ſupplied by contract; but the leaders of faction at Rome went forth to the provinces, with a power that could not be reſtrained by any rules whatever.

for

CHAP. I.

for to the ſtate, there was much extorted likewiſe to enrich individuals by peculation and oppreſſion.

From their ſtations abroad, the officers of the republic returned with the ſpoils of the provinces to purchaſe importance at Rome. If they were frequently changed, the empty hand was often held out with freſh rapacity, and the full one brought back with quicker ſucceſſion to corrupt the city: if continued too long, they acquired the force of great monarchs, got poſſeſſion of armies and of revenue, and had ſufficient reſources of men and money to enable them to make war on the ſtate. Marius and Sylla ſhewed what could be done with armies, levied from the oppoſite factions in the city of Rome; and Julius Cæſar ſhewed what uſe could be made of the extenſive territory, entruſted for a continued term of years to the government of the ſame perſon. The republic had often tottered under the effect of diſorders which aroſe in the capital, but fell irrecoverably under the blows that were ſtruck from the provinces.

It is evident, that the head of the empire, of whatever deſcription, whether a commonwealth or the court of a monarch, could not be ſafe under this diſtribution of power and truſt. Meaſures were accordingly now taken by Octavius to reform the eſtabliſhment, and to reduce the provincial officers to their proper ſtate of ſubordination and dependance. The duties they were to levy, and their own emoluments, were clearly aſcertained. The greater provinces were divided, and ſeparate officers appointed to each diviſion. Neither men nor money were to be levied without authority from the Emperor and the Senate, nor was any officer, to whom a ſucceſſor was appointed, to remain in his command, or to abſent himſelf from Rome above three months [24]. To ſecure the obſervance of theſe regulations, and to accelerate the communication from every part of the empire, an inſtitu-

[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 13.

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tion, reſembling that of the modern poſts, was for the firſt time introduced in the ancient world. Couriers were placed at convenient ſtages, with orders to forward from one to the other the public diſpatches. It was afterwards thought more effectual, for the purpoſe of intelligence, to tranſport the original meſſenger to Rome.

In this eſtabliſhment, the Senate and the Emperor, in their reſpective civil and military characters, had their ſeveral departments, and their revenue apart; what was collected in the provinces of the Senate, went to the Ærarium or public treaſury; what was collected in the provinces of Cæſar, went to his own coffers. The latter profeſſed being no more than a ſervant of the public, appointed for a limited time; but, in being head of the army, he ſecured the ſovereignty, and meant to employ the Senate only as an aid to retain the army within the bounds of their duty. In his propoſal to diveſt himſelf of the government, there was ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect his ſincerity; but in this partial and ſuppoſed temporary reſumption of government, the artifice was ſo obvious, as to become a ſpecies of inſult upon the underſtandings of mankind. The Romans, nevertheleſs, on this memorable occaſion had learned to be courtiers, could affect to want penetration and conceal their ſentiments.

The Senate, in return to the Emperor's gracious acceptance of the government, proceeded to diſtinguiſh his perſon, and even the place of his reſidence, by many honorary decrees. They took into their ſerious conſideration, by what title he ſhould for the future be known. That of King had always been odius at Rome; that of Dictator had been feared, ever ſince the ſanguinary exerciſe of its powers by Sylla, and it had been formally aboliſhed by law, ſoon after the demiſe of Julius Cæſar. The name of Romulus was propoſed, and thought due to Octavius, as the ſecond founder of Rome; but this name he himſelf rejected, not on account of the ridicule conveyed in it, but on account of the implication of kingly power. The title of Au-

guſtus was in the end accepted by him, rather as an expreſſion of perſonal reſpect, than as a mark of any new or unprecedented dignity in the commonwealth.

While the Senate beſtowed on their Emperor the title of Auguſtus, they ordered that the court of his palace ſhould be for ever hung with laurel, the badge of victories that were ever freſh in the minds of the People, and with wreaths of oak, the uſual diſtinction of thoſe who had ſaved a fellow citizen; in token that the Roman People were continaully preſerved by his acceptance of the ſovereignty, and by the wiſdom of his adminiſtration.

Octavius from henceforward came to be known by the name of Auguſtus. He had been ſome time the object of fear, and conſequently of adulation to the People, and was now probably become the object of that fond admiration, with which the bulk of mankind regard thoſe who are greatly elevated by fortune. Under the effect of this ſentiment, or ſupported by the prevalence of it, citizens of high rank devoted themſelves to Auguſtus, as they were told that the vaſſal devoted himſelf to his Lord in ſome of the barbarous cantons of Spain and Gaul. They took an oath to interpoſe their perſons in all his dangers, and if he muſt die, to periſh with him. The dying, under pretence of bequeathing ſome legacy to Auguſtus, introduced his name in their wills, with a laviſh encomium or flattering character. Many appointed him ſole heir, or, together with their children, the joint heir of all their fortunes. Some, on their deathbed, bequeathed particular ſums to defray the expence of ſacrifices to the Gods for this ſignal bleſſing, *that Auguſtus was ſtill living when they expired.*

CHAP. II.

State of the Emperor.——Condition of the Empire.——Amount of the Revenue unknown.——Military Eſtabliſhments, &c.

BOOK VI.

IN what degree the court which began to be paid to Auguſtus, and which continued during his reign, proceeded from deſign and ſervility, or reſpect and affection, we muſt endeavour to collect from a farther view of his life, and muſt ſuſpend our judgment until the ſcene of his trial is paſſed. At the late formal eſtabliſhment of the monarchy in his perſon, he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age; and had ſtill the aſpect of youth. His complexion is ſaid to have been fair, his eyes bright, and his features regular and elegant. He was well made in his perſon, and though below the middling ſtature, had ſo much the proportions of a tall man, as, except when compared with ſome perſon who overlooked him, to appear above the ordinary ſize. Two-and-twenty years of a life ſo little advanced, he had paſſed in the midſt of civil wars, and in the conteſt for empire, which was begun by his adoptive father, and maintained by himſelf. During ſeventeen of thoſe years he had himſelf been a leader of party, and veered in his profeſſions and conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen in behalf of the republic; at another time courting the veterans, by affecting concern for their intereſts, and a zeal to revenge their late general's death. He oppoſed himſelf to Antony, or joined with him as ſuited with the ſtate of his affairs; made or broke concerts with the other leaders of faction, made and unmade treaties of marriage; even had intrigues of pleaſure with women to forward ſome political deſign [1]; and at an age when other young men have ſcarcely any object but pleaſure,

[1] Sueton. in Octav. c. 69.

ſacrificed every ſuppoſed private or public connection, and every friend and every enemy to his ambition, or to the cool and deliberate conſideration of his own conveniency.

By ſuch means as theſe Octavius became ſovereign of the Roman empire at the age of three-and-thirty years, the ſame age at which Alexander, with the greateſt efforts of ability and courage, which were afterwards marred by equal inſtances of intemperance and folly, effected the conqueſt of the Perſian monarchy. Much, no doubt, in the fortunes of men, is to be imputed to accident. To this they owe, at leaſt, great part of the occaſions on which they act; but the uſe of the occaſion, and ſometimes the preparation of it, is their own; and nothing beſides the moſt conſummate abilities can, through a great variety of ſcenes, retain the uniform appearance of a fortunate life. It is true, that Octavius, with the name of Cæſar, was become convenient or neceſſary to the military faction which he found already formed in the empire; that his youth, and other circumſtances, prevented the alarm which might have led his enemies to take more effectual and earlier meaſures againſt him. But he did not fail to improve theſe advantages; affected, when neceſſary, to be the mere inſtrument of the army, or of the Senate, for obtaining their reſpective purpoſes; preſerved the ſame diſcretion in every ſtate of his fortunes; and, with the ſame addreſs with which he ſupplanted every rival in the conteſt for power, continued to avoid every offenſive appearance in the model of his government, he ſtill retained the forms of the commonwealth; and, beſides the title of Auguſtus, did not introduce any new appellation of dignity or of office [z].

Every poſſible power under the republic had been implied in the titles of Conſul, Cenſor, Augur, Pontiff, and Tribune of the People. Some

[z] The title of *Princeps* had been uſually given to the perſon whoſe name was firſt in the rolls of the Senate, and Auguſtus aſſumed it in no other ſenſe than this; that of Imperator had been given to every ſucceſsful leader of an army, and in its application to Octavius, implied no pre-eminence above what other leaders had formerly enjoyed.

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Some of them could, even under that form of government, have been united in the ſame perſon, as that of Augur and Pontiff, with the office either of Conſul or Cenſor; and there was no law to forbid the accumulation of ſuch dignities in the hands of the ſame perſon, probably becauſe it was deemed ſufficiently difficult to arrive at any of them apart. To conſtitute a deſpotic power, therefore, provided that theſe titles could be united in the ſame perſon, it was not neceſſary to introduce any new forms of office, nor even to aſſume the name of Dictator. It was more effectual to unite the prerogatives of ſeparate ſtations in the perſon of one man, or to beſtow them on perſons, who would be content to employ them at the pleaſure of a maſter; and this method accordingly being ſuited to the wary policy and affected modeſty of Octavius, could not eſcape him in the choice of his model.

In the character of Conſul, the new emperor preſided in the Senate, and was firſt executive magiſtrate in the city. In the character of Tribune he could not only ſuſpend all proceedings, whether of adminiſtration, of public council, or of juſtice; but likewiſe could puniſh with inſtant death any breach of the peace, or any attempt that was made on his own perſon. In the capacity of Cenſor, which was now comprehended in the office of Conſul, he was the fountain of honour, could pry into every citizen's private life, and could promote or degrade, at pleaſure, every perſon who had courted his favour, or incurred his diſlike. In the capacity of Augur and Pontiff he could over-rule the ſuperſtition of the times; and, laſt of all, in the capacity of Imperator, or head of the army, he held, at his diſpoſal, all the forces of the empire, both by ſea and by land. The republic, at the ſame time, retained moſt of its forms. There were meetings of the Senate, and aſſemblies of the People; there were

joyed. Theſe titles, indeed, by being from henceforward appropriated to the ſovereign, acquired, by degrees, their ſignificance in the original language; and in our tranſlation of them into *Prince* and *Emperor*, are applied only to royal perſons, and the ſovereigns of extenſive dominion.

laws

laws enacted, and elections made; affairs proceeded as usual in the name of the Consul, the Censor, the Augur, and Tribune of the People. The only change which had happened, and that which the emperor endeavoured to disguise, was, that he himself acted in all these capacities, and dictated every resolution in the Senate, and pointed out every candidate who was to succeed in the pretended elections.

In these appearances of republican government, however, which were preserved by Octavius, we are not to suppose, that there was any image of that mixed constitution, which subsists with so much advantage in some of the kingdoms of modern Europe. The Roman Senate, under the Emperors, was no more than a species of privy council, of which the members were named or displaced by the prince; and which, under some specious appearances of freedom in their speech, were actually the mere instruments of his will.

The Comitia, or Assemblies of the People, had still less of their original dignity or power. We have had occasion to observe, that even under the republic, when the number of citizens, fit to array in the field of Mars, amounted to no more than four hundred thousand men; it was impossible that any adequate number could be assembled for any purpose of legislation or election. In the present times, when the musters extended to four millions, and the Roman citizens were dispersed over the whole empire, the assembly of any proportionable number was still more impracticable. No precautions had ever been taken, even under the republic, to prevent the great irregularities to which the assemblies of the People were exposed, nor was it ever ascertained what numbers were necessary to constitute a legal assembly. In consequence of this defect, in the latter times of the republic, any tumultuary meeting, however thinly or partially assembled, took the sacred name of the Roman People, and gave officers to the State, or laws to the commonwealth. Every faction which,

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which, by violence or ſurpriſe, could ſeize the place of the aſſembly, ſo as to exclude their opponents, were maſters of the elections, or ſovereigns of the State.

After Julius Cæſar had taken poſſeſſion of the city, he had no difficulty in commanding the elections, or the reſolutions of the People; he even planned the ſucceſſion that was to take place in his abſence; and, being to ſet out for Aſia, he named the officers of State for five years. The Triumvirs, in like circumſtances, fixed the ſucceſſion for different periods of an equal and greater length; and it was now underſtood, that the offices of State, though under the ſhew of popular election, were actually filled up by the emperor.

The apparent reſpect which, under the preſent eſtabliſhment, was paid to civil forms implied no abatement of the military power. On the contrary, inſtead of weakening, it ſerved to ſupport, as uſual, the authority of that government, under which theſe forms were obſerved. By flattering the People with an idea that their political conſequence was ſtill intire, this ſemblance of the antient republic reconciled them to the ſtate of degradation into which they were fallen. It veſted the emperor himſelf with a ſpecies of civil character, and with a political conſideration which he could employ in ſupport of his military power, and which, in ſome meaſure, ſecured him againſt the caprice of troops, who might think themſelves intitled to ſubvert what they alone had eſtabliſhed. It enabled him to treat their mutinies as acts of treaſon, and as crimes of ſtate. He was no longer obliged to court their favour, or to affect condeſcenſion, in order to obtain their obedience. He accordingly, in conſequence of the late votes of the Senate, changed the ſtyle of his addreſs to the legions, calling them *Milites*, not *Commilitones*; *Soldiers*, not *Fellow-ſoldiers*, as formerly.

This was probably the whole amount of the political eſtabliſhment now made by Octavius, and which he meant to employ as a ſtock

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ſtock on which to ingraft his military power. The Senate and aſſemblies of the People were retained only in name, and were far from having the energy of collateral members in the government, ſuch as could check or controul the perpetual executive, which was now eſtabliſhed in the empire: but we ſhall nevertheleſs be diſappointed, if, upon a ſuppoſition of abſolute power in the emperor, we expect, in his court, the ſplendor and magnificence of a royal eſtate.

Octavius ſtill lived in the houſe of Hortenſius, a Roman Senator, which he occupied without making any addition to it, either in point of dimenſion or ornament. The equipage, retinue, or accommodation of the imperial family was not compoſed for ſhow and magnificence, as in monarchies long eſtabliſhed. Such an attempt in the eyes of a decayed republic might have had an improper effect, might have moved envy, and not procured reſpect [3]. The emperor indeed was attended with an armed guard; but this was intended for ſafety, and not for parade. He preſerved, in his own perſon, the exterior appearances of a citizen, was accoſted by the ſimple name of Cæſar, took his place in the Senate, in the theatre, in the public aſſembly, in the bench of judges. At funerals he pronounced the oration that was delivered in honour of the dead; and even at the bar appeared in behalf of his clients [4]. The females of his houſe preſerved the virtue of notable houſe-wives, and fabricated, with their own hands, the ſtuffs which he wore in his dreſs.

In reſpect to manners, and appearance of ſtate, the emperor, with his family, was not raiſed above the condition of citizens; but he had full compenſation in the extent and arbitrary effects of his power. While he retained the appearances of an equal, he took care to be maſter; and, with no higher pretenſions than thoſe of a citizen, was more than a king.

[3] We may read in the journal of a voyage made by Horace, in company with Mæcenas, that much retinue, or equipage, did not accompany great power as they do in modern times. Vid. Sat. lib. i. ſat. 5.

[4] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 4.

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king. While he ſuffered the Senate and People to retain the antient names and titles of ſovereignty, he with-held from them the ſubſtance of any privilege whatever. He perſonated the ſimple Senator and the citizen with all the terrors of military power in his hands, and preſerved the force of a tyrant, becauſe he could not aſſume the precedence and authority of a legal monarch.

If in this account of the ſovereign's perſon and ſtate our expectations of grandeur are not fulfilled, his dominions will ſurpaſs the higheſt and moſt enlarged conception we can form of their greatneſs. The Roman empire contained within itſelf, and in a very entire and populous condition, what had been the ſeat or territory of many famous republics and extenſive empires, or what has ſince, in modern times, upon the revival of nations, furniſhed their poſſeſſions to no leſs conſiderable ſtates and great monarchies. As it had ſwallowed up the ſtates of Italy and Greece, Macedonia, the Leſſer Aſia, Syria, Egypt, Carthage, Numidia, Spain, and Gaul to the Rhine and the Danube; ſo there have ſprung from its ruins many ſtates now formed within the Alps, the kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, and France, with all the diviſions of the Ottoman empire in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Theſe are its fragments, or ſhreds of the vaſt territory of which it was compoſed.

This empire ſeemed to comprehend, within itſelf, all the moſt favourable parts of the earth; at leaſt, thoſe parts on which the human ſpecies, whether by the effects of climate, or the qualities of the race, have, in reſpect to ingenuity and courage, poſſeſſed a diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority. It extended to a variety of climates, and contained lands diverſified in reſpect to ſituation and ſoil, diſtributing the productions of nature and art, ſo as to render its different diviſions mutually uſeful and ſubſervient to each other. The communication between theſe parts, though remote, was eaſy, and by a ſea which, with

with the ſpecies of ſhipping then in uſe, and with the meaſure of ſkill which the mariner then poſſeſſed, could be eaſily navigated.

The Mediterranean being received into the boſom of this empire, gave to the whole a greater extent of coaſt, and to the inland parts an eaſier acceſs to navigation, than could be obtained by any different diſtribution of its land and water. In conſequence of this circumſtance, the coaſts of the Roman empire, without meaſuring minutely round the indentures of creeks and promontories, and even without including the outline of ſome conſiderable as well as many ſmaller iſlands, may be computed at thirteen thouſand miles; an extent which, if ſtretched into a ſingle line, would exceed half the circumference of the earth. Over this extenſive coaſt, the empire was furniſhed with numerous ſea-ports, and the frequent openings of gulphs and navigable rivers; ſo that, notwithſtanding the great extent of its territory, the diſtance of any inland place, the moſt remote from the ſea, does not appear to exceed two hundred miles.

In forming this mighty dominion, the republic had united, under its territories, all the principal ſeats of induſtry then known in the weſtern world, had come into poſſeſſion of all the ſea-ports the moſt famous for ſhipping, and for the reſidence of merchants, who had conducted the carrying trade of the world. Its ſubjects were poſſeſſed of all the profitable arts, and having all the means and inſtruments of trade, might be expected to reap all the fruits of commerce. But, in making theſe acquiſitions, the capital of the empire had been a place of arms, and a mere nurſery of ſtateſmen and warriors, more occupied with the ideas of ſpoil and further conqueſt, than with the attentions neceſſary to promote the induſtry or the proſperity of the nations ſubjected to its power. And it is probable that the Romans, in reducing ſo many ſeparate nations to the condition of provinces, greatly impaired the ſources of wealth, at the ſame time that they

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they ſuppreſſed the pretenſions to independence and national freedom.

It might be hoped, that the peace now given to the empire, and the protection which every province was to receive againſt the avarice and rapacity of ſubordinate oppreſſors, would revive the purſuit of lucrative arts, and encourage the Roman traders to ſettle where the natives were not in capacity to purſue the advantages of their ſituation. But even theſe circumſtances, without the aid of a happier government than that which was now eſtabliſhed, were not ſufficient to repair the damage formerly ſuſtained by the provinces in their reduction and ſubſequent oppreſſion. So that although Carthage, with all its dependencies, Egypt, Syria, the Leſſer Aſia, and Greece, with all the trading eſtabliſhments of Spain and Gaul, were united under one head, we are not to ſuppoſe, that the wealth of the empire ever equalled the ſum of what might have been raiſed from the ſeparate and independent ſtates of which it was compoſed.

The commercial policy of Rome was limited, in a great meaſure, to the ſupply of Italy, and to the conveyance of what the provinces yielded to the treaſury of the empire. Both theſe objects were intruſted to mercantile companies, who farmed the revenue, and who made commerce ſubſervient to the buſineſs of their own remittances and excluſive trade.

It were, no doubt, matter of curioſity to know the whole amount of a revenue collected from ſo rich and ſo extenſive a territory; but we are deprived of this ſatisfaction by the ſilence of hiſtorians, or by the loſs of records in which this ſubject was ſtated. Veſpaſian was heard to ſay, That a ſum, ſuppoſed equal to about three hundred and thirty millions ſterling, was required annually to ſupport the imperial eſtabliſhment[5]. This emperor, however, being rapacious

[5] Sueton. in Veſpaſ. c. 16.

or

or ſevere in his exactions, might be ſuppoſed to exaggerate the neceſſities of the State; but as this ſum is beyond the bounds of credibility, and muſt lead us to ſuſpect a miſtake in the numbers, it will not enable us to form any probable conjecture of the truth.

Under the republic, both the treaſury of the State, and the fortunes of individuals, were ſupplied, in a great meaſure, by the ſpoils of vanquiſhed enemies, brought to the capital with great oſtentation by every victorious general. To this ſource of revenue we may join the preſents that were made by foreign princes and ſtates, together with the military contributions that were exacted from the provinces.

Julius Cæſar brought, at once, into the treaſury ſixty-five thouſand talents, or above twelve millions and a half ſterling. As the luſtre of a triumph depended very much on the ſums that were carried in proceſſion, and placed in the Capitol, Roman officers were more faithful ſtewards of the plunder taken from their enemies, than they were probably of any other public truſt.

It had been, for ſome time, the practice of the Romans to lay every burden on the conquered provinces, and to exempt themſelves. This policy is dated from the conqueſt of Macedonia, the ſpoils of which kingdom being joined to their former acquiſitions, put them in condition to effectuate this exemption. It was, however, but of ſhort duration. The practice of taxing citizens was reſumed in time of the civil wars, and the privilege, or rather the mere deſignation of Romans, being extended to the inhabitants of many parts of the empire, all the burdens that were borne by any ſubjects were, at the ſame time, brought home into Italy, and all the former diſtinctions gradually removed.

Under the eſtabliſhment now made by Auguſtus conqueſts were diſcontinued, or became leſs frequent; and the returns made to the treaſury, from the ſpoil of enemies, failed in proportion; but the

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avidity of receiving preſents, the worſt form under which extortion can be exerciſed, was ſtill indulged, and, as in every other deſpotical government, became a conſiderable engine of oppreſſion [6].

The republic, for the moſt part, in the latter periods of her conqueſts, entered on the poſſeſſion of territories without any capitulation, and conſidered not only the ſovereignty, but the property likewiſe of the land and of its inhabitants, as devolving upon themſelves. They, in ſome inſtances, ſeized on the perſons as well as the effects of the vanquiſhed, and ſet both to ſale. They leaſed the lands at conſiderable quit-rents, or leaving them in the hands of the original proprietors, exacted, under the appellation of tithes, or fifths of corn, fruit, and cattle, a proportion of the produce. By diverſifying the tax, the burden was made to fall upon different ſubjects, or was exacted from different perſons, and by theſe means the whole amount was leſs eaſily computed, or leſs ſenſibly felt. The Romans, in continuing the taxes which they found already eſtabliſhed in the countries they had conquered, or by impoſing ſuch new ones as ſuited their own character as conquerors, ſet examples of every ſpecies almoſt that is known in the hiſtory of mankind. They levied cuſtoms at ſea-ports, exciſes on many articles of conſumption, and a conſiderable capitation or poll-tax, in which they made no diſtinction of rank or fortune. Theſe modes of taxation, already known under the republic, and various in different provinces, now began to be regulated upon the maxims of a general policy extending over the whole empire.

Some of the burdens laid by Octavius, as that which was impoſed on the value of goods expoſed to ſale, were charged directly for the benefit of the army as a fund for the diſcharge of their pay, or an im-

[6] There being no rule by which to limit the extent of a preſent, the perſon who receives it, allowing the giver to proceed as far as his means, or his deſire to pay court will carry him, ſtill reſents any imaginary defect, and employs terror and force to extort what he affects to receive as a gift.

mediate

mediate ſupply for their ſubſiſtence or cloathing; and by this ſort of impropriation were unalterably fixed. The country, where any troops were quartered, was charged, for their uſe, with ſupplies of ſtraw, forage, carriages, corn, bread, proviſions, and even clothing.

From ſuch particulars we may form ſome conception of the mode and tendency of Roman taxation, although we have no certain accounts, or even probable conjecture, of the amount of the whole. Under the preſent or preceding ſtate of the Roman government, there was no principle operating in behalf of the ſubject, beſides the ſpontaneous humanity or juſtice of thoſe who exerciſed the ſovereignty; and as the provinces under the republic had been ill-protected againſt the rapacity of Proconſuls and Proprætors, they were now conſidered, together with the republic itſelf, as the property of a maſter; and the examples of taxation, that were ſet by either, may inſtruct a ſovereign how to profit by the wealth of his ſubjects, rather than admoniſh a free people how to conſtitute a revenue, with the leaſt inconvenience to themſelves, or the leaſt poſſible injury to the ſources of wealth.

The ſituation of Italy, and the diſtribution of land and water in its neighbourhood, had made navigation familiar to the Romans in the earlieſt ages of the republic. A conſiderable part of their force, in many of their wars, conſiſted in ſhipping. The battle of Actium, which decided the fate of the empire, was fought at ſea; and although the Romans, at this date, had ſubdued every nation within reach of their ſeas, and had no enemy to fear on that element; yet the tranſport of armies, the ſafety of their navigation, and the ſuppreſſion of piracies, by which the ſupply of corn, and the conveyance of the public revenue from the provinces, were often interrupted, made a naval force, and a proper diſtribution of guard ſhips, neceſſary to the peace and government of the empire.

Three capital fleets were accordingly ſtationed by Auguſtus for the ſecurity of the coaſts; one at Ravenna, near the bottom of the

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Hadriatic Gulph; one at Forum Julii, on the oppoſite ſide of the peninſula; and a third at Miſenum, the principal promontory or head-land of Campania. Beſides theſe, there were numbers of armed veſſels deſtined to ply in all the gulphs and navigable rivers throughout the empire.

The ordinary military eſtabliſhment conſiſted of about five-and-forty legions, beſides cavalry and city and provincial troops. The whole, reckoning each legion, with its attendants and officers, at ſix thouſand men, and making a reaſonable allowance for cavalry, may have amounted to three hundred thouſand. Of the manner in which this army was diſtributed, the following particulars only are mentioned: on the Rhine, there were ſtationed eight legions; on the Danube, two; on the frontiers of Syria, four; in Spain, three; in Africa, in Egypt, in Myſia, and Dalmatia, each two legions; in the city were nine, or, according to others, ten cohorts, in the capacity of guards, or Prætorian bands, to attend the perſon of the emperor; and, together with theſe, three cohorts of a thouſand men each, intended as a city watch, to be employed in preſerving the peace, in extinguiſhing fires, and in ſuppreſſing any other occaſional diſorder[7].

For the farther ſecurity of the empire, conſiderable territories on the frontier, which might have been eaſily occupied by the Roman arms, were ſuffered to remain in the poſſeſſion of allies, dependant princes, or free cities and republican ſtates, who, owing their ſafety to the ſupport of the Roman power, formed a kind of barrier againſt its enemies, were vigilant to obſerve, and ready to oppoſe every attempt of invaſion, and were prepared to co-operate with the Roman armies, and to ſupport them with ſtores and proviſions as oft as they had occaſion to act in their neighbourhood. The republic had ever

[7] Tacitus, lib. i.

cultivated

cultivated ſuch alliances with powers that were contiguous to the place of their operations; and frequently, after having made the defence of their ally the pretence of a war, and after having availed themſelves of his aſſiſtance, they, upon occaſion of ſome breach or quarrel, joined the ally himſelf to the conqueſt which he had aſſiſted them to make. The ſame policy which had been uſeful in acquiring the dominion of ſo great an empire, was ſtill employed for its ſafety. In purſuance of this policy, the kings of Mauritania, of the Boſphorus, of the Leſſer and Greater Armenia, of Cappadocia, Commagné, Galatia and Pamphilia, with Paphlagonia, Colchis and Judæa, together with the republican ſtates of Rhodes, Cyrené, Piſidia and Lycia, acted under the denomination of allies, as advanced parties on the frontiers of the empire, and encouraged by the proſpect of a powerful ſupport, were ready to withſtand every enemy by whom their own peace, or that of the Romans, was likely to be diſturbed.

CHAP. III.

The Family and Court of Auguſtus.——This pretended Reſignation of the Empire renewed.——The exerciſe of his Power becomes leſs diſguiſed.——Death of Agrippa.

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IN the Roman empire, thus ſubjected to a monarch, though planted with races of men the moſt famed for activity and vigour, it has been obſerved, that the materials of hiſtory became leſs frequent and leſs intereſting than they had been in the times of the republic, while confined to much narrower bounds. Under the dominion of a ſingle perſon, all the intereſting exertions of the national, the political, and the military ſpirit over great parts of the earth, were ſuppreſſed. Even in the capital of the world, ſo lately agitated with every difference of opinion or interfering of intereſts, the operations of government itſelf were become ſilent and ſecret. Matters of public concern, conſidered as the affairs of an individual, were adjuſted to his conveniency, and directed by his paſſions, or by thoſe of his family, relations, or domeſtics. The liſt of ſuch perſons accordingly, with their characters, diſpoſitions, and fortunes, make a principal part in the ſubſequent hiſtory of this mighty empire.

Auguſtus ſtill continued to employ Mecænas and Agrippa as the chief inſtruments of his government. To their abilities and conduct, in their reſpective departments, he in a great meaſure owed the proſperous ſtate of his affairs. He likewiſe perſevered in his attachment to Livia, whoſe ſeparation from her former huſband has been already mentioned. Together with the mother, he received into his family her two ſons, Tiberius and Druſus. Of theſe Tiberius,

born in the year of the battle of Philippi, was now about twelve years old; Druſus, of whom ſhe was pregnant at the time of her marriage with Octavius, and whom ſhe brought forth about three months afterwards, was now about ſeven years old.

The emperor having no children by Livia, had offspring only a daughter, famous by the name of Julia, born to him by Scribonia, the relation of Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had contracted a marriage of political conveniency, and of ſhort duration. Next to this daughter, in point of conſanguinity, were his ſiſter Octavia, the widow, firſt of Marcellus, and afterwards of Antony, with her children by both her huſbands. Among theſe were, by her firſt huſband, Marcella, married to Agrippa, and the young Marcellus[1], who being married to the emperor's daughter Julia, was looked upon as the undoubted repreſentative of the Octavian and Julian families, and heir to the fortunes of Cæſar.

Such then are the perſons to whom many parts in the immediate ſequel of this narration will principally refer; and ſuch are the outſet and firſt conſiderable lines of a very long reign, of which the materials will not furniſh, nor the profeſſed intention of this Hiſtory require, a long or minute detail.

The eſtabliſhment now made by Auguſtus has nearly completed the revolution of which it was propoſed to give an account. The deſpotiſm, though exerciſed under the name of republic, and in the form of a temporary and legal inſtitution, being in reality abſolute, and without any qualification of mixed government, it could not be doubted that the ſame powers would be continued after the period for which they were now granted ſhould expire, and that the empire, for the future, muſt for ever ſubmit to the head of the army: but

[1] In relation to this young man, Virgil, in flattering Auguſtus, has compoſed ſo many beautiful lines in the 6th book of the Eneid.

——— Si qua fata aſpera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris, &c.

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in what form of ſucceſſion, or with what immediate effect on the character and condition of thoſe who were ſubject to it, remain to be collected from the ſequel of this and a few of the following reigns. Military government is almoſt a neceſſary reſult of the abuſe of liberty, or, in certain extremities of this evil, appears to be the ſole remedy that can be applied[z]. But, in order to know with how much care the evil itſelf ought to be avoided, we muſt attend likewiſe to the full effects of the cure.

It appears from the particulars which have been ſtated, relating to the firſt uſes which Octavius made of his power, that he was not to be caught in the ſnare into which many others have fallen in conſequence of great ſucceſs. In his proſperity he ſtill retained his vigilance, his caution, and his induſtry, and relied upon theſe alone for the preſervation of what he had gained. Though now ſecured by the pretended forms of a legal eſtabliſhment, he continued attentive to what was paſſing in every part of the empire, frequently withdrew from the ſeats of adulation and pleaſure in the city of Rome to viſit the provinces; and, without any view to conqueſt, or purpoſe of oſtentation whatever, gave his preſence where any affairs of moment were in dependance, merely to extend the effects of his government, and to realize the dominion he had planned.

The peace which immediately followed the victories obtained on the coaſt of Epirus and in Egypt, was the circumſtance on which Auguſtus chiefly relied for the recommendation of his government, and he ſeems, from inclination as well as policy, to have early entertained a maxim favourable to peace with foreign nations, and which he afterwards openly inculcated, *that the bounds of the empire ſhould not be extended.* He himſelf had made ſome acquiſitions in Dalmatia and in Panonia. But his object, in making war in theſe

[z] Non aliud diſcordantis patriæ remedium fuiſſe quàm ut ab uno regeretur. Tacit. lib. i. c. 9.

countries,

countries, had been, rather to exercise and prepare his army for the contest he expected with Antony, than for any purpose of extending his conquests; and he reduced Egypt to a province, merely to extirpate the last remains of his rival's party, and to prevent further molestation from that rich and powerful kingdom. In his first plan of operations communicated to the Senate, he expressed his disposition to acquiesce in the present extent of the empire; but it was necessary to secure the frontier from invasions, and to ascertain, though not to extend, its bounds. Soon after his new model of government was established, he took measures accordingly to repress the disorder which subsisted in some of the provinces, and to reduce to obedience some cantons on which the State had already a claim of sovereignty, though not fully acknowledged. He proceeded to punish others, who, at the breaking out of the civil wars, had taken advantage of the general distraction of the empire to resume their independency, or to make war on the Roman settlements. He had examples of both sorts to contend with in different parts; in Thrace, on the Rhine, and among the Alps, but chiefly in Spain.

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Of all the provinces that became subject to Rome, those of Spain had been the most difficult acquisition; insomuch that, after all the wars so frequently renewed in that country, there were still some warlike cantons who continued to maintain their independence. Among these the Astures and Cantabri[5] being in actual rebellion, the emperor himself, at the head of a powerful army, still pretending a design to invade Britain, passed into Gaul, and there having fixed a rate of taxation for the province, turned into Spain. He obliged the rebels, upon his approach, to quit their usual habitations, and retire to the mountains. But finding that they were likely to protract the war, and to engage him in a succession of tedious and indecisive operations, he fixed his

[5] Nations inhabiting the mountainous coasts of the Bay of Biscay.

quarters

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quarters at Tarraco[4], and left the command of the army employed on this ſervice to C. Antiſtius and Ariſius. Soon after his arrival at Tarraco he entered on his eight Conſulate. From that place he ſent Terentius Varro to quell a rebellion of the Salaſſi and the other nations of the Alps, and ſent M. Vinicius to puniſh ſome German tribes, by whom the Roman traders frequenting their country, or ſettled among them, had been maſſacred. He himſelf, while his generals were employed in theſe ſervices, remained two years at his quarters in Spain; and upon the elapſe of his eight Conſulate, reſumed that office for the ninth time.

U. C. 724. Imper. Cæſar 8vo. T. Statilius Taurus Auguſt. 2do, Ætat. 36.

U. C. 725. Imperator Cæſar 9no, M. Junius Silenus. Auguſt. 3tio. Ætat. 37.

During the reſidence of Auguſtus in Spain, arrived the famous reference or appeal from the Parthians, ſubmitting to his deciſion a conteſt for the throne of their kingdom[5]. The competitors were Phraates and Tiridates. The firſt having been in poſſeſſion, was expelled by a powerful inſurrection of the people in favour of his rival: but, after a little time, having aſſembled his forces and his allies, he attacked Tiridates, obliged him to fly in his turn, and to take refuge in the contiguous province of the Roman empire. This exile, having the ſon of his rival a priſoner, proceeded to Rome, and from thence to the quarters of the emperor in Spain. At the ſame time arrived an embaſſy from Phraates, then in actual poſſeſſion of the throne, deſiring that Tiridates ſhould be delivered up to him, and that his ſon ſhould be reſtored. Both parties offered honourable terms to the Romans, particularly the reſtoration of all the captives, and of all the trophies taken either from Craſſus or from Antony, in their unfortunate invaſions of that kingdom.

Auguſtus willingly accepted of theſe terms; but affecting to refer the Parthian diſpute to the Roman Senate, gave inſtructions that the

[4] Tarragona.
[5] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 22 & 25. Oroſius, lib. vi. c. 21. Velleius. Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxiv. Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 33.

ſon

ſon of Phraates ſhould be reſtored to his father, but that Tiridates ſhould not be delivered up to his enemy [6].

By this tranſaction, though a pacific one, the diſgrace incurred by the Roman legions in Parthia was ſuppoſed to be entirely effaced. And it being ſaid that Auguſtus, on this occaſion, had performed, by the authority of his name, what other Roman leaders had attempted in vain by force of arms, he had a variety of honours decreed to him by the Senate. It paſſed, among other reſolutions, that his name ſhould be inſcribed among thoſe of the gods in the addreſs of the public hymns; that one of the Roman tribes ſhould be named the Julian Tribe, in honour of him; that he ſhould wear the triumphal crown at all public entertainments; that all Roman Senators, who had been preſent at any of his victories, ſhould attend his triumphs dreſſed in purple robes; that the anniverſary of his return to Rome ſhould be obſerved as a feſtival; that he ſhould have the nomination of perſons to be honoured with the prieſthood, and ſhould fill up the liſt to any numbers he thought proper. From this time forward, accordingly, the number was ſuppoſed to be unlimited.

Soon after the concluſion of this negociation with the Parthians, the operations of the armies in Spain and Germany were brought to a ſucceſsful period. Caius Antiſtius being attacked by the Cantabri, obtained a complete victory, and obliged that people again to take ſeparate retreats in the woods and mountains, where numbers of them were reduced by famine, and others, being inveſted in their ſtrong holds, and in danger of being taken, choſe to periſh by their own hands.

Cariſius was equally ſucceſsful againſt the Aſturi; obliged them to abandon their habitations, or to ſubmit at diſcretion [7].

[6] Juſtin, lib. xlii. c. 5. Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 33. Velleius Pater. lib. ii. c. 91.
[7] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 25.

Terentius

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Terentius Varro, having invaded the Salaſſi, or Piedmonteſe, on different quarters, made them agree to pay a contribution, and, under pretence of levying it, ſent an army in ſeparate diviſions into their country; and thus having them at his mercy, exerciſed a cruelty of which too many examples are to be found in every period of antient hiſtory. He ordered, that all the children and youth of the nation, thus taken by ſurprize, ſhould be put up for ſale; the buyer being required to come under engagements, that none of this unhappy people, thus ſold for ſlaves, ſhould be reſtored to freedom, or allowed to return to their own country, till after an interval of twenty years [8].

About the ſame time Auguſtus received from the army the title of Imperator, and from the Senate the offer of a triumph, on account of the victories gained by his lieutenants. The laſt of theſe honours he declined; but took occaſion to exhibit games in Spain, in name of his nephew Marcellus and of his ſtep-ſon Tiberius, whom he wiſhed to recommend to the army by this act of munificence. He likewiſe diſtributed lands, both in Spain and in the Ciſalpine Gaul, to the ſoldiers who were diſcharged from the legions, and on this occaſion built the Auguſta Emeritorum [9] in Spain, and the Auguſta Prætoria [10] on the deſcent of the Alps towards Italy. In conformity with his general plan of dividing the provinces, he ſeparated Spain into three governments, the Bœtica, Luſitanica, and Taraconenſis. The firſt was included under the department of the Senate, the other two had been reſerved to himſelf.

Gaul was, at the ſame time, divided into four ſeparate governments; the Narbonenſis, Acquitania, Lugdunenſis, and Celtica or Belgica. Upon this increaſe of the number of provinces, additional officers, particularly in the capacity of Quæſtors, became neceſſary. All who had, for ten years preceding the date of theſe arrangements,

[8] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 25. [9] Now Merida. [10] Now Aoſta.

held

held the office of Quæſtor in the city, without ſucceeding to any foreign employment, were now ordered to caſt lots for the vacant ſtations. CHAP. III.

The general peace being again reſtored, by the ſucceſsful operations of the army in different quarters of the empire, the gates of Janus once more were ſhut, and a column was erected on a ſummit of the Alps, bearing an inſcription, with the names of forty-eight ſeparate nations or cantons, who were now reduced to obedience under the auſpices of Auguſtus [11].

U. C. 729. Imper. Cæſar Iomo. C. Norbanus Flaccus. Auguſt. 4to. ætat. 38.

The emperor being on his return to Rome, and having accepted of a tenth Conſulate, the ceremony of his admiſſion into office was performed before his arrival on the firſt of January, with a renewal of the oaths formerly taken by the People, that they would obſerve his decrees. The Senate, at the ſame time, being informed that he intended to make a donation to the People, amounting to a hundred denarii for each perſon; but that, from reſpect to the laws which gave them a negative on ſuch donations, he meant to defer the publication of his intention until he had their conſent; they immediately paſſed a decree, giving him full exemption from every law or form of the commonwealth, and empowering him [12] to govern in all matters according to his own will. This decree, of which the effect was not ſo much to veſt him with any new powers, as to remove the veil from that power of which he was already poſſeſſed, it is probable, from his caution in other matters, he would have gladly avoided. At his return, after ſo long an abſence, he was received by all orders of men with every demonſtration of joy. Having already been flattered in his own perſon with every mark of diſtinction and honour, he was now courted in the perſon of his favourite nephew Marcellus. This young man was admitted, by a formal decree,

[11] Plin. lib. xix. c. 1. [12] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 28.

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to a place in the Senate among the members of Prætorian rank, and was allowed to ſue for the Conſulate ten years before the legal age. Livia too had a ſhare in theſe flatteries, by a like privilege beſtowed on her ſon Tiberius, though, in order to retain ſome diſtinction between the favourite nephew and the ſtep-ſon of the emperor, the decree in favour of Tiberius only bore that he might ſue for the Conſulate five years before the legal age.

In the mean time Marcellus held the office of Ædile, and Tiberius that of Quæſtor. The firſt, to ſignalize his magiſtracy, ordered that that part of the forum or ſpace in which the courts of juſtice were held, which till then had been always uncovered and expoſed to the open air, ſhould be ſhaded with a covering or awning of cloth [13].

During the abſence of the emperor, the plans which had been formed for the better government of the city, for adorning it with public buildings, and for repairing the highways throughout Italy, were carried into execution by Agrippa. The repair of the highways had been aſſigned, in ſeparate lots, to ſuch of the Senators as were ſuppoſed able to defray the expence of it; and, among theſe, the Flaminian Way had been aſſigned to Auguſtus himſelf. The town was divided into quarters or diſtricts, under proper officers, annually choſen or taken by lot; and a watch was eſtabliſhed, to prevent diſorders, and to guard againſt fire.

The channel of the river, in a great meaſure, choked up with heaps of rubbiſh from the ruins of houſes, that formed conſiderable banks and iſlands in the midſt of it, and, at every flood, forced great inundations into the ſtreets, was now effectually cleared [14]. The Septa Julia, or place of aſſembly, called the Julian Place, in honour of the emperor, was repaired, adorned, and dedicated. A temple was erected to Neptune, in memory of the late naval victories.

[13] Quantum mutatis moribus Catonis cenſorii qui ſternendum quoque forum muricibus cenſuerat. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 20.

[14] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 29, 30.

The

The portico of the Pantheon was finiſhed about this time; within was placed, among the images of the gods, a ſtatue of Julius Cæſar; in the veſtible, or portico, were placed thoſe of Auguſtus and Agrippa [15].

The emperor, upon his approach to the city, publiſhed, by virtue of the power lately conferred upon him by the Senate, his intention to diſtribute to the citizens a hundred denarii a man. In this it appears that the Roman People had ſtill retained the worſt and moſt corrupting part of their republican privileges, that of receiving gratuities in money and corn, as well as that of being frequently amuſed with expenſive ſhows. By the firſt they were ſupported in idleneſs, and by the other taught diſſipation, and made to forget the ſtate of political degradation into which they were fallen. At the games exhibited in the preceding year by the Prætor Servilius, it is ſaid, that three hundred bears, and an equal number of African wild beaſts, were baited or hunted down [16].

The reſtoration of peace being a principal point on which Auguſtus valued himſelf with the Public, the gates of Janus, in a few of the firſt years of his reign, had been already three times repeatedly ſhut [17]. But on a frontier ſo extenſive, beſet on the one hand by fierce nations, jealous of their liberties, and on the other, by armies, whoſe commanders were fond of opportunities to diſtinguiſh themſelves, it was not poſſible long to avoid every ſpecies of war. Soon after the emperor had withdrawn from Spain, leaving the command in Luſitania to L. Æmilius, the Cantabri and Aſtures, ſtill impatient of the dominion to which they had lately, in appearance, made a perpetual ſubmiſſion, took a reſolution again to ſhake off the Roman yoke. Propoſing to give the firſt intimation of their deſign by a ſtroke of importance, they drew a conſiderable part of the Roman army into

[15] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 22. &c. &c. [16] Ibid. c. 27. [17] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 22.

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their country, under pretence of furniſhing them with a ſupply of corn; and when they found them diſperſed in ſmall parties to receive the propoſed diſtribution, they put the whole, or the greater part, to the ſword. In revenge for this piece of treachery, Æmilius laid their country under military execution, and by a barbarous policy, to prevent future revolts, cut off the right hands of the priſoners whoſe lives he ſpared [18].

At the ſame times Auguſtus himſelf, though ſomewhat contrary to the general ſyſtem of his reign, entertained a project of extending the Roman ſettlements, or at leaſt of making diſcoveries on the ſide of Arabia, and on the coaſts of the Indian ſeas. He was tempted, probably, by the proſpect of getting acceſs to the rare and coſtly commodities, which the Arabians were known to receive from India [19], and which they ſold in the markets of Egypt and Aſia at their own price. He expected to refund the expence of his armament from the great treaſures of gold and ſilver which the Arabians were ſuppoſed to poſſeſs.

For this purpoſe Ælius Gallus, the Proprætor of Egypt, was entruſted with the conduct of an expedition to the Gulph of Arabia. This officer ſpent a conſiderable time in fitting out a fleet of armed ſhips, which he afterwards found to be unneceſſary, as the Arabians were mere traders, and had no ſhips of force. In paſſing the gulph with one hundred and thirty tranſports, he, by the unſkilfulneſs of his mariners and pilots, ſuſtained a great loſs both in ſhipping and men, and in the delays which he afterwards incurred, or in attempting to penetrate the deſerts of Arabia eaſtward, he loſt a great part of his army, which periſhed by want of water, or by diſeaſe. And thus, after a fruitleſs attempt, in which he ſpent many months, returned to Alexandria with a ſmall part of his army, without having

[18] Sueton. in Auguſt. lib. liii. c. 29.

[19] Strabo mentions, that in the port of Nus there were above 100 ſhips from India.

gained any conſiderable advantage, or even obtained information of the ſources of wealth which he was ſent to explore [20]. CHAP. III.

While theſe tranſactions paſſed in the provinces and on the frontier of the empire, Auguſtus, then reſiding at Rome, entered on an eleventh Conſulate. His colleague, in the beginning of the year, was Terentius Varro Murena. But this Conſul died in office, and was ſucceeded for the remainder of the year by C. Calpurnius Piſo. U. C. 730. Imper. Cæſar 11mo. Tribunus plebis. Terentius Varro Murena mort. C. Calpurnius Piſo. Auguſt. 5to. ætat. 39.

Auguſtus himſelf, in this Conſulate, was taken ill; and being ſuppoſed in danger, called his colleague, with a number of the principal Senators, into his preſence, to receive his laſt inſtructions relating to the empire. The title by which he affected to hold the government could not ſupport him in pointing out a ſucceſſion. He accordingly made no mention of any ſucceſſor to himſelf, but delivered to the Conſul Piſo, as being firſt officer of State, the memorials he had drawn up relating to the revenue and other public eſtabliſhments. He gave to Agrippa his ring, which was the badge of his nobility, and which, according to the ideas of the Romans, had an emblematical reference to his power. He ſeemed to overlook his nephew Marcellus, though at this time the firſt in his favour, and probably deſtined to inherit his fortune. This circumſtance, together with the general opinion of his diſſimulation, made it be ſuſpected that he had no real apprehenſions of dying, and that he called his friends to this ſolemn audience, merely to ſhew, on a ſuppoſed death-bed, his reſpect for the commonwealth. To elude the penetration of thoſe who ſuſpected his arts, and whom he ſtill continued to dread, after his recovery, he deſired that the will which he had made on this occaſion ſhould be publicly read; but the Senate, already knowing the contents, and affecting to believe, without this evidence, the ſincerity of his intentions to reſtore the republic, refuſed to

[20] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 29. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 33. Plin. lib. vi. c. 28. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 118. Ibid. lib. xvi. p. 782.

comply.

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comply. They appointed great rejoicings on account of his recovery, and amply diſtinguiſhed and rewarded the phyſician, to whoſe ſkill it was ſuppoſed that they owed the preſervation of ſo valuable a life [21].

Although the circumſtance of Auguſtus not having mentioned his nephew Marcellus, and the honour he had done to Agrippa, were probably not the effects of any ſerious deſign reſpecting the ſucceſſion, they nevertheleſs became a ſubject of jealouſy in the mind of the young man, and ſoon after occaſioned the retirement of Agrippa from the court. This officer, under pretence of going into Syria, where he was appointed to command, ſet out from Rome, but ſtopped at Mitilené in the iſland of Leſbos, where he lived in retirement, without taking any part in public affairs.

During the ſtay of Agrippa at Mitilené, and in leſs than a year after his departure from Rome, happened the death of Marcellus; an event, which Livia was, by ſome, alleged to have haſtened, in order to make way for the advancement of her own ſons; but the ſicklineſs of the ſeaſon and the mortality at Rome, during the two preceding years, might have accounted for the death of Marcellus, without any ſuppoſition of unnatural means [22]; and the event itſelf brought no immediate advantage to the ſons of Livia. It was followed by the recal of Agrippa, and by a new arrangement, which removed the Claudii ſtill farther from the place to which the mother was deſirous to raiſe them in the conſideration and favour of the emperor.

Auguſtus had now, for ſome years, without intermiſſion, aſſumed and exerciſed the office of Conſul; but thinking its authority no longer neceſſary to ſupport his power, he diveſted himſelf of the title, and gave a freſh proof of his moderation, by ſubſtituting in his place L. Seſtius, one of the few who were ſtill ſuppoſed to regret the fall

[21] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 31.

[22] Ibid. lib. liii. c. 32, 33.

of

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of the republic. Seſtius had been the friend of Marcus Brutus, adhered to the cauſe of the commonwealth in every period of the civil wars; and, though ſpared by the victors at Philippi, ſtill ventuard to retain the ſtatue and picture of his friend.

The magnanimity of Auguſtus, in getting over theſe objections to the character of Seſtius, was not neglected by the flatterers of his court; nor was his declining the Conſulate overlooked by the Senate, in their zeal to deviſe new honours and additional conceſſions. The character of Tribune, which had been annually conferred on the emperor for ſome years, was, on the preſent occaſion, rendered perpetual in his perſon, and the privilege of propoſing matters for the conſideration of the Senate, hitherto appropriated to the Conſuls in office, was now likewiſe extended to him. As a compenſation for the dignity of Conſul, which he now declined, he was declared perpetual Proconſul, both at Rome and in the provinces, and empowered to ſuperſede every officer, even in his own government [23]. He was, at the ſame time, preſſed to accept the title and power of Dictator.

The People, labouring under a plague or epidemic diſtemper, which, in the uſual mode of their ſuperſtition, they conſidered as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods for ſome public offence, and in particular for their having ſuffered the emperor to diveſt himſelf of the Conſulate, propoſed that he ſhould inſtantly aſſume this or a higher dignity. While the Senate was aſſembled, multitudes crowded together in a riotous manner, and with threats required that a decree ſhould paſs to veſt Auguſtus with the ſtile and powers of Dictator. They collected twenty-four Faſces, the number uſually carried before this officer, and repairing to the emperor's palace, called upon him to aſſume his power, and to reſcue the People from their preſent calamities.

U. C. 731. M Claudius Marcellus Aſerninus, L. Aruntius, Auguſt. 6to, ætat. 40.

[23] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 32.

Auguſtus,

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Auguſtus, who had ſufficiently provided for all the objects of his ambition, without the alarming name of Dictator, took this opportunity to eſtabliſh his character for moderation. He intreated the People to deſiſt from their purpoſe; and when ſtill preſſed, he appeared to be greatly agitated, tore his clothes [24], and gave other ſigns of extreme diſtreſs. Being likewiſe preſſed to accept of the office of perpetual Cenſor, he, in the ſame manner, declined it, recommending, for the immediate diſcharge of its duties, P. Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus.

In acting this part, it is probable that Octavius guarded againſt the fate of Julius Cæſar; that he preferred ſecurity to the oſtentation of power, and relied more on the caution with which he avoided offence, than he did on the vigilance of his informers and ſpies, or on the terror of his arms. He could not, however, at all times, avoid having recourſe to theſe means of defence. During his preſent reſidence at Rome, he received information of a deſign formed on his life by Muræna and Fannius Cæpio, and brought them to trial. Velleius Paterculus, without any ſcruple, affirms the guilt of theſe ſuppoſed conſpirators; but Dion Caſſius inſinuates, that the guilt of Muræna, at leaſt, was rather indiſcretion, and an unguarded freedom of ſpeech, with which he was accuſtomed to cenſure the conduct of his ſuperiors, than any formed deſign of ſo criminal a nature.

Muræna was the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, and himſelf appeared to be in favour with Auguſtus. Upon the ſurmiſe of an intention to ſeize him, together with Fannius, both abſconded and fled. They were arraigned and tried in abſence; but as the judges ſtill enjoyed the privilege of voting by ſecret ballot, they availed themſelves of it to acquit the accuſed.

[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 1.

The

The uſe of the ſecret ballot in criminal trials, when firſt introduced in the republic, as it diminiſhed the power of the ariſtocracy, which was ſo neceſſary for the preſervation of public order, no doubt had a tendency unfavourable to public juſtice. But now, when it might have been ſalutary, at leaſt in all State Trials, it was, under pretence of the falſe judgment given in the caſe of Muræna and Cæpio, ſo far aboliſhed, that all perſons who fled from trial, or who declined appearance, were, by an expreſs ſtatute, deprived of the benefit of it [24]; and this circumſtance deſerves to be mentioned as the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in which the judicial forms of the republic, formerly partial to the intereſts of the People, began to be changed in favour of deſpotiſm. This innovation was probably the more fatal in the ſequel, that the emperor himſelf, under pretence of giving evidence, of urging proſecutions, or of appearing as an advocate for his clients, frequently attended the courts [26]. And it cannot be doubted, that as often as he appeared [27], the part which he took, whether as a witneſs or as a pleader, muſt have had very great and improper influence in the cauſe.

In the beginning of this reign, are dated ſome regulations calculated for the peace and general order of the city. Among theſe, it

[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 3.

[25] Ibid. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 56.

[27] Among the remarkable trials of this period is mentioned that of M. Primus, who having the command in Macedonia, was accuſed of having, without orders, made war on the Odryſians, a Thracian nation. He pleaded the orders of Auguſtus or of Marcellus; but the emperor himſelf attending the trial, denied his having ever given ſuch orders, and the defendant was condemned. He is ſaid, at another time, to have appeared in behalf of his confidents Apuleius and Mæcenas, who were arraigned of ſome undue influence in protecting a perſon under proſecution for adultery. After the proſecutor began to open the charge, Auguſtus himſelf came into court, and commanded him not to traduce his relations and friends; a ſtretch of power which, under legal government, ought to have given offence; but in the preſent ſtate of the Romans, only put the ſubject in mind, how neceſſary it was for himſelf to court the imperial favour; and it was decreed accordingly, by the unanimous votes of all the Senators, that in memory of this gracious interpoſition of the emperor, an additional ſtatue ſhould be erected to him.

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is mentioned, that the number of Prætors was reduced to ten; and that two of this number were appointed to inſpect the public revenue [28]; that ſome feaſts, which had been cuſtomary, were prohibited, and the expence of others reſtrained within moderate bounds; that the care of the public ſhows was entruſted to the Prætors, with a competent allowance from the treaſury to defray the expence of them, but under an expreſs prohibition to add, as they had been hitherto inclined to do, from ambitious motives, above an equal ſum from their own private eſtates. The ſhows of gladiators were ſubjected to the controul of the Senate, and the number of pairs to be exhibited, on any particular occaſion, reſtricted to ſixty. The care of extinguiſhing and guarding againſt fire being in the department of the Ædiles, a body of ſix hundred men, deſtined to this ſervice, was put under the command of theſe magiſtrates. Perſons of rank having given cauſe of complaint, by preſenting themſelves as dancers or performers on the public theatre, ſuch examples were ſtrictly prohibited.

As the Emperor ever affected a deſire to be entirely relieved of the government, he accompanied his moſt popular acts and regulations with a formal and oſtentatious reſignation of ſome particular parts of his power. The provinces of Narbonne and of Cyprus, which had been originally part of his truſt, being in the firſt period of his reign reſtored to peace, he formally reſigned them into the hands of the Senate. But while he was occupied with theſe pacific or popular meaſures, the Aſtures and Cantabri, notwithſtanding their former diſtreſſes, ſtill paſſionately fond of their expiring liberties, having revolted yet a third time, were again reduced with great ſlaughter. Moſt of thoſe who eſcaped from the ſwords of the Roman legions, periſhed by their own hands [29]. While this event, in appearance, terminated all the troubles which ſubſiſted in the weſtern

[28] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liii. c. 32.

[29] Ibid. lib. liv. c. 4.

part

part of the empire, an alarm was received from Egypt, of a formidable enemy appearing to intend the invaſion of that kingdom. The Ethiopians, probably, encouraged by the low ſtate to which, from the unfortunate expedition of Gallus againſt the Arabians, they ſuppoſed the Roman forces on the Nile to have been reduced, had, by the time that the alarm had been communicated to Rome, actually entered the province; and, before any aſſiſtance could be ſent from other parts of the empire, were repulſed by Petronius, who ſucceeded to Gallus in the government of Egypt.

But before theſe events were known, the Emperor had taken his reſolution to attend to the defence of this kingdom in perſon, and was ſet out on his voyage. Having put into Sicily in his way, while he yet remained in this iſland, the uſual election of Conſuls came on at Rome [30]. He himſelf was named, together with M. Lollius Nepos; but he declined accepting of the office, and affected to leave the Roman People, as of old, to a free choice. This novelty gave riſe to a warm conteſt, in which Quintus Emilius Lepidus, and L. Silanus appeared as competitors, and were ſupported by numerous parties of their friends. The People began to recover the remembrance of their former power, and were encouraged or ſupported by the candidates in diſorders or freedoms, from which they had for ſome time been reſtrained. Auguſtus himſelf was alarmed with theſe appearances of a reviving republic, ſummoned both the candidates to attend him in Sicily; and having reprimanded them for the diſturbances they gave, forbade them to appear at Rome, until the depending elections were paſſed. The competition, nevertheleſs, was carried on with great warmth in their abſence, and ended with much difficulty in favour of Lepidus.

U. C. 732. Q. Emilius Lepidus, M. Lollius Nepos. Auguſt 9no, Ætat. 41.

This ſpecimen of the ſuppoſed diſorders to which the People were inclined, in the abſence of an authority that was fit to reſtrain them,

[30] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 5, 6.

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probably induced the Emperor to haſten the recall of Agrippa, as a perſon on whom he could devolve the care of the city. The breach which had been ſome time made in his family, by the death of Marcellus, remained unrepaired; and he ſeems to have heſitated in the choice of the perſon whom he was to place next to himſelf in power, and in ſucceſſion to the government. His daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, had yet brought no addition to his offspring. She was now to be diſpoſed of in a ſecond marriage, and was likely to beſtow on her huſband the character of heir apparent to the fortunes of her father. It is ſaid, that Mecænas adviſed the Emperor to make choice of Agrippa. *This man*, he ſaid, *is already too high to remain where he is: he muſt be lifted up to a place yet higher, or be caſt to the ground*[a].

Agrippa was accordingly, about this time, made to part with Marcella, the niece of Auguſtus, to whom he had been ſome time married, in order that he might become the huſband of Julia, and by this title the firſt in the family of Cæſar.

The Emperor, while in Sicily, having beſtowed on the city of Syracuſe, and on other towns of that iſland, the privilege of Roman colonies, and having made ſome other arrangements for the better government of the province, continued his voyage from thence into Greece. As he paſſed through Sparta and Athens, he treated the inhabitants of thoſe once eminent cities with marks of favour or diſpleaſure, according to the part they had taken in the late diviſions of the empire.

The Spartans had, with proper hoſpitality, received Livia in her flight from Italy, and, in return, were now honoured with the preſence of the Emperor at one of the public meals, which they ſtill affected to retain in memory of their ancient inſtitutions. They like-

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 6.

wiſe

wiſe received a grant of the iſland of Cithera, which formerly had belonged to their territory.

The Athenians, on the contrary, it is ſaid, were put in mind of their partiality to Antony and Cleopatra, and of the ſingular oſtentation with which they admitted the Queen of Egypt a citizen of Athens. In reſentment of this behaviour, they were deprived of their ſovereignty in Egina and Eretria, and forbid to receive any preſents in return for the freedom of their city, a diſtinction, which, it ſeems, was ſtill earneſtly courted, and from the ſale of which they derived ſome revenue.

From theſe viſits to Sparta and Athens, the Emperor proceeded to Samos, where he remained for the winter [32]. Here he not only had a confirmation of the reports already mentioned, relating to the ſucceſs of Petronius againſt the Ethiopians, but received an embaſſy from this people to ſue for peace. They had addreſſed themſelves to Petronius; and being referred to the Emperor, deſired that they might have guides to conduct them to him. *This Emperor*, they ſaid, *or the place of his abode, we know not.* Being conducted to Samos, on the route by which he was expected to arrive in Aſia, they obtained a peace, without any of the ſubmiſſions or unequal conditions by which the Romans were formerly accuſtomed to prepare the way, in every treaty, for the farther extenſion of their conqueſts [33].

In the ſpring, Auguſtus paſſed from Samos to Bythinia, in which, though one of the provinces that had been committed to the adminiſtration of the Senate, he, by his own authority, made ſome reformations; and upon a complaint, that the people of Cyzicum had inſulted with the rod, and put to death ſome Roman citizens, he ſtript them of ſeveral privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. U. C. 733. M. Apuleius, P. Silius Narva. Auguſt. 8vo, Ætat. 42.

[32] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 7.

[33] Strabo, lib. vii. p. 821.

From

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From thence, he continued his progreſs into Syria, and there likewiſe inflicted ſome ſeverities on the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, as a puniſhment of their ſeditions and diſreſpect to his government [34].

The Parthians had not yet reſtored the Roman captives, and the trophies, of which they had got poſſeſſion on the defeats of Craſſus and Antony. This was the condition, on which the king had obtained the releaſe of his ſon. Being now reminded of it, or alarmed by the approach of the Roman Emperor to his frontier, he ſent an embaſſy to perform this article. But of the Roman priſoners, many, ſoon after they were taken, periſhed by their own hands; others, being reconciled by degrees to their condition, and having ſettled, were unwilling to remove. They concealed themſelves from the perſons who were ſent to aſſemble and conduct them to the frontier, and but a few were recovered. Theſe, together with the reſtored ſtandards and other trophies, were conducted with great pomp to the city of Rome.

Auguſtus had already received the congratulations of the Senate and People, on the concluſion of his treaty with the Parthians, and knowing how much it was become a point of honour at Rome to repair the diſgrace which Roman armies had incurred on the Euphrates and the Tigris, he indulged, on the concluſion of this tranſaction, a degree of vanity, which was unuſual with him on other occaſions. He ordered the rites of thankſgiving that were appropriated to the greateſt victories; gave inſtructions to erect a triumphal arch; and upon his return to Rome, entered the city in triumph.

The Romans, in conferring honours on thoſe who performed any ſucceſsful ſervice, conſidered the advantage itſelf, more than the means by which it had been obtained, and indulged, with all the diſtinctions that military courage or perſonal ability could claim,

[34] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 6.

every officer, under whoſe auſpices they proſpered, whether by artifice or valour [35]. On this principle, Auguſtus, without having performed any military operation whatever, took occaſion to triumph over an enemy, before whom the armies of Antony and Craſſus had periſhed.

The object of the Emperor's journey to the Eaſt having been obtained by the reſtoration of peace to Egypt, he did not proceed in his progreſs beyond the province of Syria. From thence, in his letters to the Senate, he diſclaimed every intention or wiſh to extend the bounds of the empire, and diſpoſed of kingdoms on the frontier to the princes of Aſia, who were conſidered as confederates or allies of the Romans. Among theſe, he gave to Tarcondimotus a principality in Cilicia; to Archelaus, the Leſſer Armenia; to Herod, over and above his own kingdom of Judæa, the principality of Zenodorus, in its neighbourhood. He reſtored a prince, of the name of Mithridates, to the kingdom of Commagené, from which his father had been expelled; and, at the requeſt of the people of Armenia, ſent his ſtepſon Tiberius Claudius Nero, now about twenty years of age, with a commiſſion to remove Artabazus, then in poſſeſſion of that kingdom, and to declare Tiridates, who was ſtill at Rome, to be its ſovereign. This revolution in Armenia however was, by the death of Artabazus, who fell by the hands of his own ſubjects, in part effected before the arrival of Tiberius.

While the Emperor was thus employed in the provinces, the ordinary ſucceſſion of magiſtrates took place at Rome, and he himſelf being named Conſul, together with Caius Sentius, again declined the title, without recommending a ſubſtitute. Great animoſities aroſe among the candidates for this honour. Agrippa had been called away into Gaul, upon an alarm received on the German frontier, and from thence into Spain, to quell another revolt of the Aſtures and Cantabri.

[35] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 8.

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tabri. In his abſence, the Conſul Sentius and the Senate, unable to repreſs the tumults, ſent a deputation to the Emperor, who was ſtill in Aſia, to know his pleaſure reſpecting the election, and, in return, had a freſh proof of his magnanimity and candour in the recommendation of Lucretius, a known partizan of the republic, and one of thoſe, who being among the proſcribed, had eſcaped from the maſſacre.

U. C. 734. C. Sentius Saturninus. Q. Lucretius Veſpillo. Ex Kal. Julii. M. Venutius Vipſanius Agrippa.

Auguſtus, during his ſtay in Syria, had accounts of the birth of a grandſon Caius, the eldeſt of the ſons of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia, and had a copy of the decree, by which the Senate annexed the anniverſary of this birth to the days of public rejoicing. On his way to Italy, he paſſed another winter in Samos, where he received the ambaſſadors of many nations, and among theſe, an embaſſy from India, attended with a numerous retinue, and charged with a variety of preſents [35]. But what probably moſt entertained the curious in the weſtern world, was the exhibition of an Indian Sage or Brahmin, who having taken his reſolution to die, was ambitious to make his exit in preſence of the Roman court. Being indulged in this deſire, and, flattered with the attendance of a numerous crowd of ſpectators, he prepared a funeral pile, which he ſet on fire, and with much oſtentation and gravity threw himſelf into the midſt of it [37]. His tomb was marked with the following inſcription. *Here lies Tarmarus or Tarmanochegas, an Indian of Bargoſa, who, in the manner of his country, ended his days by a voluntary death* [38]. In ſuch actions, we may perceive the powerful attraction of glory, from whatever ſort of performance it be ſuppoſed to ariſe.

Auguſt. cap. 43.

[35] Among theſe, are mentioned by Strabo a ſnake ten cubits long, though it appears from Suetonius, lib. xv. p. 719. that a ſnake of a much greater length was exhibited in the public ſpectacles at Rome, fifty cubits. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 43.

[37] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 8. 10, 11. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 32.

[38] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 720.

When

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When the Emperor's intended return was announced at Rome, many honours were decreed to him, all of which he declined, except that of having an altar erected on the occaſion to Jupiter Redux, and that of having the day of his arrival inſerted, under the title Auguſtalia, among the feſtivals of the kalendar. On his approach to the city, the magiſtrates and the people prepared to go forth in proceſſion to meet him; but either from an averſion to pageantry, which he ever ſhunned, except when neceſſary to ſerve ſome purpoſe, or from a deſire of procuring freſh encomiums of moderation, he made his entry in the night to avoid this compliment. On the following day, he procured reſolutions of the Senate and People, promoting Tiberius, the eldeſt of the ſons of Livia, to the rank of Prætor, and beſtowing on Druſus, the younger brother, the privilege of ſtanding for any of the ancient honours of the commonwealth five years before the legal age. He himſelf, at the ſame time, accepted the office of Cenſor, with a new title, that of Inſpector of Manners[39], for five years.

This new deſignation was annexed to the titles of Auguſtus, under pretence that ſuch an authority was wanting to take cognizance of the diſorders committed in the late canvas for the election of Conſuls; but, as the period was near approaching, at which he was to repeat the form of reſigning the government, it is probable, that he choſe to be veſted with the character of Cenſor, in order to make the arrangements preparatory to this ceremony.

Near ten years had elapſed ſince the rolls of the Senate had been made up, and in this interval many reaſons may have occurred for removing ſome of the members, and for ſubſtituting others. The powers of Cenſor, with which the Emperor was now veſted, enabled him,

[39] Præfectus Morum.

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without any unprecedented ſtretch of authority, to effect his purpoſe; but, notwithſtanding this circumſtance, his uſual caution led him to ſeek for palliatives, and to deviſe means to leſſen or to divide the odium of ſo diſagreeable a meaſure. He gave out, that the number of Senators was become too great, and thus provided himſelf with an excuſe for excluding many of them, without ſtating any perſonal objection. He at firſt propoſed to take upon himſelf only the nomination of thirty members, and under a ſolemn oath, that he ſhould name the moſt worthy. Theſe thirty, under a like ſolemn oath, were directed, each, to give in a liſt of five, which would have made up the number to one hundred and fifty. And theſe, if they had been agreeable to the Emperor, would have probably made the firſt part of the roll. But as he was in many inſtances diſappointed and diſpleaſed with the choice that was made, he ſelected only thirty of the whole, to whom he gave the ſame directions as before, each to name five; but being equally diſſatisfied with this new nomination, he took the whole on himſelf; and alleging, that the officer who collected the names had made ſome miſtakes, and that many, who were thus propoſed to be members of the Senate, had neceſſary avocations in the provinces, he undertook, by his own authority, to reform the liſt. This taſk, however, he performed under ſo much apprehenſion of danger to his perſon, that, as in the former inſtance of the ſame kind, he carried armour under his clothes, and had a guard of ten choſen Senators, with concealed weapons, who had orders not to admit above one perſon at a time to approach him [40]. By his conduct in this matter, or by the ſeverity of his cenſures, he was ſuppoſed to have made ſo many enemies, or he himſelf at leaſt took ſuch impreſſions of jealouſy and diſtruſt as kept him in alarm, and occaſioned ſome trials and executions, by which he propoſed

[40] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 13, 14, 15.

to counteract or prevent the conſpiracies which were forming againſt him [41].

Upon obſerving how much the Emperor was alarmed, it was moved in the Senate, as an acknowledgment of the danger to which he was expoſed, that the members ſhould take arms, and in certain numbers by turns paſs the night in the palace. "I am unfortunately "addicted to ſnore," ſaid Antiſtius Lubeo, who ſtill poſſeſſed ſome remains of the republican ſpirit, "and am afraid, that I ſhould be "an unwelcome gueſt in the anti-chamber of the prince [42]."

U. C. 735. P Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Aug. 1omo, Ætat. 44.

The period for which Auguſtus had accepted the command of the armies, and taken charge of part of the provinces being about to expire, he repeated the form of his reſignation, and was prevailed upon to reſume his truſt, though but for a term of five years longer. Agrippa being now the ſon-in-law of the Emperor, and the firſt in his favour, as well as his neareſt relation, was joined with him for the ſame term of five years, in the character of Tribune of the People.

During the preceding part of the new eſtabliſhment, Auguſtus had affected to limit the exerciſe of his power to the military department, or to the provinces committed to his charge. In the city, or in civil affairs, he acted in the name of the Senate, or under the veil of ſome temporary office of magiſtracy. But in the period upon which he was now entering, he ſeemed to have thought himſelf ſafe in aſſuming a more direct authority. He accordingly received from the Senate, an appointment of perpetual extraordinary Conſul, to be preceded in all public appearances by twelve Lictors, and in the Senate to have a chair of ſtate placed between the ordinary Conſuls of the year. He likewiſe received unlimited authority to enact laws, to the obſervance of which, the Senate offered to bind themſelves by oath.

[41] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 35.

[42] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv.

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In this, he took occaſion to give a proof of his moderation, by preventing the oath to be adminiſtered; but he proceeded from henceforward in the exerciſe of his power, with fewer diſguiſes than he had formerly employed.

Prerogatives, hitherto aſſumed under the name of ſome ordinary magiſtracy, were committed to officers, acting by the appointment of Cæſar, and by his ſole authority. Among theſe, may be numbered the inſpection of the public works; of the highways; the navigation of the river; the markets [43]; the public granaries; the preſervation of the peace, or government of the city, which was now committed to a military Præfect or Governor. Other new inſtitutions were made, to remedy evils of a recent date.

From the time of the civil wars, Italy had remained ſubject to many diſorders. The inhabitants, alleging the dangers to which they had been expoſed in their perſons and properties, continued to form into bands, and taking arms, under pretence of defending themſelves, employed thoſe arms for lawleſs purpoſes; robbed, murdered, or by force confined to labour in their work-houſes many innocent paſſengers, whether freemen or ſlaves, whom they thought proper to queſtion or violate, under the appellation of diſorderly perſons. To remedy this evil, guards were poſted at proper intervals, and a ſpecies of military patrole eſtabliſhed throughout the country, with orders to protect travellers, to inſpect the work-houſes or receptacles of labouring ſlaves, and to ſuppreſs all aſſociations, beſides thoſe of the ancient corporations [44].

By the ſame authority Auguſtus revived ſome obſolete laws and gave inſtructions to put them in force: ſuch as the laws limiting expence, reſtraining adultery, lewdneſs, and bribery, together with

[43] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 17.

[44] Sueton. in Octav. c. 32.

the

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the laws which had been provided to promote marriage, or to discourage celibacy. The limitation of expence may have had its propriety under a republic, where it is an object of ſtate not to ſuffer the citizen by his manner of living, or by his affectation of magnificence, to ruin himſelf, or to aim at diſtinction above his equals; but the object of the ſumptuary laws, now enforced, is not ſpecially mentioned. It was probably the ſame with that of the laws revived by Julius Cæſar, and conſequently the ſame with that of the laws long ſince obtained, under the republic, by the Tribune Licinius, and chiefly reſpecting the conſumption of proviſions.

In limiting the exceſs of the table, Auguſtus was himſelf a ſtriking example of ſobriety, being extremely moderate and abſtemious in the uſe of wine and of food [45]; and with reſpect to the other objects of his ſeverity, although he himſelf was not equally free from imputation, he probably already experienced the neceſſity of certain reſtraints in his own family, and very properly thought it became him, in the capacity of magiſtrate, every where to watch over the purity of domeſtic manners. His zeal to recommend marriage, and to promote the ſettlement of families, probably ſuggeſted the ſame meaſures [46].

The Romans, by means of the Cenſus, obtained a more regular account of the numbers of the People than any other nation, and they were exceedingly watchful of their population, even when they had leaſt cauſe to apprehend a diminution of it. They made laws to encourage marriage, when the advantages enjoyed by any Roman

[45] In his ordinary diet, when he wanted nouriſhment, he eat a little bread, with ſome dried fruit, without obſerving any ſtated time for his meals. He ordered his table indeed to be regularly ſerved; but he himſelf joined the company irregularly, often after they were ſet, and frequently left them before they were done, and inſiſted that he ſhould not be diſturbed in this freedom by any ceremony of waiting for him, or by any troubleſome attentions whatever. Sueton. in Octav. c. 72, 73. 76, 77.

[46] Sueton. in Octav. c. 69.

citizen,

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citizen, as father of a family, were of themſelves a ſufficient encouragement. Auguſtus being to revive thoſe laws, produced and read in the Senate a ſpeech at that time, ſtill extant which had been delivered by Metellus Numidicus on this ſubject, about a hundred years before the preſent date.

Even ſo far back, under the republic, the decline of domeſtic manners may have begun to be felt. Licentiouſneſs and want of œconomy may have already broke into the eſtabliſhment of Roman families; diſorders happening in the ſtate of matrimony, may have deterred the ſingle from embracing it. But if the effect of ſuch circumſtances then began to appear, how much more may we ſuppoſe that the deſtructive civil wars, which followed; the removal of the ancient inhabitants of Italy, to make way for ſtrangers and ſoldiers of fortune, muſt have operated to reduce the numbers of the people? Theſe troubles ending in military government; the uncertainty of every man's condition depending on the will of a maſter; fear, melancholy, and dejection, felt amidſt the ruins of a fallen republic, may have completed the accumulation of evils, and the effect may have ſuggeſted to Auguſtus the neceſſity of reviving the ancient laws of the republic for the encouragement of population; inſomuch, that the extenſion and application of them became a principal object of his reign.

Suetonius, as uſual in his manner, without regard to dates, brings into one view many particulars of the policy of Auguſtus relating to this ſubject. Among theſe, it is mentioned that he augmented the rewards of marriage, and the penalties on celibacy [45].—That he ſometimes brought forward the children of his own family into the place of public aſſembly, and exhorted the people to profit by that example; but that his zeal in this matter was far from being acceptable to the People. That he was frequently accoſted in the theatres and places of public

[45] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 16.

reſort,

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resort, with general cries of aversion;—had representations from citizens of rank, that it was impossible to support the extravagance of women educated in high condition, and was obliged to correct many of the edicts he at first had published, and to abate much of their rigour;—that, in order to facilitate the settlement of families, he permitted free and noble citizens to marry emancipated slaves [49];—that the law, never heless, was still eluded;—that pretended marriages were contracted with children or females under age, and the completion of course indefinitely deferred [50];—that to prevent such evasions or frauds, it was enacted that no marriage could be legally contracted with any female under ten years of age, nor the completion of any marriage be delayed above two years after the date of the supposed contract [51].

As it was proposed to multiply marriages, so it appeared likewise of consequence to render the dissolution of those already formed more difficult, and to lay divorces and separations under proportional restraints [52]. Under this wretched policy it seemed to be forgotten, that where mankind are happy, nature has provided sufficient inducements to marriage. The sovereign, who charged himself with the care of the People, seemed to consider a state into which mankind are powerfully led, by the most irresistible calls of affection, passion and desire, as a kind of workhouse into which they must be driven by the goad and the whip, or a prison in which they must be detained under bars and fetters of iron. The People seemed to feel themselves become the property of a master, who required them to multiply, in order to increase the number of his subjects; and they resisted this part of his administration, more than any other circumstance of the state of degradation into which they were fallen.

Augustus, in this second period of his reign, while he extended the exercise of his power, still endeavoured to disguise it under some

U.C. 736. C. Furnius, C. Julius Silanius. Aug. IImo, Ætat. 45.

[49] Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.
[50] Sueton. in Octav. c. 34.
[51] Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.
[52] Sueton. in Octav. c. 34.

BOOK VI. forms or regulations of the ancient conſtitution. For this purpoſe, he revived the laws againſt bribery, thoſe againſt taking fees for the pleading of cauſes, and the laws that were made to enforce the attendance of Senators. In theſe particulars, we cannot imagine that he ſo far miſtook the ſituation into which he had brought the people, as to revive laws againſt bribery, after there ceaſed to be any free election; the laws againſt accepting of fees [51] for pleading of cauſes, after all the motives which formerly induced Senators to lend their gratuitous protection, had ceaſed to exiſt [52]; the law impoſing a fine upon members of the Senate coming too late to their places, after the proceedings of the Senate, were reduced to a mere form, by which the Emperor enforced his own decrees [53]. In theſe inſtances, then, we muſt ſuppoſe that Auguſtus, in the uſual ſtrain of his policy, revived the laws of the republic, in order to make it be believed that the republic was ſtill in exiſtence. But notwithſtanding his attention, by theſe and other methods, to conceal the extent of his uſurpation, he could not eſcape the penetration of his ſubjects, nor even the animadverſion of buffoons, to whom ſome degrees of freedom or of petulance are permitted, after they are withheld from every one elſe. Having baniſhed a player of the name of Pylades, for a difference with another player of the name of Bathyllus, he afterwards, to pleaſe the People, recalled Pylades; and giving him ſome admonition to be upon his good behaviour for the future; *That is a jeſt*, ſaid the other, *for the more that the People are occupied with our quarrels, the better for you* [54].

The emperor, having remained at Rome about two years after the commencement of the ſecond period of his reign, continued, or began to carry on many works for the ornament, magnificence, or

[51] Lex Cincia. The offender was ſubjected to a fine, equal to double the fee he had accepted.

[52] Under the republic, the character of an able pleader led to the higheſt preferments and honours of the ſtate.

[53] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 18.

[54] Ibid. lib. liv. c. 17.

convenience

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convenience of the city. To defray the expence of ſuch works, he laid perſons, who had obtained a triumph, or any military honour, under a contribution of ſome part of their ſpoils; and by theſe means, perhaps, made ſome officers pay for their vanity more than they had taken from the enemy. He was ſuppoſed to be laviſh of military honours, which in reality began to loſe their value, or to change their nature, being mere badges of court favour, not, as formerly, the evidence or record of ſignal ſervices rendered to the State, and ſupported by the teſtimony of victorious armies, and the voice of the People. It may be obſerved, as an evidence, how much the triumph was fallen in its value, that, for ſome advantage gained over the Garamantes [57], an obſcure nation on the frontier of the Roman province in Africa, it was beſtowed on Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and but newly admitted a Roman citizen; while it was declined by Agrippa, to whom it was due for his eminent ſervices, and who conſidered it as a piece of empty pegeantry, which could add nothing to the conſideration he already enjoyed [58].

About this time Auguſtus received an acceſſion to his family by the birth of another grandſon, of the name of Lucius, the ſecond ſon of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia; and by adopting both the brothers, conferred upon them the names of Caius and Lucius Cæſar, and, by the ſame act, publiſhed the deſtination of his fortunes. U. C. 736. Auguſt. 11mo, Ætat. 45.

In the midſt of feſtivals, which were inſtituted on this occaſion, the attention of the emperor was called anew to the provinces by alarms which were received at once in many parts of the empire.

Hiſtorians give us a liſt of particulars, exhibiting the troubles to which ſo extenſive a territory was ſtill expoſed. The Commenii and Venones, nations inhabiting the valleys of the Alps, were in arms. The Panonii and Noriſci had attacked Iſtria. The Dan- U. C. 737. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius Scipio. Auguſt. 12mo, Ætat. 46.

[57] Plin. lib. v. c. 6. [58] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 11

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thæleti and Scordiſci had invaded Macedonia. The Sauromatæ had paſſed the Danube. Some cantons, both of Dalmatia and Spain, had revolted. The Sicambri, Uſupetes, and Tenchteri, German nations bordering on the Rhine, having ſeized on the Italian traders who frequented their country, in imitation of the Roman manner of puniſhing ſlaves, nailed them to the croſs, and employing this inſult as a declaration of war, paſſed the Rhine, and made a deſcent upon Gaul. They ſurpriſed and put to flight a party of horſe which had been ſent by Lollius to obſerve their motions. In purſuit of this advantage, they fell in with the main body, commanded by Lollius himſelf, equally unprepared to receive them, obliged him to retire with great loſs, and with the diſgrace of leaving the ſtandard of one of the legions in the hands of his enemies [59].

Theſe revolts of the frontier provinces, or incurſions of barbarous neighbours, may be conſidered as part of a war which laſted for ages, and terminated at laſt in the ruin of the empire. The defeat of Lollius was indeed the firſt ſignal calamity which had befallen the Roman arms under the auſpices of the preſent emperor [60]. It was ſuppoſed to have greatly affected him, and to have cauſed the reſolution which he took to paſs the Alps, and to ſuperintend, in perſon, the meaſures that were neceſſary to repair this loſs. His departure from Rome, however, at this time, is likewiſe aſcribed to other motives. He had now, for about two years, been expoſed in the city to the animadverſion and cenſure which a people, ſtill petulant though not free, were ready, on ſo near a view, to beſtow on his perſon and government; and it was part of his policy to withdraw, at proper intervals, from the obſervation of ſuch a People, in order to preſerve that reſpect and authority which too much familiarity is apt to impair. He accordingly took occaſion from theſe alarms, on the weſt and northern

[59] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 20. Vell. Pater. lib. 20. c. 97. [60] Suet. in Octav. c. 33.

frontier,

frontier, to abſent himſelf from the city; and diſpatched Agrippa, at the ſame time, into Aſia, where a conteſt which had ariſen reſpecting the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of the Boſphorus required his preſence.

The emperor, leaving the adminiſtration of affairs at Rome in the hands of Statilius Taurus, ſet out for Gaul, accompanied by Mæcenas and Tiberius, now in the rank of Prætor, who made a part of his court. At his arrival in Gaul, the People were relieved of the alarm they had taken on the approach of the German invaders, who, not being prepared to make a continued war beyond their own boundaries, had repaſſed the Rhine. He proceeded, therefore, to receive the repreſentations that were made to him relating to the adminiſtration of the province. Among theſe are mentioned complaints of extortion on the part of the governor. This officer, though now bearing a Roman name, that of Licinius, was himſelf a native of Gaul, and had been a ſlave in the family of Julius Cæſar. Having become, by the bounty of his maſter, a freeman and a Roman citizen, he was afterward gradually raiſed, by Auguſtus himſelf, to the height of his preſent command, in which he committed enormous oppreſſions. Being convicted of the crimes which were laid to his charge, it is ſaid, that the money of which he had robbed the province was ſeized, but not returned to the owners[61].

U. C. 738. M. Livius Druſus, L. Calpurnius Piſo. Auguſt. 13mo, Ætat. 47.

While the Germans fled from Gaul upon the report of the emperor's approach, the revolts of the Commenii and Venones, of the Panonii and Ligures Commati, were quelled at the ſame time by the different officers who had been employed againſt them. The Rheti and Vendelici, nations inhabiting the valley of Trent, having been long in the practice of plundering the Roman traders, of making incurſions into Gaul, and even into Italy, were attacked firſt

[61] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 21.

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by Druſus, the younger of the ſons of Livia, and being forced from their own country, moved in a hoſtile manner into the Roman province, where they were received by Tiberius, at the head of a conſiderable army; and being preſſed at once by both the brothers, were obliged to make their ſubmiſſion, and to ſuffer the greater part of their men, able to carry arms, to be tranſplanted into other countries [62].

The peace being thus eſtabliſhed on the ſide of Germany, the emperor applied himſelf to reſtore ſome cities which had gone to ruin in different parts of the empire, and to plant new colonies in Gaul and in Spain. Whether theſe were ſettlements provided for the veterans and Emeriti, by diſpoſſeſſing the antient inhabitants, or new plantations made in waſte and unappropriated lands, is uncertain. Suetonius informs us, that no leſs than twenty-eight different colonies were ſettled in Italy, towns built, and funds allotted to defray the expence of theſe newly eſtabliſhed communities; and that perſons, who had filled any office of magiſtracy in theſe colonies, were intitled to a vote in the elections at Rome.

Among the acts of Auguſtus, during his progreſs in Gaul, are mentioned the effects of his attention to the favourite object of encouraging population, with the premiums he gave, wherever he paſſed, to ſuch perſons as preſented him with numerous families of children [63]: it is mentioned, that the city of Paphos being deſtroyed by an earthquake, he gave orders to have it rebuilt; and, as an earneſt of his future patronage, gave the inhabitants leave to change the name to Auguſta [64]: that he reſtored to the people of Cyzicum in Bithynia, the privileges of which he himſelf had lately deprived them: that his orders, to re-eſtabliſh the king of Pontus in poſſeſſion of

U. C. 739. M. Licinius, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Augt. 14mo, Ætat. 48.

[62] Vidêre Rhæti bellâ ſub Alpibus. Druſum, Gerentem, et Vendelici, &c. &c. Horat. Carm. lib. iv. Od. 4. Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 22. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 95.

[63] Sueton. in Octav. c. 46. [64] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 23.

the

the Boſphorus, which had been uſurped by a pretended deſcendant of Mithridates, being ſucceſsfully executed by Agrippa, he received the report of this ſervice without having it communicated to the Senate. And this is ſaid to have been the firſt inſtance in which this form was omitted. CHAP. III.

A triumph having been offered to Agrippa, on this occaſion, was again declined [66].

U. C. 740. Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quincelius Varus. Auguſt. 15mo, Ætat. 49.

Auguſtus had now paſſed above two years in Gaul, and obtained the end for which he went, whether of a temporary receſs from Rome, or of making the neceſſary proviſion for the ſecurity of the province. Leaving Druſus, the younger of the ſons of Livia, to command on the Rhine, and to continue the military ſervices he had lately begun among the Alps, he himſelf ſet out on his return to Italy. But, willing to avoid the crowds which uſually advanced to receive him on his approach to the city, he made his entry in the night. The Senate, however, not to loſe any opportunity of paying their court, ordered to be erected, in the uſual place of their aſſembly, an altar, on which to offer a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for his ſafe return; and to ſignalize the occaſion by ſome circumſtance of a gracious nature, reſolved, that, from this date, whatever criminal within the city preſented his prayer for forgiveneſs to the emperor in perſon, ſhould obtain his pardon. Both theſe flattering decrees, preſented to him on the day of his arrival, he rejected. On the following day, he received the ſalutations of the People on the Palatine Hill [67], ordered the baths to be thrown open to them, and the uſual attendance at ſuch places to be given at his own expence. From this ceremony he proceeded to the Capitol, and going up to the ſtatue of Jupiter, ſtript the laurel from his faſces, and laid this badge of his victory at the feet of the pedeſtal. He then aſſembled the Senate; but excuſing

[66] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 23.

[67] The place of his own reſidence.

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himſelf from ſpeaking, on account of a hoarſeneſs, he delivered a paper to be read by his Quæſtor, containing a ſummary of his late operations in the provinces, and ſome new regulations, by which the army, for the future, were to be governed [68].

Auguſtus had gradually, ſince his acceſſion to the government of the empire, endeavoured to improve the diſcipline of the legions, and particularly to reſtore the dignity of the military character, by forbidding the admiſſion of ſlaves. From this rule he never departed, except either upon extraordinary occaſions, which required ſudden augmentations of the army, or in recruiting particular bodies of men, ſuch as the city-watch, appointed to guard againſt fire and other diſorders. And he ſucceeded ſo far in reſtoring the diſcipline, which had been much relaxed in times of the civil war, that he had authority enough, on different occaſions, to diſmiſs, without any proviſion or reward, all ſuch as preſumed to make any demands in a mutinous manner. He had intirely diſbanded the tenth legion for mutiny. In urging the duties of the ſervice, he generally decimated ſuch bodies of men as gave way before an enemy, and puniſhed with death the deſertion of a poſt, whether in officers or private men. Leſs offences he puniſhed with ſome ſpecies of ignominy or diſgrace, as, by obliging the offender to ſtand a whole day unarmed before the general's tent, with ſome mark or badge of diſgrace [69].

By the regulations now preſented to the Senate for their approbation, the term of military ſervice was fixed, if in the Prætorian bands, at twelve years; if in the legions, at ſixteen years. After this term, it was admitted that a ſoldier might claim his diſcharge.

It had been the practice in the courſe of the late civil wars to gratify the veterans, at their diſmiſſion, with grants of land; a practice which taught the armies to covet the poſſeſſions of their fellow-citi-

[68] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 25.

[69] Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

zens, and to ſeek for pretences againſt them, which, in reality, rendered that ſpecies of property extremely inſecure. But Auguſtus now thought himſelf poſſeſſed of a ſufficient authority to reform this abuſe, and to ſubſtitute, for theſe grants of land, a gratuity in money[70]. By publiſhiug his regulation on this ſubject, he greatly quieted the fears and apprehenſions under which the pacific inhabitants laboured in different parts of the empire.

The utmoſt efforts of the emperor were likewiſe required, on the preſent occaſion, to preſerve the maſk under which he wiſhed to conduct his government. The Senate, though maintained in all its formalities, was obſerved to have no power, and began to be deſerted. The civil offices were ſhunned as a burden, or as a conſpicuous ſervitude. Many families of Senators were gone to decay, and thoſe who were called in to ſupply their places, either had not, or denied that they had the legal qualification. The titles of magiſtracy continued for ſome time to be coveted, on account of the rank which they were ſuppoſed to beſtow; but the frequency and proſtitution of ſuch honours now rendered them contemptible[71]; and, in ſome degree, already an object of that ridicule which is ſo well expreſſed by the Satyriſt in writings of a later date[72].

To relieve Senators, in part, of the burdens which they alone were hitherto appointed to bear, the emperor, while yet in Gaul, gave directions that the ten judges, who decided in all queſtions relating to public ſales and confiſcations, the three inſpectors of the coin[73], the officers who had charge of public executions[74], and the wardens of

[70] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 25.

[71] Ibid. lib. liv. c. 30.

[72] Perpetuo riſu, pulmonem agitare ſolebat
Democritus, quanquam non eſſent urbibus illis,
Prætextæ, et Trabeæ, Faſces, Lectica, Tribunal.—
Juven. Sat. x. v. 33.

[73] Triumviri Monitales.

[74] Triumviri Capitales.

the

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the ſtreets and highways [75], ſhould all, for the future, be taken from the Equeſtrian order. It was now the practice to decline, not only ſervile or burthenſome offices of this ſort, but likewiſe what had been the higheſt ſtations under the republic; and it became neceſſary to force the acceptance of them under actual penalties. At firſt, all who had been Quæſtors, if ſtill under forty years of age, were draughted by lot for the ſuperior offices [76]; all likewiſe who had been Quæſtors, and who were poſſeſſed of the legal eſtate, if not above thirty years of age, were obliged to enrol in the Senate.

From this forced enrolment or promotion, however, which may be conſidered as a general preſs for Senators and officers of State, were excluded all ſuch as had any bodily deformity or blemiſh, or who wanted the legal eſtate. In aſcertaining the fortunes of Senators the parties themſelves were examined, and other evidence was brought to inveſtigate the truth. Such as appeared to have made any diminution in their paternal inheritance were obliged to ſpecify the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and to give an account of their own manner of life [77].

In the ſequel of theſe meaſures, which were intended to preſerve the appearance of a commonwealth, and to ſupport the formalities of a civil inſtitution, it is probable, although not mentioned by any of the hiſtorians, that Auguſtus accepted of a prolongation of his power for other five years [78]; and again aſſumed Agrippa with himſelf into the office of Tribune for the ſame term. The ceremony of this reſignation became, by degrees, a matter of form, and his reſumption of the empire was made known by ſports and entertainments, which rendered the occaſion extremely agreeable to the People.

[75] Viginti Viri.

[76] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 26.

[77] Ibid.

[78] His having accepted the empire for ten years, and, at the expiration of this period, his having accepted of it for five years, are mentioned; and again, it is mentioned, about his twentieth year, or five years after this date, that he accepted of it for ten years more.

At

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At this time a theatre, which had been begun by Marcellus, was finiſhed, and opened with great ſolemnity. A proceſſion of noble youth was led by Caius the ſon of Agrippa, and adoptive ſon of the emperor. Six hundred African wild beaſts were baited in the Circus, and among them a tyger, it being the firſt time that this animal made its appearance at Rome [79].

In continuation of theſe entertainments, Julus, the ſon of Antony, being Prætor, celebrated the birth-day of Auguſtus with the moſt expenſive ſhews, and in his public character entertained the Senate, together with the emperor himſelf, at a feaſt in the Capitol [80].

Tiberius, at the ſame time, in performance of a vow which he had made for the emperor's ſafe return from his laſt excurſion to the provinces, gave ſplendid entertainments. Having introduced Caius Cæſar, the eldeſt of the emperor's adoptive ſons, and placed him by himſelf in the Prætor's chair at the theatre, he was received by the People with ſhouts of applauſe.

The emperor, however, gave ſigns of diſpleaſure. "Such pre-
"mature honours," he ſaid, "could only ſerve to inſpire the mind
"of a young man with preſumption and pride [81]."

U. C. 740. Auguſt. 15mo, Ætat. 49.

About this time died the famous Triumvir M. Æmilius Lepidus, formerly the aſſociate or the tool of Octavius and Antony, in the execution of their deſigns againſt the republic. While he was ſubſervient to the intereſt of theſe competitors, he was allowed, in appearance, to hold a third part of the empire; but being unſupported by any real abilities or perſonal authority, he ceaſed to be of any conſequence the moment he preſumed to act for himſelf, and was too inconſiderable, even to be an object of reſentment to thoſe he had injured.

Auguſtus had ſuffered this fallen rival to remain, during his life, in the dignity of Pontiff, and, by keeping him in public view, de-

[79] Plin. lib. viii. c. 17. [80] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 25, 26. [81] Ibid. c. 27.

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prived him of the conſolation even of being forgotten [52]. The emperor, though himſelf deſirous to hold this ſacred character, and frequently preſſed, by his flatterers, to ſupplant Lepidus, was too cautious to violate any ſuppoſed religious inſtitution, and too politic to trifle with acknowledged rights, of which he meant, on occaſion, to avail himſelf. But upon the death of Lepidus, he did not neglect to aſſume the only dignity which was wanting to complete the accumulation of prerogatives united in his own perſon.

U. C. 741. M. Valerius Barbatus, P. Sulpicius, Omilian in mag. mort. C. Vagius abdicavit, C. Caninius.

Auguſt. 16mo, Ætat. 50.

Agrippa had returned to Rome, about the ſame time, with the emperor; but ſoon had occaſion again to depart from Italy, being ſent to quell a rebellion that broke out in Panonia. Upon his arrival in this country, finding the natives already ſubdued by the fear of his approach, he accepted of their ſubmiſſion; and though ſtill in the depth of winter, ſet out on his return to Rome. After he had repaſſed the ſeas, on his way through Campania, he was taken dangerouſly ill. Auguſtus received the accounts of his danger, while he was exhibiting ſports to the People in the name of his two ſons, Caius and Lucius, and left the city immediately to attend his friend; but came too late, and after he expired.

This great man appears to have been worthy of the beſt times of the republic. He had magnanimity enough to have relied on his perſonal qualities alone for conſideration and honour, and was fit to have been a citizen of Rome in its happieſt age; but from the neceſſity of the times, and the principles of fidelity to the friend who truſted him, he became a principal ſupport of the monarchy. His great abilities being employed to maintain the government and authority of the prince, and his credit with the prince employed in acts of juſtice and moderation to the People, he was neither an object of jealouſy to the one, nor of envy to the other.

[52] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 15.

It

It was a ſingular inſtance of good fortune to have found ſuch an officer, and a mark of underſtanding and ſteadineſs, without jealouſy, and without wavering, to have perſevered in the choice. In this, and in ſome other inſtances, Auguſtus ſhowed that his talent was not mere cunning, but a principle of able conduct, which is tried in nothing more than in the choice and employment of proper men. He raiſed Agrippa, though not a flatterer, from a low condition, to command his forces, to preſide in his councils, and, laſt of all, by the marriage of his daughter, to the higheſt place in his own family.

At the funeral of his friend, the emperor took upon himſelf the office of principal mourner, accompanied the corps from Campania to Rome; and having it brought into the Forum, pronounced the funeral oration, having, while he ſpoke, a ſcreen placed between himſelf and the dead body. In order to confirm and to encreaſe the regard that was paid to the memory of the deceaſed, he not only ratified that part of the will, by which Agrippa bequeathed his gardens and his baths to the public, but in his name alſo made further additions to the legacy.

Julia, at the death of her huſband, was again pregnant, and bore a third ſon, who, from the family of his father, and the circumſtances of his birth, was known by the name of Agrippa Poſthumus [83].

[83] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 28, 29.

CHAP. IV.

Marriage of Julia with Tiberius.——Death of Druſus.——Death of Mæcenas.——Diſgrace of Julia.——War in Panonia.——Roman Legions cut off in Germany.——Tiberius aſſociated in the Empire.——Death of Auguſtus.

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U. C. 721. Auguſt. 16mo, Ætat. 50.

THE death of Agrippa made way for Tiberius Claudius Nero, then about twenty-eight years of age, into a higher place than he yet held in the family and confidence of the emperor.

Octavius had received this young man in the arms of his mother Livia, had obſerved the progreſs of his childhood and youth, and had given him no diſtinguiſhed place in his favour during the lives of Marcellus or Agrippa, to whom he had ſucceſſively married his daughter: but being deprived of both theſe ſupports, and his adopted children, Caius and Lucius being yet of tender age, he was led to receive Tiberius as a relation, the neareſt to ſupply the place of thoſe he had loſt.

Livia, by whoſe arts the emperor now began to be governed, was, according to the report of hiſtorians, and, as we may infer from her own conduct, perfectly formed to the mind of her huſband. In all matters, not only of buſineſs, whether private or public, but even in thoſe affairs in which the ſexes are leaſt patient of each others failings, ſhe preſerved or affected the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion to his will. She is ſaid, not only to have connived at his infidelities, but as often as he was inclined to diverſify his pleaſures, even to have employed her ſagacity and her knowledge of his choice in procuring him the means of indulging his fancy. Herſelf, the dupe of no paſſion which was likely to miſlead her, ſhe never loſt an oppertunity to advance her family,

family, nor riſked the miſcarriage of her purpoſe, by haſtening improperly the means of obtaining it. Favoured by the death of Agrippa, and the minority of the young Cæſars, ſhe eaſily, without ſeeming to entertain any improper views for her ſon, procured his advancement. He was at firſt received by the emperor as a temporary aid in the government, and afterwards as a perſon fit to become the third huſband of Julia; and by this connection to occupy a rank in his family, which had been hitherto conſidered as the neareſt to his own.

Tiberius, at the time that this reſolution was taken in his favour, was already a huſband and a father, having been married to Vipſania, the daughter of Agrippa, by whom he had a ſon named Druſus. He is ſaid to have parted, with great reluctance, from Vipſania, then a ſecond time pregnant, in order to make way for Julia, by whom he was to hold the ſecond place in the empire.

Auguſtus had hitherto diſtinguiſhed, by the marriage of his daughter, the perſon whom he meant to point out as his ſucceſſor; but, his family being now become numerous, it does not appear that he had any thoughts of giving to this new ſon-in-law precedence of his adopted children, Caius and Lucius, who, bearing the name of Cæſar, already precluded any competition for rank in the empire [1]. This third marriage of Julia, he probably intended for a purpoſe, which it did not by any means ſerve, that of reſtraining the diſorders to which this unhappy perſon was inclined.

Tiberius had begun his military ſervices with ſome diſtinction in Gaul, and now coming into the place of Agrippa, was ſent to repreſs a rebellion, which, upon the report of that officer's death, had again broke out in Panonia. Having ſucceeded in this ſervice, he gave orders, that the youth of the vanquiſhed nation ſhould be ſold into ſlavery, and that the buyer ſhould come under an obligation to tranſ-

[1] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 31.

port

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port them far from their native country; a cruel action, but not to be imputed merely to the perſonal character of this young man, as it did not exceed what was frequent in the hiſtory of the Romans. Upon this occaſion Tiberius had the honour of a triumph conferred by the Senate; but by the emperor's directions, while he accepted of the triumphal robes, he declined to enter the city in proceſſion [2].

About the ſame time Druſus, the younger brother of Tiberius, then ſtationed on the Rhine, had repulſed a body of Germans, paſſed the river in purſuit of them, and laid waſte the contiguous country of the Sicambri and Uſipetes, which, lying between the Lippe and the Iſſel, is now the biſhopric of Munſter, or the province of Zutphen. Having embarked his army, he fell down the Iſſel to the marſhy lands inhabited by the Friſii and Chauci, probably what are now the provinces of Frieſland and Groningen, arrived without reſiſtance at the ſea, where the tides, to which his Italian mariners were unaccuſtomed, leaving them ſometimes aſhore, and almoſt out of ſight of the ſea, at other times threatening to overflow all the lands in their view, gave them at firſt conſiderable trouble; but having learned to accommodate themſelves to this alternate flux and reflux of the waters, they took the benefit of the floods to re-aſcend the river, and returned to their ſtation on the frontiers of Gaul.

Druſus, having thus explored the coaſts of the northern ocean, ſet out for Italy; and, though already veſted with the dignity of Prætor, was made to accept of an inferior rank in the office of Ædile; probably to ſet an example, encouraging others to comply with the forms of the republic which were ſtill kept up; but which were at this time very much neglected by perſons of rank [3].

As the Roman armies had now, for ſome time, ceaſed to make offenſive war. Many of the barbarous nations took courage from

[2] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 32. [3] Ibid. lib. liv. c. 32.

this

this circumſtance, and began to haraſs the provinces in their neighbourhood, paſſed the Rhine and the Danube in frequent incurſions and laid waſte the frontiers of Gaul, Panonia and Thrace; inſomuch, that it appeared neceſſary, for the ſecurity of theſe provinces, to attack the enemy, and to furniſh them ſufficient occupation in the defence of their own country.

U. C. 724. Q. Ælius Tubero, Paulus Trebius Max. Auguſt. 17mo, Ætat. 51.

In the ſpring of the following year, Druſus accordingly having returned to his command on the frontiers of Gaul, paſſed the Rhine, over-ran the territory of the Chatti [4], and penetrated to the Weſer. In theſe operations, although the emperor's object, on this and every other ſervice, was merely defenſive, it appeared neceſſary, not only to occupy both banks of the Rhine; but likewiſe to have fortified ſtations on the Lippe, from which to obſerve the Germans in their future preparations to paſs the river for the purpoſe of invading Gaul.

Druſus, for his ſervices in this campaign, was ſaluted by the army, as had been cuſtomary in the times of the republic, with the title of Imperator; but this deſignation having been, for ſome time, appropriated to the ſovereign as head of the armies of the empire, was now, by him, refuſed to Druſus. The title of Proconſul, with the triumphal robes, were decreed to him inſtead of the other. On his return to Gaul, the Germans laid an ambuſcade on the route by which he was to paſs, and threatened his army with imminent danger; but loſt the advantage of the diſpoſition they had made, by diſcovering their poſture too ſoon, and by giving the Romans an opportunity to extricate themſelves by a vigorous attack, in which they gained a deciſive victory.

Upon the news of this event, which ſeemed to remove, for ſome time, the proſpect of any further trouble on the ſide of Germany, it was propoſed, once more, to ſhut the gates of Janus [5]. But an ir-

[4] Suppoſed to be that of Heſſe.

[5] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 36.

ruption

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ruption of the Daci, who paſſed the Danube on the ice, together with inroads made by the Thracians into Macedonia, and freſh inſurrections in Daimatia, ſtill kept the empire in a ſtate of war.

Lucius Piſo, formerly governor of Pamphilia, was employed in repreſſing the attempts of the Thracians; and Tiberius, in reducing the Dalmatians [6]. The laſt of theſe territories, which, in the general partition of the empire, had been committed to the Senate, was now, on account of its frequent revolts, taken under the immediate inſpectiou of the emperor.

While theſe operations took place, under the officers whom the emperor employed in the provinces, he himſelf remained at Rome; and the few circumſtances which are mentioned, relating to affairs of State in the capital, are characteriſtic of the times, but not otherwiſe intereſting or important.

The emperor himſelf, in his capacity of inſpector of manners, took an account of the People, paying the higheſt regard to the diſtinctions of Senator and Knight, and to the honours which were conſtituted by titles of office, as thoſe of Prætor and Conſul. But theſe names of diſtinction, which he affected to preſerve, having no real conſideration or power annexed to them, only ſerved to remind the People of dignities which no longer exiſted.

The Senate itſelf, though filled with perſons who bore the titles of Prætorian and Conſular, and though, with affected reſpect, ſtill preſerved among the ruins of the commonwealth, being deprived of its antient foundations, underwent a continual decay: and the honours to which citizens had formerly aſpired, with ſo much ardour, were now neglected or ſhunned with diſdain. The wealthy, fearing more the burdens to which they might be expoſed, on the ſuppoſition of poſſeſſing great riches, than coveting the honours to which the quali-

[6] Dio. Caſſ. lib. liv. c. 34. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 98.

fication

fication of Senator, intitled them, came to the muſters with reluctance, and even concealed their effects.

To counteract this diſpoſition, and to ſet an example of public duty, the emperor made a fair return of his own patrimonial eſtate, and, as far as was conſiſtent with his ſovereignty, endeavoured to raiſe the value of ſubordinate ranks, admitted members into the Senate with lower qualifications than formerly; diminiſhed the *quorum*, or number that was hitherto required to conſtitute a legal aſſembly; and, affecting great reſpect for the proceedings of the Senate, ordered their journals to be regularly kept; and gave this matter in particular charge to the Quæſtors.

In other reſpects, the ſervility of the times ſeemed to outrun the exactions of the ſovereign. Some of the courtiers, in their deſire to flatter, and others, under the fear of being ſuſpected of diſaffection, began the practice of contributing ſums of money to erect ſtatues to the emperor; and he himſelf, in conſequence of ſome dream, or directed by ſome ſpecies of ſuperſtition, made it a practice, on certain days, to aſk, as in charity, from all who came in his way, ſome ſmall pieces of money [7]. As he was in his temper ſufficiently liberal, neither of theſe practices brought him under any imputation of rapacity. What was contributed to erect ſtatues for himſelf he employed in multiplying thoſe of the gods, particularly in erecting the allegorical images of Safety, Concord, and Peace. What he received as a charity was returned twofold.

The republican honours, though much faded on every other brow, ſtill bore a conſiderable luſtre among the emperor's titles, made a part of his ſtate, and an engine of his power. Thoſe of the prieſthood, in particular, equally ſuited to every conſtitution of government, were eaſily brought in aid of his military power. For this

[7] Sueton. in Vit. Auguſt. c. 91.

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reaſon the title of Flamen Dialis, or Prieſt of Jupiter, was now added to the other dignities of the ſame kind which the emperor had recently aſſumed. It being deemed ominous, and preſaging the greateſt calamities, if a Flamen Dialis ſhould die in office, this dignity formed an additional guard to the emperor's perſon. It had been vacant about ſeventy years from the demiſe of Merula, who being Conſul when Cinna forced his way into the city, and ſeeing no means of eſcape, in order to avert from his country the ſuppoſed evils which muſt have followed from his dying in the prieſthood, diveſted himſelf, ſtripped the ſacred creſt or fillet from his hair, and being thus reduced to a private ſtation, cut his own arteries, and ſprinkled the altar of Jupiter with his blood.

This ceremony, it was ſuppoſed, had averted the evils to which the republic, to expiate the death of this ſacred perſon, would have been otherwiſe expoſed, and the prieſthood; had, from reverence to this illuſtrious martyr, been ſuffered to remain vacant till a perſon could be found that was worthy to ſucceed him; a condition which was now ſuppoſed to be fulfilled in the perſon of Auguſtus.

U. C. 743. Julius Antonius Africanus, Q. Fabius Maximus. Aug. 18mo, Ætat. 52.

About this date died Octavia, the widow of Marcellus and of Mark Antony. Her obſequies being performed with great pomp, the emperor himſelf pronounced the funeral oration, having a ſcreen, as at the burial of Agrippa, to hide the body from his view.

Soon after this event, notwithſtanding there was no recent alarm from the enemy on the Rhine, the emperor thought proper to change the place of his reſidence from Italy to the north of the Alps. Under pretence of obſerving the ſtorms which ſtill threatened the province of Gaul from the barbarous nations in its frontier, he took his ſtation for the campaign at the confluence of the Soane and the Rhône, and from thence gave his inſtructions to the two brothers, Tiberius and Druſus, to whom the war was committed on the Save

and the Rhine. Both having been ſucceſsful in the ſervices entruſted to them, joined the emperor at his quarters, and from thence accompanied him to Rome, where they partook in the honours which were paid to him for the ſucceſs of his arms.

In the following ſpring the two brothers reſumed their commands, and the emperor returned to his former reſidence on the Rhône. Druſus paſſed the Rhine, over-ran the country of the Chatti, and penetrated to the Elbe, where he erected ſome trophies, and left ſome monuments of the progreſs he had made; but on the approach of winter, being obliged to retire, he was taken ill on the march and died.

U. C. 744. Nero Claudius Druſus, Q. Fabius Maximus. Aug. 1no, Ætat. 53.

Tiberius, who had been ſent by the emperor on the firſt news of his brother's illneſs, came in time to ſee him expire. The funeral being to be performed in Italy, the corpſe, during the march of the army to the Rhine, was carried by officers of the higheſt rank. From the Rhine it was conveyed on the ſhoulders of the principal inhabitants, who received it on the confines of their reſpective diſtricts, and bore it to the next. Auguſtus himſelf, on the occaſion, repaired to Rome; but being then in a military character, or in the actual exerciſe of a military commiſſion, and not permitted, by the ancient forms of the republic, to enter the city, he ſpoke a funeral oration in the Circus Flaminius, which was without the walls. Tiberius followed the corpſe to the forum, and delivered another oration there. The obſequies were performed by perſons of the equeſtrian and ſenatorian rank. The aſhes were depoſited in the tomb of Auguſtus.

The title of Germanicus having been conferred on Druſus, it remained in his family. He had iſſue two ſons and a daughter; the eldeſt known by the name of Germanicus Cæſar, the younger by the name of Claudius, long neglected on account of his imbecility;

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and the daughter Livilla, hereafter to be mentioned as the wife of ſucceſſive huſbands.

Tiberius, ſoon after the funeral of his brother, entered the city in proceſſion, to celebrate the ſucceſs of his arms in Dalmatia. He gave a public feaſt to the people; and as in this entertainment only one of the ſexes could partake, Livia and Julia were allowed to entertain the other.

The influence of Livia, and the elevation of her family, notwithſtanding the hopes that were entertained of Caius and Lucius Cæſar, were now apparent, and procured her flattering decrees from the Senate, that were offered in conſolation for the loſs of her ſon. Her ſtatue was erected at the public expence, and ſhe herſelf was veſted with the privilege, reckoned ſo highly honourable at Rome, that of being the parent of three children [8].

U. C. 745. C. Marcius Cenſorinus, C. Aſinius Gallus. Aug. 2cmo, Ætat. 54.

In the beginning of the following year Auguſtus again entered the city in a kind of triumphal proceſſion, carrying his laurel to the temple of Jupiter Ferretrius, inſtead of that of Jupiter Capitolinus. But he made no rejoicings, alleging, that he had ſuffered more by the death of Druſus than he had gained by the ſucceſs of his arms. The Conſuls, however, took charge of the ſolemnities uſual on ſuch occaſions, and among the public ſhows brought forth ſome captives, whom they obliged, for the entertainment of the People, to fight in the theatre [9].

The period for which Auguſtus, at his laſt pretended reſignation, had conſented to accept of the government, being expired, he affected a purpoſe, as formerly, to reſign the empire; and was again prevailed upon to reſume it for ten years more. The decline of the civil eſtabliſhment, of which he ſtill wiſhed to preſerve the appearances, occupied his principal attention. The Senate, as has been ob-

[8] Dio. Caſſ. lib. xxxv. c. 1, 2.

[9] Ibid. lib. lv. c. 5.

ſerved,

ſerved, underwent a continual degradation, and its aſſemblies were neglected. The members excuſed their neglect, by pretending, that the times of meeting being irregular, they had no proper intimation to attend; and that they were frequently engaged in trials and other public buſineſs when the Senate was called.

To obviate ſuch excuſes for the future, the emperor appointed ordinary aſſemblies of the Senate on particular days of each month, and ordered that thoſe days ſhould be kept clear of trials, or any other public buſineſs whatever, that might occupy the members. Having formerly reduced the number that was required to conſtitute a legal meeting, from four hundred to three hundred, he now directed, that in matters of leſs moment, even fewer might conſtitute ſuch meetings, and that in fixing the quorum on any particular occaſion, regard ſhould be had to the importance of the buſineſs before them; that even without requiring the preſence of any determinate number, the Senate might form reſolutions which, though not accompanied with the force of laws, ſhould nevertheleſs be deemed of great authority. He, at the ſame, ordered a liſt of the members to be publiſhed; increaſed the fine uſually paid for abſence, and, to facilitate the ordinary courſe of their proceedings, extended to the Prætors the privilege of making motions, which had been hitherto confined to the Conſuls or to himſelf.

Theſe ſeveral reſolutions, before they paſſed into laws, were poſted up in the Senate-houſe, and every perſon was invited to offer his obſervations and corrections [9].

About the ſame time are dated other regulations aſcribed to Auguſtus, of which ſome related to the conduct of elections, and others to that of criminal trials. As to the firſt, although every office was filled by his own nomination, he affected to preſerve the antient

[9] Dion. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 3, 4.

forms

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forms; and, in order to give ſome appearance of reality to the right of election, which he affected to leave with the People, he preſcribed rules, which were to be obſerved in the manner of collecting the votes, and in reſtraining corruption. Among theſe it is mentioned, that he ordered, as ſoon as any candidate had declared himſelf, he ſhould depoſit a certain ſum of money, to be forfeited in caſe he were detected in procuring any ſuffrage by corrupt means.

In reſpect to criminal trials, as the ſubject was more ſerious, the regulations now made by the emperor were of more effect. In this matter he wiſhed to ſet aſide the forms of the republic, though by evaſion, rather than by a formal repeal.

So long as the People were ſovereigns of the commonwealth, it was part of the ſecurity which, in their collective capacity, they provided for themſelves, as individuals amenable to the laws, *that no ſlave could be tortured to give evidence againſt his maſter*. As this law, in the preſent ſtate of the government, might obſtruct proſecutions that were inſtituted even for the emperor's ſafety, it was thought neceſſary to find ſome expedient by which to elude its force. For this purpoſe it was enacted, that ſuch ſlaves as might be wanted in evidence againſt their maſters ſhould be conveyed by a formal proceſs of ſale to the emperor, and that, being in his poſſeſſion, they might be put to the queſtion, or cited as witneſſes, even againſt their former maſters.

This act is by Tacitus imputed to Tiberius, and in either emperor was conſidered as a dreadful innovation [19]. But the conſideration of the emperor's ſafety was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient excuſe for any deviation that was made from the forms of the republic.

In whatever degree the preſent emperor employed, in defence of his perſon, the ſeverity of criminal proſecutions, and the fear of the

[19] Tacit. Anal.

executioner,

executioner, he appears to have relied for his ſafety more on the diſguiſes under which he concealed his uſurpation, and on the moderation and the popularity of his manners. By the reſpect which he affected to pay to the Senate and officers of State, he held up the forms of the republic as a kind of ſhield between himſelf and the zealots of the republican government. He endeavoured to gain the People by his affability, and frequently bore with familiarities from perſons of the loweſt condition. As an example of the temper with which he endured the ſaucy or petulant remains of military or republican freedom [11], it is mentioned, that being called upon to act as counſel in behalf of a ſoldier who was to be tried for ſome crime, and having, under pretence of ſome other engagement, named a friend to undertake the cauſe: *This*, ſaid the ſoldier, *is not a proper return to me. In your danger I did not employ a ſubſtitute, but interpoſed myſelf.* He received with ſeeming indifference the reports of ſpies and informers. To a perſon of this character, who accuſed Æmilius Ælianus of having frequently traduced him; *Prove me this*, ſaid he, *and I will ſhow Ælianus, that I too in my turn can find faults in his character.* Tiberius having once written him a warm letter, with a complaint of the ſame kind, he bid him beware of the heats of youth. *It is enough*, he ſaid, *that we can hinder people from doing us any harm* [12]; *we may allow them to ſay what they pleaſe.* Yet in this he did not act from contempt of the public opinion; for in ſome inſtances he even condeſcended to anſwer accuſations that were publiſhed againſt his private or public character [13]. His diſcretion and prudence prevented the occaſions of much jealouſy and reſentment; and, in many parts of his reign, imitated the effects of generoſity and elevation of mind, if they did not amount to the real poſſeſſion of theſe characters.

[11] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 4. [12] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 56. [13] Ibid.

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Auguſtus having paſſed the winter at Rome, returned in the ſpring to his former ſtation in Gaul, accompanied by Caius, the elder of his adopted ſons, whom he now propoſed to introduce to the military ſervice; and by Tiberius, who, notwithſtanding the riſe of a new light in the perſon of the young Cæſar, who threatened to obſcure his luſtre, continued to receive freſh marks of the emperor's favour, and was conſidered as a principal ſupport of his government. Being placed at the head of the army on the Rhine, he had charge of the war which had lately been committed to Druſus, his younger brother. But few particulars are mentioned of the campaign which followed in that quarter. He is accuſed, in one inſtance, of having violated the public faith, by having ſeized as priſoners, and ſent in chains to different parts of the Roman provinces, the deputies of ſome German nations, who came in a public capacity to treat of peace; and of having laid waſte the country in the neighbourhood of his province.

The Germans, however, were probably rather incenſed than ſubdued by theſe meaſures. Their deputies, who had been made priſoners, that they might not be employed againſt their own nations as hoſtages, put themſelves to death; and their countrymen retained the moſt vehement purpoſe of revenge. But whatever may have been the reſult, it is mentioned, that Auguſtus received from the army the title of Imperator, and gave this title likewiſe to Tiberius; that he put him in nomination for Conſul on the following year, and, at their return to Rome, permitted him to make his entry into the city in triumph, while he himſelf declined the honour.

Soon after the emperor's arrival in Italy, he ſuffered a great loſs by the death of Mæcenas. This event made a breach in the civil department of his affairs, not leſs than that which the death of Agrippa had made in the military. The predilection of this miniſter

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for learning, and the intimacy in which he lived with perſons of the beſt and moſt elegant accompliſhments, who were recommended to him merely by their merit, has made his name proverbial among thoſe of the patrons of letters. His inclination in this matter, if it did not form the taſte of his maſter, happily concurred with it, and brought him acquainted with thoſe elegant productions of genius which occupy the affections, as well as the fancy; and which, in a ſituation otherwiſe likely to inſtill pride, jealouſy, and diſtruſt of mankind, ſerved at once as an antidote to theſe evils, and opened the way to better diſpoſitions. Mæcenas had ſerved his prince with great fidelity, and, if not inſenſible to perſonal ambition, was at leaſt ſatisfied with the elevation he had gained in the confidence of his prince. He retained the equeſtrian rank to which he was born, without endeavouring to accumulate the preferments or titles which were ſo much an object of ambition in the earlier part of this reign, and ſo eaſy an acquiſition in the latter part of it [12]. It is obſerved, however, that he experienced, as is common, ſome viciſſitude in his maſter's temper, and outlived the high meaſure of favour which he enjoyed, but without any interruption of his duty. As he lived, when moſt in favour, without any public envy, ſo he eſcaped every public inſult when ſuppoſed in diſgrace. While he preſented the Emperor with a continual model of elegance, ingenuity, and good temper, he took the liberty to check his paſſions, and ſerved him no leſs by the ſincerity of his ſpeech, than by the ability of his conduct. An inſtance of the freedom he took is mentioned on occaſion of a trial in which Auguſtus himſelf, according to cuſtom, ſat in judgment on ſome criminals of State. Mæcenas obſerving him agitated with paſſion, and likely to pronounce ſome precipitant or cruel ſentence, and being hindered by

[12] Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. c. 30.

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the crowd from reaching his ear, handed a billet to him, which contained no more than two words, which may be tranſlated into this homely expreſſion, *bangman, begone* [14]! The admonition, however, had its effect, and the emperor adjourned the court.

The miniſter left his whole eſtate, as was the faſhion of the age, to the emperor's diſpoſal [15].

By theſe ſucceſſive diminutions of the liſt of confidents, on whom Auguſtus relied for the adminiſtration of his government, the influence of Livia, and the fortunes of her ſon Tiberius, received a continual advancement. The latter, after he had reſumed the military habit, in his capacity of commander of the armies on the Rhine, being to enter on the office of Conſul, was received by the Senate in the Curia Octavia, beyond the walls of the city. In his addreſs to this aſſembly he ſpoke of the public works which he propoſed to erect. Among theſe a Temple of Concord, to be inſcribed with his own name, joined with that of his brother; and of another temple, to be dedicated by himſelf, in conjunction with his mother Livia. He gave, in her name and in his own, upon this occaſion, ſplendid entertainments to the Senate, and to perſons of diſtinction of both ſexes. Having vowed an exhibition of public ſhows for the ſafe return of the emperor from his laſt campaign, he made all the neceſſary proviſion for the performance of his vow; but being obliged to ſet out for the army, he truſted the diſcharge of this duty with Piſo, his colleague in the Conſulate, and with Caius, the eldeſt of the emperor's ſons.

U. C. 746. Tiberius Claudius Nero, Cn. Calpurnius. Aug. 21mo, Ætat. 55.

This ſolemnity received a great addition from the ſports and entertainments which were given at the ſame time by the emperor

[14] Surge, Carnifex.

[15] The ſame year in which Mæcenas died put a period likewiſe to the life of Horace. That of Virgil ended about ten years before. Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 7.

himſelf, to celebrate the memory of Agrippa, at the opening of the portico, of the hall, and of the pleaſure-grounds which had been bequeathed by that officer to the Roman People [17]. Gladiators were exhibited at firſt in ſimple pairs, afterwards in numerous parties, that fought as in real battles. Such was the ferocity of the Romans in the choice of amuſements, even after the character of the people ceaſed to be military, and when the public entertainments, formerly perhaps in part intended as nurſeries for ſoldiers, had no longer any other object than that of miniſtering to their pleaſure. CHAP. IV.

The Cæſars, Caius and Lucius, though yet too young for buſineſs of State, began to feel the ſpur of ambition, and were alarmed at the advancement of Livia's family. Even their own ſtep-father, Tiberius, they were taught to conſider as a rival in conſideration and power. And it is ſaid, that, in order to keep pace with him in his advancement to public honours, the youngeſt of the two brothers made application to be veſted with the dignity of Conſul. The propoſal was received by the People with applauſe, but diſcouraged by the emperor, who, reflecting, as he pretended, on the preſumption of his own youth, or on the neceſſity of the times which had brought himſelf forward into this ſtation at an improper age, was pleaſed to ſay, "That he hoped never again to ſee a time when the "office of Conſul muſt be intruſted to a perſon under twenty." To pacify the young man under this diſappointment, he was advanced to the dignity of the prieſthood, got admiſſion into the Senate, and had a place among the members of that body at the public theatre.

Soon after this date Tiberius, probably in conſequence of the jealouſy he had thus given to the emperor's adopted ſons, underwent a great and a ſudden change in the ſtate of his fortunes. Upon his return from the campaign on the Rhine, he was veſted with the cha- U. C. 747. D. Lelius Balbus, C. Antiſtius Vetus. Aug. 22do, Ætat. 56.

[17] Dio, Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 8.

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racter of Tribune of the People for five years; and, under pretence of a war likely to ariſe on the Euphrates, from the defection of the King of Armenia, who was diſpoſed to join the Parthians, he was appointed to command the armies in Syria; but it ſoon after appeared, that this preferment and change of ſtation were deviſed to conceal a ſpecies of exile or removal from the court. At his departure from Rome, he paſſed into Aſia; but, inſtead of continuing his route to his pretended deſtination in Syria, he withdrew to the iſland of Rhodes, where, under pretence of ſtudy, he lived ſome years in retirement.

U. C. 748. Imperator Cæſar 12mo. P. Cornelius Sylla. Aug. 23tio, Ætat. 57.

U. C. 749. C. Calvinius Sabinus, L. Paſſienus Ruſus. Aug. 24to, Ætat. 58.

U. C. 750. L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valerius Meſſala. Aug. 25to, Ætat. 59.

U. C. 751. Imperator Cæſar 13tio, Ab. M. Plancus Silanus, Caninius Gallus. Aug. 26to, Ætat. 60.

The real cauſe of this retreat of Tiberius, whether the jealouſies of the young Cæſars, the miſconduct of Julia, or any other offence taken by the Emperor himſelf, was never known; and we are deprived of any light which might have been thrown by Dion Caſſius on this, or the tranſactions of ſome of the ſucceeding years, by a manifeſt breach in the text of his hiſtory. This defect is very imperfectly ſupplied from Xiphilinus, Zonaras, or any other of the abreviators or copiers of this hiſtorian.

In collecting from ſuch authors, what is little more than the names of Conſuls, which ſerve to mark the progreſs of dates, we learn, that in the firſt year after the retirement of Tiberius, the Emperor himſelf having perſiſted, for ſeventeen years preceding this date, in rejecting the office of ordinary Conſul, now again accepted of it; that he intended, in this character, to ſolemnize the admiſſion of his ſons Caius and Lucius to the age of manhood[18]; that the ceremony was accordingly performed with reſpect to the eldeſt, who now aſſumed the ordinary dreſs of a man, was brought into the Senate, and declared chief of the Roman youth[19]; but with reſpect to the youngeſt, that it was deferred till about three years afterwards, when the Emperor again appeared in the character of Conſul.

[18] Sueton. in Octav. c. 26.

[19] Zonaras, lib. x. c. 35.

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In one of the years of this period, or about the year of Rome ſeven hundred and fifty one, is fixed by the vulgar computation the commencement of our æra at the birth of Chriſt; an event, not calculated to have an immediate influence on the tranſactions of ſtate, or to make a part in the materials of political hiſtory, though deſtined to produce, in a few ages, a great change in the inſtitutions, manners, and general character of nations.

At this date, from the imperfect records which remain, we have ſcarcely any materials of hiſtory, beſides the occurrences of the court, and the city of Rome; the public entertainments that were given, the occaſions on which they were exhibited, and the proviſion that was made in the capital for the ſubſiſtence and pleaſure of an idle and profligate populace.

The Emperor having again aſſumed the office of ordinary Conſul, that he might preſide at the admiſſion of his younger adopted ſon, Lucius Cæſar, to the age of manhood, continued to hold the office no longer than was neceſſary for this purpoſe. He exhibited magnificent ſhews as uſual upon this occaſion, and among others, one that is mentioned probably as a novelty, a ſhoal of ſix and thirty crocodiles of uncommon ſize, turned out to be hunted or fiſhed in the baſon of the Circus Flaminius [20]. While the Emperor gratified the People in their public diverſions to a degree of debauch, he made ſome attempts to regulate the gratuitous diſtribution of corn, that other principal engine of abuſe which the Roman citizens, though in other reſpects fallen from their ſovereignty, ſtill carefully retained among the relics of their democratical government.

The People of Rome, ſo long as they could overawe the Senate by their aſſemblies or tumults, and ſo long as they had the diſpoſal

[20] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 10.

of

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of preferments and honours, bartered their ſuffrages for ſports and diſtributions of corn. For theſe too, they were now willing to ſell their ſubmiſſion to the preſent eſtabliſhment, and it was undoubtedly more ſafe to have deprived them of every other prerogative, than to reſtrain them in theſe. The numbers that were accuſtomed to receive corn at the public granaries, as we may judge from the number of two hundred thouſand, to which it was now propoſed to reduce them, had increaſed to an immoderate height; and as the circumſtance of being ſubſiſted gratuitouſly, encouraged idleneſs, ſo the very attendance required at theſe monthly diſtributions gave a conſiderable interruption to labour. The Emperor endeavoured to apply ſome correction to both theſe evils, by reducing the number of penſioners, and by limiting the times of diſtribution to three particular terms in the year[21]. But in making this attempt he received ſo many complaints, that he was obliged to lay aſide the deſign.

A populace thus ſupported in idleneſs muſt likewiſe be amuſed, and they received, in this particular, from their maſters, whether acting from choice or policy, not only in the firſt period, but, in the ſubſequent ages of this monarchy, the moſt laviſh indulgence. By Auguſtus in perſon, they were preſented at different times with four capital exhibitions, conſiſting of all the entertainments in which they were known to delight, and with three and twenty great feſtivals, ſolemnized in honour of ſome other perſons, as of his father Julius Cæſar, of his nephew Marcellus, of his friend Agrippa, and of his young relations now entering into manhood, and coming to the poſſeſſion of public honours.

The ſports themſelves, though fierce and irrational in many inſtances, were ſplendid, magnificent, and ſometimes intereſting. The preſence of the Roman People, in vaſt ſpaces or theatres fitted up to receive them, was always awful and ſublime. The prece-

[21] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 10.

dence

dence of rank at theſe entertainments, was conſidered, even under the republic, as a principal object of ſtate. The firſt benches were reſerved for the Senators; the next, at certain periods, had been allotted to the Equeſtrian order; and the queſtion, whether this order ſhould be mixed with the People, or ſeparated from them, made a ſubject at different times of much diſpute and contention. The female ſex too had their places, though at the ſights of gladiators they were removed to a diſtance, being ſeated behind the other ſpectators; and from the athletic games were excluded altogether [zz].

The coarſeneſs, nevertheleſs, of thoſe public entertainments to which the Roman women were ſtill admitted; the want of any interval, in their manners, between a rigorous ſeverity, and the other extreme of an unbounded licence, had, in many inſtances, the worſt effect on their conduct. The Emperor himſelf had a diſtreſſing example of this effect in his own family, by the flagrant debaucheries of his daughter Julia, who, having once quitted the reſerve, and broke through the auſterities of her father's houſe, had no longer any reſtraints of decency or eſtabliſhed propriety to regulate her behaviour. It was reported, that without any pretence of ſeduction, affection, or choice, ſhe multiplied her paramours indefinitely, and even frequented the places of public debauch.

The Emperor, though not ſuppoſed to be wanting in the tenderneſs of a parent, upon the detection of theſe diſorders, proceeded againſt his daughter more with the rigour of an offended magiſtrate, than with the reluctant ſeverity of a father. In the firſt tranſport of his paſſion, he haſtened to lay her accuſation before the Senate, and obtained from this aſſembly an act of baniſhment againſt her, by which ſhe was removed to a ſmall iſland on the coaſt, reduced to low diet, and forbid to receive any viſits; a ſpecies of impriſonment,

[zz] Sueton. in Octav. c 44.

which

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which became common in the ſequel of this, and the ſubſequent reigns.

Scribonia, the mother of this unhappy exile, now arrived at a great age, and preſerving, in a ſtate of ſeparation from her huſband, an unblemiſhed reputation, gave way to the feelings of nature, and followed her child into this place of retreat or impriſonment. The father too, upon reflection, grievouſly lamented his raſhneſs, in publiſhing, by a reference to the Senate, the ſcandal of his own houſe, and bitterly regretted the ſeverity by which he had empoiſoned and rendered incurable the wounds of his own family. *If Agrippa or Mæcenas had lived*, he was heard to ſay, *I ſhould have been reſtrained from this act of imprudence* [23].

In the ſequel of this tranſaction, he indulged his reſentment with leſs ſtruggle againſt the ſuppoſed partners of his daughter's guilt; ordered Julus Antonius, with ſome other perſons of high rank involved in the ſame charge, to be put to death. With reſpect to one of theſe criminals, who happened to be veſted with the character of Tribune, he affected a regard to the ancient laws of the republic, and was pleaſed to reſpite the execution of the ſentence, until the time of his office as Tribune ſhould expire. Being told that Phœbé, the freedwoman and confident of Julia, when ſhe heard of her miſtreſs's fate, had put herſelf to death; *I had rather be the father of Phœbé*, he ſaid, *than of Julia.*

Perſons who were diſpoſed to pay their court, ever ready to ſeize the opportunity, took occaſion to flatter the Emperor, even on occaſion of this painful tranſaction. They haſtened to ſhew themſelves in a ſituation like that of the prince, and to offer him the conſolation of fellow ſufferers in the diſtreſs he endured; made complaints in the Senate of the licence of their daughters and of their wives, and even

[23] Seneca de Ben. c. 32.

raked

raked up particulars of a very obſolete date. They too brought formal proſecutions, in order to obtain the interpoſition of law and public authority, to reſtrain the diſorders of their children; but the Emperor received this ſpecies of courtſhip with indifference, and refuſed to hear any accuſation, of which the ſubject had preceded a fixed and very recent date [24]. CHAP. IV.

We are left at a loſs for the ſequel of this hiſtory, during the two years that immediately followed; but in a period, of which theſe were the principal tranſactions, we cannot be ſurpriſed that the chronicle is defective, nor indeed greatly regret the ſilence of a few years. U. C. 752. Caſſus Cornelius Lentulus L. Calpurnius Piſo. Aug. 27mo, Ætat. 61.

The ordinary adminiſtration of Auguſtus, in purſuing the political, civil, and military forms, which he had eſtabliſhed, no doubt was able and ſucceſsful; but being once deſcribed, does not admit of repetition. The more intereſting ſubjects of hiſtory, tranſactions that rouze the paſſions, and keep in ſuſpence the expectations, the hopes, and the fears of men, were in this reign moſt carefully avoided. A powerful army was ſtationed on the Rhine, to keep the peace of that frontier. Even the court was lulled into perfect tranquillity by the want of any competition for the Emperor's favour. This point being fully decided, by the place which was occupied by the Cæſars, Caius, and Lucius; their ſuppoſed rival Tiberius, who had been ſacrificed to their jealouſy, ſtill remained in his exile at Rhodes. U. C. 753. C. Cæſar, Aug. Nepos, L. Emilius Paulus. Aug. 28vo, Ætat. 62.

The defection of Armenia from the alliance of the Romans to that of the Parthians, the occaſion upon which it had been pretended that Tiberius was deſtined to command in Aſia, ſtill ſubſiſted; but the command of the armies in that part of the world, with the charge of recovering the kingdom of Armenia to its former ſtate of dependance on Rome, was committed to Caius Cæſar, now firſt in U. C. 764. P. Vinucius Affinius Varus. Aug. 29no, Ætat. 63.

[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 10.

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the favour of the Emperor, and higheſt in the expectations of the People.

It was thought proper, that both the brothers, about this time, ſhould be ſent to the command of armies; Caius to that of Syria, and Lucius to Spain; and theſe removals of the young Cæſars from court, were ſuppoſed to be deviſed or procured by the Empreſs Livia, becauſe they made way, in a little time afterwards, for the recal of her ſon [25].

But before any reſolution taken at court in favour of Tiberius was publicly known, Caius Cæſar, in his way to the Eaſt, arrived in Greece, attended by a numerous train of officers. At Chios, he received a viſit from Tiberius, profeſſing the moſt ſubmiſſive reſpect to the prince himſelf, and to the officers of his court; and from thence continued his route through the province of Aſia, every where received as the ſon of the Emperor.

The king of Parthia, upon the arrival of the young Cæſar in his neighbourhood, deſired to have a conference with him, and they met on the Euphrates in a ſmall iſland, each having an equal number of attendants. They afterwards mutually accepted of entertainments from each other in their reſpective quarters. Phraates agreed not to ſupport the Armenians in their defection from the alliance of the Romans, and Caius proceeded to take poſſeſſion of their country, as a province of Rome. On his approach to Antagera, a place on the frontier of Armenia, the gates being ſhut againſt him, he preſented himſelf under the walls, and while he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, was ſtruck by an arrow from the battlements. The wound he received, though in appearance not mortal, affected his health, and threw him into a ſtate of dejection and languor, in which he deſired to be recalled from his ſtation, and expreſſed his diſguſt to affairs of ſtate.

[25] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 103.

Caius

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U. C. 755. L. Ælius Lamia, M. Servilius Nepos. Aug. 30mo. Ætat. 64.

Caius being permitted to retire from his command by the Emperor, who was mortified to find in him a puſillanimity ſo unworthy of the ſon of Agrippa, and of his own ſucceſſor, was carried to the coaſt in a litter, and there embarked for Italy; but having on his way put into a port of Lycia, he dicd at Lymira in that province.

Lucius, the other grandſon of Auguſtus, by his daughter Julia, died ſome time before at Marſeilles, in his way to Spain; and theſe deaths happening ſo opportunely for the family of Livia, laid this deſigning woman under ſuſpicion of having been active in procuring them. The bodies of the deceaſed were borne through the provinces by officers of rank, and by the principal inhabitants, to be interred at Rome. Their ſhields and lances, richly adorned with gold, being gifts made to them by the Equeſtrian order, when they were admitted to the age of manhood, were hung up as monuments in the hall of the Senate [26].

About this time, the third period of ten years, for which Auguſtus had accepted of the government, being expired, he went through the form of laying down, and of re-aſſuming his power.

The People, at one of the entertainments which were given on this occaſion, having applied to the Emperor an applauded paſſage of ſome poet, with the title of *Lord* or *Maſter*, he gave ſigns of diſpleaſure, and, on the following day, publiſhed a ſevere edict, forbidding the title of *Maſter* being given to him by any perſon, or upon any occaſion whatever [27]. *My name is Cæſar*, he ſaid, *and not Maſter.*

Auguſtus was now in the decline of life, had ſurvived his principal confidents and friends, his nephew and grandchildren, on whom he had reſted his hopes. He had been recently diſhonoured in the conduct of his daughter, and had bound himſelf, by a formal

[26] Zonaras, lib. x. c. 36. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 102, 103. Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 11, 12.
[27] Oroſius, lib. vi. fine.

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act of the Senate, to perſiſt in the rigour of his treatment towards her. In theſe circumſtances, it was thought that interceſſions in favour of a child muſt be flattering to the father, and many applications were accordingly made in her behalf; but he remained inexorable, and being guided intirely by the influence of Livia, caſt himſelf upon her family as a laſt reſource. Under theſe circumſtances, and from the approach of old age, he was obſerved to languiſh, and to loſe much of his former vivacity.

Tiberius had been recalled to Rome ſoon after the departure, and before the death of the two Cæſars. Upon this laſt event, he was adopted by the Emperor; but on condition, that he himſelf, though a father, having a ſon already mentioned of the name of Druſus, by his firſt wife Vipſania, ſhould nevertheleſs adopt Germanicus Cæſar, the ſon of his brother, who being elder than his own ſon, was intended to have the advantage of ſeniority in all their future pretenſions.

U. C. 756. Sext. Ælius Catus, C. Sentius Saturnius. Aug. 31mo, Ætat. 65.

This ſucceſſor to Agrippa and his family, being now the adopted ſon of Auguſtus, and heir apparent of his fortunes, had every where a numerous attendance of perſons who wiſhed to pay their court. Being appointed to his former ſtation, at the head of the armies on the Rhine, his progreſs through the provinces to that frontier, was marked by the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to receive him. In his firſt campaign he penetrated to the Weſer, and over-ran all the nations of that neighbourhood [28].

The Emperor, relying upon his newly adopted ſon for the conduct of the war on the Rhine, remained at Rome, where he was employed chiefly in reforming the Senate, and in rebuilding the palace which had been lately conſumed by fire. In the laſt of theſe works, he had offers of aſſiſtance from many of the Senators, and from perſons of his court, who brought him conſiderable ſums in the way of voluntary contri-

[28] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 104.

butions.

butions. Being unwilling, however, to let the burden thus fall entirely upon perſons the moſt attached to himſelf, he laid a tax of twenty-five denarii on each corporation, and a capitation of one denarius on each private perſon; and having from this fund rebuilt the palace, which had hitherto been accounted a private property, he declared it for the future a public edifice, deſtined as a manſion for the ſupreme commander of the army, and head of the empire [29].

Ten commiſſioners being appointed to inſpect the rolls of the Senate, and to reſtore its dignity, the firſt meaſure propoſed for this purpoſe was to take away all appearance of conſtraint, and to leave every member at liberty to reſign his ſeat; but the greater number, either fearing to be marked out as diſaffected to the preſent government, or willing to partake in the bounty of Cæſar, who, in many inſtances, repaired the fortunes of Senators that were gone to decay, ſtill continued to hold their places, and affected zeal for the forms on which Auguſtus was pleaſed to reſt his authority.

In this and other inſtances, it is inſtructive to obſerve with what care this ſovereign of the empire endeavoured to flatter the vanity of Roman citizens, and to preſerve the diſtinction of ranks, while in reality his policy was calculated to remove all diſtinctions, to render all ranks equally dependant on himſelf; or, if any diſtinction were ſuffered to remain, tended in the ſequel, or under his ſucceſſors, to render the moſt honourable conditions the leaſt ſecure.

Auguſtus had returns made of all the moſt reſpectable families in Italy, and of thoſe who had a property of above two hundred ſeſtertia [30]. He laid great reſtraints on the manumiſſion of ſlaves; a practice by which he alleged, that the privileges of Romans were raſhly proſtituted to the refuſe of all nations, and to the meaneſt order of men. The Lex Ælia Sentia, which took its name from one

[29] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 12, 13.

[30] About 1600l.

of

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of the Conſuls of this year, had, for its object, the reformation of this abuſe. By this law was fixed the age at which a maſter ſhould have the power of ſetting his ſlave at liberty, and the age of the ſlave at which he might be ſet free, together with the mutual rights and privileges of the patron or former maſter, and of the freed man, or emancipated ſlave [29].

As the preſent government began to have proſcription, as well as expediency on its ſide, every attempt on the emperor's life had the criminality of treaſon, and muſt have been condemned upon every conſideration which eſtabliſhed monarchy can ſuggeſt. Whoever made ſuch an attempt might be conſidered as a dangerous and ill-adviſed aſſaſſin, who attacked the community itſelf in the perſon of its ſovereign, and whoſe crime, in that particular inſtance, tended to involve the world anew in anarchy and bloodſhed.

The privileges or pretenſions of citizens, under the republic, were long ſince effaced. But a very few were left who had enjoyed, or even could remember the exiſtence of them; yet private reſentment, or the remains of republican zeal, and the ſuppoſed right of every perſon to repel uſurpations, had produced ſome attempts of this ſort during the preſent reign. Even in this advanced period of it, a conſpiracy was detected, in which Cornelius Cinna, a grandſon of Pompey, and deſcended of that Cinna, who, together with Caius Marius, was once at the head of the popular faction, formed a deſign to ſuppreſs the preſent uſurpation of Cæſar, and to reſtore the republic, in which his anceſtors had made ſo conſpicuous a figure.

Auguſtus was greatly perplexed on the diſcovery of this plot; and having already, on like occaſions, exhauſted the means of ſeverity, was now, it is ſaid, perſuaded by Livia to try the effects of clemency, and of a generous confidence. "This conduct," ſhe obſerved, "would

[29] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 13.

"tend

" tend to diſarm his enemies, and would intereſt numbers in his pre-
" ſervation by the ties of affection and gratitude."

The emperor, being accordingly prevailed on to take this courſe, ordered that the conſpirator ſhould be introduced to his preſence, gave him to underſtand, that his guilt was diſcovered, and his accomplices known, remonſtrated againſt an attempt ſo ungenerous and unprovoked, but relieved the young man of his fears, by aſſuring him of pardon, and of every other ſpecies of protection for the future. In theſe aſſurances he even went beyond what mere clemency required, affected to upbraid the author of a deſign on his own life with falſe modeſty, in not demanding the honours to which he was juſtly intitled by his birth; and concluded with ſaying, That, as he truſted they were from henceforward to be friends, he ſhould be glad to receive his applications in any matter by which he could contribute to his advancement or intereſt; and, in the mean time, named him for Conſul at the next ſucceſſion to this dignity.

U. C. 757. Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus. L. Valerius, Meſſala Voluſius. Aug. 32do, Ætat. 66.

In this year are dated, among other meaſures, ſome regulations which were made by the emperor for the better government of the army; and, what was ſcarcely leſs important in the opinion of the times, for the conduct of entertainments in the public theatres. The military eſtabliſhment conſiſted of ſix-and-twenty legions [30], with nine or ten Prætorian bands, compoſed of a thouſand men each. Auguſtus, to reſtore the honours of the military character, had, from the beginning of his reign, made it a rule to exclude from his armies, as much as poſſible, all emancipated ſlaves. This excluſion, together with ſome reformations which diminiſhed the profits formerly enjoyed by military men, rendered it extremely difficult, upon any ſudden emergency, to complete the legions. Auguſtus found himſelf obliged to increaſe his bounty in order to recruit the army; but inſtead of

[30] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 23. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 5.

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giving more to thoſe who inliſted, or increaſing his levy-money, he choſe to engage them by the hope of future advantages, to be reaped after certain periods of dutiful ſervice. In the Prætorian bands, he made a regulation, that, after ſixteen years ſervice, the veteran ſhould be intitled to his diſmiſſion, and a premium of twenty thouſand ſeſterces [31]. In the legions, after twelve years ſervice, that he ſhould be intitled to twelve thouſand ſeſterces [32]; and, as a fund for theſe payments, it is probable that the tax of a twentieth on all legacies bequeathed to ſtrangers, heirs of choice, or to diſtant relations, was impoſed about this time. This tax did not extend to the inheritance of the ordinary heir at law, nor to legacies [33] made to the poor, or to perſons in indigent circumſtances.

With reſpect to the public entertainments, freſh regulations were made to keep places in the Circus for Senators and Knights, apart from the commons, or lower claſs of the People.

It being obſerved, that the office of Ædile, which formerly included the care of all public entertainments, was avoided; and that even the dignity of a veſtal, which was wont to be ſo much deſired by the moſt honourable families at Rome, ceaſed to be in requeſt, it was decreed, that all the Quæſtors of any preceding year ſhould caſt lots for the office of Ædile; and that the rules reſtricting the choice of Veſtals to perſons of the moſt noble extraction, ſhould now be conſiderably relaxed, or diſpenſed with; ſo that women, even deſcended from enfranchiſed ſlaves, might be admitted into this order: a very unlikely way to engage perſons of ſuperior rank to adopt it.

This year Agrippa Poſthumus came of age, and aſſumed the dreſs of manhood; but, though adopted, as his elder brothers had been, into the family of the emperor, he appears not to have been thought worthy to replace them; and being obſcured by the riper age and ſuperior favour of Tiberius, he paſſed through this ceremony

[31] About 160 l. [32] About 100 l. [33] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 24.

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with fewer demonſtrations of conſideration or reſpect from the People than had been paid to his brothers.

The public was alarmed with earthquakes and inundations of rivers, which, however deſtructive, were conſidered more as the preſages of future calamities than as preſent evils, and their ſignificance in that point of view was confirmed by a famine, which immediately followed or accompanied theſe events. The inundation of the Tiber had overflowed the city for many days, ſo as to make it neceſſary to paſs through the ſtreets in boats. The markets could not be ſupplied; and this circumſtance, joined to a real ſcarcity, which kept up the prices after the inundation ſubſided, occaſioned a dearth which laſted for ſome years.

U. C. 758. M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Aruntius, ex Kal. Jul. Calicus Caius Vibius. Aug. 33tio, Ætat. 67.

During this time of diſtreſs, it being thought impoſſible to find the uſual ſupply of proviſions, it was judged neceſſary to leſſen the uſual conſumption; and for this purpoſe all gladiators[34], all ſlaves kept for ſale, and all foreigners, except phyſicians and public teachers, were ordered to be removed a hundred miles from the city[35]. Even the ſervants and attendants of the court were diſmiſſed in great numbers, and a vacation was proclaimed in the courts of juſtice, in order that as many as could poſſibly be ſpared from the city ſhould depart. The attendance of Senators was diſpenſed with, and the law requiring the preſence of certain numbers of that body to give validity to their acts was ſuſpended. Commiſſioners were named to inſpect the markets. All feaſting, on the birth-day of the emperor, or on other days of rejoicing, was prohibited; and perſons, wont to receive any part of their ſubſiſtence in corn from the public granaries, had double the uſual quantity ſerved out to them.

Notwithſtanding theſe meaſures taken for the relief of the People, their diſcontents breaking forth in libels and ſeditious complaints, re-

[34] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 22.

[35] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 42.

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wards were publiſhed for diſcovering the authors, and ſome being detected, were brought to trial, and puniſhed [35].

The emperor now willing, from the decline of his age, to be relieved of part of the ordinary buſineſs of State, intruſted the receiving of foreign ambaſſadors to three perſons whom he choſe from the Senate. At the ſame time he himſelf, with his ordinary council, continued to deliberate on all queſtions which aroſe relating to the internal government of the empire. He appears to have committed himſelf, without any proſpect of change, to the influence of Livia and her family; and, to confirm him in this diſpoſition, had frequent viſits from Tiberius, who, though generally ſtationed on the frontier of the empire, carefully attended to the ſtate of his intereſts at Rome, as they ſtood both with the emperor and with the people.

In the tide which was thus turned in favour of the Claudian family, the ſurviving Agrippa ſeemed to form an inſurmountable bar; but this young man, being of a rude and brutal diſpoſition, gave his antagoniſt every advantage in their ſuppoſed competition. Having, about this time, given ſome flagrant proof of this character in his behaviour to Livia, and even to the emperor himſelf, he was degraded from his place in the family of Cæſar, and ſent, under a military guard, to the iſland of Planaſia, near to Corſica, where he remained a priſoner during the remainder of this reign [36].

From the diſgrace of Agrippa Poſthumus, it was no longer doubtful that Tiberius was deſtined to inherit the fortunes and power of Auguſtus. He alone was entruſted wherever great armies were to be aſſembled, and was employed in every ſervice that was likely to end with luſtre. Troubles on the frontier of Aſia or Africa were entruſted to other hands; but the harder ſtruggle with the Germans, Dalmatians, and other fierce nations of Europe, was committed to him. After having penetrated, in his laſt campaign, to the Weſer and the

[35] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 26.

[36] Ibid. lib. lv. c. 32.

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Elbe [37], he was called off to ſupport his nephew and adopted ſon Germanicus, who, commanding the army on the ſide of Dalmatia, found himſelf too weak to execute the ſervice on which he had been employed.

U. C. 759. A. Licinius Nerva Ælianus, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus. Aug. 34to, Ætat. 68.

The provinces eaſt of the Hadriatic, and from thence probably to the Danube, had formed the plan of a general revolt. It was reported, at this time, that thoſe nations could aſſemble eight hundred thouſand men, and that they had two hundred thouſand foot properly armed, with nine thouſand horſe. Being ſo powerful in point of numbers, they were enabled to divide their ſtrength, and to carry on operations, at the ſame time, in different places. They deſtined one part of their force to invade Italy, by Tergeſté and Nauportus; another to take poſſeſſion of Macedonia; and a third to defend their own poſſeſſions at home. They had now joined to their own ferocity a conſiderable knowledge of the diſcipline and forms of the Roman legion, and conducted their preſent deſign with ſo much addreſs as to eſcape obſervation until it was ripe for execution. They gave the firſt intimation of their hoſtile intentions by a general maſſacre of the Romans, who, as provincial officers or traders, were ſettled in their country, and cut off all the military poſts which had been advanced to protect them. They entered Macedonia without oppoſition, and with fire and ſword laid waſte all the poſſeſſions and ſettlements of the Romans in that province [38].

U. C. 760. M. Furius Camillus, Sext. Nonius Geuntelianus. Aug. 35to, Ætat. 69.

Such was the beginning of a war with the barbarous nations of the northern and eaſtern frontier of the empire, which, during ſome ages, was, at intervals, interrupted and reſumed, often put Italy itſelf upon the defenſive, was always formidable, and at laſt fatal to the ſovereignty of Rome.

[37] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 27—30.

[38] Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 110.

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The Romans, by the continual labours of ſeven centuries, had made their way from the Tiber to the Rhine and the Danube, through the territory of warlike hordes who oppoſed them, and over foreſts and rugged ways that were every where to be cleared at the expence of their labour and their blood: but the ways they had made to reach their enemies were now open, in their turns, for enemies to reach them. The ample reſources which they had formed by their cultivation encreaſed the temptation to invade them, and facilitated all the means of making war upon their country. By reducing the inhabitants of their provinces, in every part, to pacific ſubjects, they brought the defence of the empire to depend on a few profeſſional ſoldiers who compoſed the legions.

U. C. 761. Q. Salpicius Camerinus, C. Poppæus Sabinus, ex Kal. Jul. M. Papius Mutilus, Q. Poppæus Secundus. Aug. 560, Ætat. 70.

Under apprehenſion of theſe circumſtances, Auguſtus was heard to ſay, on the preſent occaſion, That if proper meaſures were not ſpeedily taken for the defence of Italy, an enemy from the Danube and the Rhine might, in ten days, be ſeen from the battlements of Rome. New levies were accordingly made, and the order not to enliſt emancipated ſlaves was ſuſpended. The veterans, who had been diſcharged from the legions, were again ordered to repair to their colours; and citizens of every condition were required to furniſh, in proportion to their eſtates or poſſeſſions, certain quotas of men for the ſervice.

While the People, under ſo many ſymptoms of trepidation, were made ſenſible of their danger, Auguſtus ſeems to have thought it a proper opportunity to renew the part he had often acted in recommending population and marriage. He called together, in ſeparate aſſemblies, firſt the married who had families of children, afterwards the barren and the unmarried; and finding the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the latter, expreſſed his concern in a public addreſs to the People; enlarged on the conſequences of population to the ſafety and proſperity of the commonwealth; revived the marriage-laws, and, by an

act which took its name from Papius and Poppæus [39], Conſuls of this year, gave additional rewards to the married, and laid new penalties on celibacy, with a conſiderable premium to the proſecutor by whom any perſon ſhould be convicted of this offence.

Before theſe regulations ſhould be enforced, a year was allowed to the unmarried to change their condition; and the rigour of former laws [40], reſpecting the inheritance of women, which had hitherto been reſtricted to a hundred thouſand ſeſterces [41], was conſiderably abated. Females were allowed to inherit a larger ſum; and, the better to teſtify the homage that was paid to female virtue, the Veſtals were admitted to partake in the privilege of Roman parents having three children [42].

In the mean time, great efforts were made to keep the enemy at a diſtance, and to fix the ſeat of the war in their own country. Tiberius advanced for this purpoſe into Dalmatia, and the emperor himſelf ſet out for Ariminum, that he might be nearer the ſcene of operations to receive reports, to profit by intelligence, and to give his directions. He had, for ſome time, empowered the Senate to continue their proceedings in his abſence; as he ceaſed to attend the Comitia or aſſemblies of the People, he made free with their privileges; and, under pretence of diſorders occaſioned by the elections, took upon himſelf the nomination of magiſtrates, or ſignified his choice to the Tribes by a writ of recommendation. Public prayers were now offered for his preſervation; and at his departure from the city, as if he were going on a ſervice of great danger to his perſon, many vows were made, and ſacrifices deſtined to be offered up in caſe of his ſafe return [43].

Although the force of the empire was not yet fallen ſo low as to juſtify ſo much apprehenſion, the alarm nevertheleſs continued for three years [44].

[39] Lex Papia Poppæa. [40] Lex Voconia. [41] About 800 l. [42] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 1, 2. 10.
[43] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 34. [44] Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 114.

Tiberius,

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Tiberius, upon his arrival in Dalmatia, found the barbarians, who had invaded that country, commanded by two leaders of the names of Bato and Pinetes. He formed his own army into three diviſions, commanded by Germanicus, Sylvanus Lepidus, and himſelf. By this diſpoſition he began his operations in three different quarters at once.

U. C. 762. P. Cornelius Dolabella, C. Junius Silanus, ex. Kal. Jul. Ser. Cornelius. Aug. 57mo, Ætat. 71.

In the ſervice which was committed to Sylvanus Lepidus, he met with little reſiſtance. Where he himſelf commanded, the Romans were long detained in the blockade of a caſtle, which being built on a rock, was rendered inacceſſible by the height of its ſituation, and by the depths of the glens and gulleys that were formed by the torrents with which it was ſurrounded. Bato had taken poſt in this place with a numerous body of his countrymen; and being provided with neceſſaries, endeavoured to tire out the enemy. But he himſelf, in the end, being weary of his inactive and hopeleſs ſituation, found means to eſcape, and left the remains of his countrymen, worn out with want and impatience, to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Where Germanicus commanded, the enemy had taken refuge in Anduba, a fortreſs ſimilarly ſituated with the former; but which, after repeated attacks, was at laſt put into his hands by the diſſention of the barbarians who defended it. Theſe, having quarrelled, turned their ſwords mutually againſt each other. One of the parties ſet the quarters of their antagoniſts on fire, and both fell an eaſy prey to their enemies. Many of the women, to avoid captivity, threw themſelves, with their children, into the flames[45]. Bato ſoon after ſurrendered himſelf; and being aſked, What tempted him to make war upon the Romans? made anſwer, "You affect to "treat every nation as your flocks and your property; but you in-

[45] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 12. 14, 15.

"truſt

" truſt the care of them to ravenous wolves, not to ſhepherds and their " dogs [46]."

At the cloſe of the war, the title of Imperator, with the triumphal ornaments, were decreed to Tiberius, and to his adopted ſon Germanicus [47]: but in the midſt of the rejoicings which were made on this occaſion, accounts of a different nature were received from the Rhine.

The Romans, wiſhing to command the paſſage of the river, had occupied, as has been obſerved, ſome country, and fortified ſome ſtations on the German ſide. By this diſpoſition it was intended, in caſe the Germans ſhould attempt a deſcent upon Gaul, that part of the Roman army ſhould be ſo placed as to remain in their rear. And indeed while they kept poſſeſſion of the navigation of the river, and of both its banks, they, in ſome meaſure, rendered every ſuch attempt impracticable. In conſequence of this diſpoſition, the Germans had, for ſome time, diſcontinued the practice of making incurſions into Gaul. They were become familiar with the Roman army that was ſtationed in their country, exchanged commodities with the Roman traders, and began to imitate their manners.

Such was the ſtate of the nations ſituated between the Rhine and the Weſer, when Quinctilius Varus, who had been left by Tiberius in the command of the German frontier, began to conſider the natives of the country around him, as ripe for the ordinary impoſitions which the Romans had on their ſubjects, and made ſome exactions for the ſupply of his army.

Some chiefs or leaders of the neighbourhood, particularly Segimerus, prince of the Chatti, and his ſon Arminius, had obſerved, with indignation, theſe encroachments of the Roman general, and the gradual decline of their country into a Roman province. Being

[46] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lv. c. 56.

[47] Ibid. lib. lvi. c. 17.

at

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at the head of a powerful canton, and much reſpected by all the nations of that quarter, they entered into a concert to cut off all the Romans that were poſted on the German ſide of the Rhine; and to reſtore the independence of their People. They concealed their deſign by redoubling their attention to the Roman general; took their reſidence in his quarters, and applied to him for deciſion in all the diſputes which aroſe among the natives; made him acquainted with the weakneſſes and the ſtrengths of their country, and ſerved him as guides in conducting the marches, and in fixing the ſtations of his army.

While, by theſe artifices, Segimerus and Arminius lulled the Roman general into perfect ſecurity, they had their followers ready to aſſemble under arms, and brought all the chieftains of their neighbourhood under engagements to join them, as ſoon as their deſign ſhould be ripe for execution. They propoſed to draw the Roman general into a ſituation in which he could be attacked with advantage, while they themſelves, without giving him any alarm, ſhould have a pretence for advancing towards him with all their forces.

To effect both theſe purpoſes, they procured an inſurrection of ſome of the cantons over which Segimerus claimed a ſupremacy, and implored the aſſiſtance of the Roman army in ſuppreſſing the revolt. Varus, apprehending that the ſafety of the Romans, in all their poſſeſſions beyond the Rhine, depended on the ſupport he ſhould give to their allies, put his army in motion to quell this pretended rebellion, and advanced through difficult ways into the interior parts of the country. On this march he was attended by Segimerus and Arminius, and ſupplied with every requiſite to promote the ſervice, or to enſure its ſucceſs. Theſe chiefs had aſſembled their forces, and brought forth the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, under pretence of acting as irregulars to cover the march of the Roman legions. In performing this ſervice, they pervaded the marſhes and woods

woods in his front, on his flanks, and his rear, and had actually ſurrounded him, when he came upon the ground on which they propoſed to make their attack.

Here the foreſts and marſhes were extenſive and impaſſable, except by a ſingle tract. The Romans were crowded together, and entangled with their baggage; and being in this condition attacked from every quarter at once, were unable to reſiſt or to eſcape. Varus ſucceeded in gaining an opening which appeared at ſome diſtance in the woods; and there, with as many as could follow him, attempted to intrench himſelf; but the greater part of the army fell by the hands of the enemy. At night, ſeeing no hopes of a retreat, the general himſelf fell upon his ſword, and by his example induced many officers and ſoldiers to employ the ſame means of avoiding the cruelties or inſults to which they were expoſed.

A few having found means to retire under cover of the night, made their way to the Rhine. Here they were received by a party ſent upon the firſt news of their diſaſter by Aſprenas from Gaul, to favour their retreat.

It had been concerted by the Germans, that on the ſame day every Roman poſt in their country ſhould be attacked. Lucius Ceditius, who commanded at Aliſo, now ſuppoſed to be Elſemberg, being ſurrounded by ſuperior numbers, forced his way through the enemy, and, under the greateſt diſtreſſes, arrived on the Rhine. All the other poſts were forced, and the troops who had occupied them taken or killed. Among the former Caldus, an officer of rank, being a priſoner and in irons, upon ſome inſult that was offered to him, ſtruck himſelf in the head with his chains and expired.

The Romans, on this occaſion, loſt three entire legions, or about eighteen thouſand foot, and a conſiderable body of horſe. Aſprenas having remained on the German ſide of the Rhine only until he had

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collected the remains of the Roman army which had escaped from this calamity, withdrew into Gaul, and made dispositions to prevent any commotions in that province.

The first accounts of this disaster were received at Rome with the highest degree of consternation. The victorious enemy having cut off what was considered as the strength of the empire on the Rhine, were supposed to be following at the heels of the messenger who brought the news. Guards were posted in different quarters of the city to prevent disorders, and to quiet the fears of the people. A proclamation was issued to suspend the changes usually made in the provincial appointments, and requiring every officer to continue in his present command until express orders were given to the contrary. The sacred records were consulted, to find what religious processions or ceremonies had been performed on the invasion of the Cimbri, and on the breaking out of the Marsic war, and the same rites were now to be repeated. The emperor put on mourning, and for some months carried in his looks, and in the neglect of his person, every appearance of distress [48]. It was given out that, in the first transport of grief, he struck his head on the wall of his chamber. The Germans and Gauls, that were at Rome, were secured and sent into the islands on the coasts of Italy. All citizens were ordered to arm, and many disappeared from the streets, to avoid being pressed to serve in the legions.

There remained a great army on the establishment of the empire; but this army being dispersed over an extensive frontier in Asia and Africa, it was not supposed that a sufficient force could be brought from thence in time to protect the capital against an enemy who was believed to be hastening to its gates. Very violent means were therefore employed to form an army in Italy, and men were forced under arms by the terror of military execution. The forces which were

[48] Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

brought

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brought in this manner to the emperor's ſtandard were placed under the command of Tiberius; and, as faſt as they could be put into a regular form, began to move towards Gaul.

In theſe meaſures the Romans acted more from their own fears, than from a juſt apprehenſion of what was to be expected from the enemy. The moſt active and vigorous conquerors can ſeldom act up to the fears of thoſe they have vanquiſhed; and the Germans, on this occaſion, content with having freed their own country from the preſence of a Roman army, made no attempt to purſue their victory, and remained quiet in their own poſſeſſions [49].

U. C. 763. M. Æmilius Lepidus, F. Statilius Taurus, ex Kal. Jul. L. Caſſius Longinus. Aug. 38vo, Ætat. 72.

In the following ſummer Tiberius and Germanicus, to recover the credit of the Roman arms, having paſſed the Rhine, laid waſte the adjacent country, but not meeting with an enemy, returned without having given occaſion to any other ſignale vent. They ſuppoſed that the natives were retired from the frontier, in order to tempt them to follow into the foreſts of that impervious country, and to engage them in difficult ſituations. But having done enough to enable the capital to recover from its panic, they brought back in Autumn the Roman army into Gaul, and from thence themſelves returned into Italy.

U. C. 763. Aug. 38vo, Ætat. 72.

In this year Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, acted in the capacity of Quæſtor; ſixteen Prætors were employed. In the year following the number of theſe magiſtrates was reduced to twelve. It being alleged that governors of provinces, to preclude the complaints which were often made againſt them upon their removal, extorted atteſtations and complimentary addreſſes from the people they had oppreſſed, it was enacted, that no governor ſhould receive any honorary gift or atteſtation from his province, during the continuance of his power, nor ſooner than ſix months after his return to Rome.

[49] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 23, 24.

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The age of the emperor now led men to think of his ſucceſſor; and predictions of his death were ſurmiſed abroad. This probably gave occaſion to the edict which forbade ſoothſayers to utter predictions relating to the life of any perſon whatever. Among the circumſtances that characteriſe the manners of the times, it is ſaid, that Roman knights, or citizens of quality, had permiſſion to exhibit themſelves as gladiators [50].

U. C. 764. Germanicus Cæſar, C. Fonteius Capito, ex Kal. Jul. C. Veſellius Varro. Aug. 5900, Ætat. 73.

Tiberius, at his return to Rome, after the noted ſervices he had performed on the Save and the Rhine, had a triumphal entry. In aſcending the Capitol he diſmounted from his carriage, and threw himſelf at the feet of the emperor, who ſtood in the way to receive him [51]. After the proceſſion was over, ſhows were exhibited by Germanicus, in which two hundred lions were hunted down; and a portico, which Livia had erected to the memory of Caius and Lucius Cæſar, being dedicated about this time, ſerved to increaſe the ſolemnity.

Of the Claudian family, on whom the ſovereign power ſeemed already to devolve, Germanicus, the grandſon of Livia by Druſus, the younger of her ſons, was moſt in favour with the People. He was recommended by an appearance of openneſs and candour in his manners, and by the facility with which he engaged, according to the cuſtom of the antient republic, in the defence of his clients, and in pleading their cauſes, whether before the emperor himſelf, or before the ordinary judges. Tiberius, on the contrary, ſeemed to be of a dark and ſuſpicious temper, and was ſuppoſed to cover, under the appearances of moderation, which he ſtudied to preſerve in public and in preſence of the emperor, a jealous and cruel diſpoſition. But Livia, who, in the preſent period of her huſband's life, had the entire government of him, preferred her ſon to her grand-

[50] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 120. Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 25. [51] Sueton. quoted by Piſo,

ſon,

ſon, and employed all her influence to make the choice of a ſucceſſor fall on Tiberius.

The emperor, in the mean time, pleaſed with the reſpite from trouble which theſe delegates of his power endeavoured to procure for him, repoſed himſelf much on their care, and was pleaſed to be ſupplied with every change of amuſement or pleaſure for which it was known that he had any reliſh [52]. He was attended by agreeable women, muſicians, comedians, and even declaimers on favourite topics in philoſophy, who made a part of the ſcene at the cloſe of his ordinary meals. At his entertainments he treated the gueſts with preſents of dreſſes, trinkets, or money, and amuſed them with lotteries, in which they had chances that intitled them to prizes of different values, or with auctions of pictures, in which, the back of the picture being turned to the company, they bid upon chance [53].

Of theſe paſtimes ſome were probably the amuſements of the emperor's old age, and marked the decline of life. In his more vigorous years, we may ſuppoſe him to have been ſufficiently occupied with the buſineſs of State, and with the attention which he gave in perſon to every queſtion that aroſe in the government of ſo extenſive an empire. Every tranſaction was ſtill communicated to him, and diſpatched in his name; but from the ſymptoms which he gave of an inclination to retire from affairs, it is probable that his application was greatly abated. So long as he was accuſtomed to attend the Senate in perſon, he generally received, on the days of their meeting, the compliments of the members at his own houſe or in the forum; from thence was conducted by them to the place of aſſembly, and, before they proceeded to buſineſs, commonly went round a circle of thoſe who were preſent, and ſpoke ſomewhat obliging to each. This particular

[52] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 71.

[53] Ibid. c. 74, 75.

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ticular is mentioned, as a proof of his affability and condeſcenſion; but was in reality the higheſt circumſtance of State which he ever aſſumed. As a private perſon, in the vigour of life, he ſuffered himſelf to be treated as an equal, and made one at the entertainments and parties of pleaſure that were made by his friends; but in the decline of life, as he withdrew from the Senate, ſo he deſired to be excuſed from receiving the viſits of the members, or even of his private friends; and, under pretence of being much occupied with the troubles which ſtill ſubſiſted on the frontiers of the empire, he declined going into company upon any occaſion whatever [54].

U. C. 755. C. Silius, L. Munatius Plancus. Aug. 40mo, Ætat. 74.

While the emperor thus, in a great meaſure, withdrew from the public view, the fourth period of ten years, for which he had accepted of the government, being about to expire, he again reſumed his command with the uſual forms, prolonged the tribunitian power in the perſon of Tiberius for other five years, and permitted his ſon Druſus from being Quæſtor, to be entered on the liſt of Conſuls without paſſing through the rank of Prætor.

Auguſtus, in entering upon this new period of his government, in which he was no longer to attend the Senate in perſon, received from this body, by a formal act, full powers, with the advice of his ordinary council, to determine all queſtions of State, and, with the concurrence of his adoptive children, to enact laws of equal authority with thoſe he had formerly paſſed in the Senate. Theſe powers he had already exerciſed; and we may ſuppoſe them to have been thus formally conferred upon him, chiefly that it might be made to appear how far the family of Livia, now included in the ſame act, were raiſed to an avowed participation of the imperial authority.

The firſt conſultations of this new legiſlature were employed on the ſubject of the penal laws, which having remained without any

[54] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 26.

conſiderable change from the times of the republic, were ſtill, in reſpect to the forms of trial, better calculated to protect the ſubject than to gratify the paſſions of the ſovereign. Baniſhment, by which, under the republic, criminals were at liberty to evade any ſentence, and which, in reality, had nothing grievous beſides the circumſtance of their being obliged to travel from Rome, and to forego city preferments and honours, was, by a regulation now made, rendered more ſevere, and not ſuffered to remain, as the courtiers termed them, a mere eluſion of juſtice. Under a ſentence of baniſhment, by this regulation, the exile was no longer at liberty to chooſe the place of his retreat, nor ſuffered to retain his effects. He might reſide in any iſland ſurrounded with fifty miles of ſea, and in ſome iſlands which were mentioned, as Cos, Rhodes, Leſbos, and Sardinia, though leſs remote; but he was entirely debarred from the continent. He was allowed to retain of his eſtate, if it amounted to ſo much, five hundred thouſand ſeſterces [56], and might have a ſhip of a thouſand amphoræ [57], and two boats with twenty ſervants or ſlaves; but was not at liberty to paſs from one iſland to another, nor to change the place of his abode.

So far the tranſition from the jealouſy of the citizen againſt the ſeverities of government, which is a part in the ſpirit of liberty, to the jealouſy of the prince againſt the licence of his ſubjects, which equally belongs to monarchy, was abundantly mild; but even this law, under the proſpect of its immediate application, gave weight to the chains with which every citizen already felt himſelf loaded. The ſubjects of proſecution that were likely to draw the animadverſion of a deſpotic court, were not injuries to ſociety and offences to human nature, which the ingenuous ever wiſh to ſhun, as well as to reſtrain;

[56] About 4000 l.

[57] The amphora, according to Arbuthnot, contained about ſeven gallons.

but

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but rather want of ſubmiſſion or reſpect, libels, petulant freedoms, and even merit itſelf, if ſuch as to excite the jealouſy of ſuperiors. The new law, indeed, by the directions contained in it to take cognizance of libels and defamatory publications, under the denomination of treaſon, ſeemed to point chiefly at this ſpecies of guilt; but it was not the law itſelf, ſo much as the arbitrary application of it, that was likely to deprive every Roman of that degree of ſecurity or perſonal freedom to which he ſtill had pretenſions[56].

U.C. 795. Sext. Pompeius, Sext. Apuleius. Aug. 41mo, Æt. 75.

In the ſame year mankind had ſtill more reaſon to be alarmed; Tiberius was aſſociated with Auguſtus in the government, and declared to have equal power with the emperor himſelf in all the provinces within his department[57]. On this occaſion the new aſſociate in the empire, to raiſe his conſideration and to amuſe the People, exhibited no leſs than three ſeparate triumphal proceſſions; at the end of which[58], there being ſome diſorders ſubſiſting on the ſide of Dalmatia and Illyricum, which ſeemed to require his preſence; and he being to ſet out for this province, Auguſtus was pleaſed to accompany him on the road to Beneventum. They went to Aſtura by land; but as Auguſtus, when the wind was favourable, always preferred going by water, they embarked at this place, and ſteered for the coaſt of Campania. On their paſſage, Auguſtus was ſeized with a dyſentery, but continued, as on a party of pleaſure, to viſit the different iſlands in the bay of Naples. At Capreæ he paſſed ſome days with uncommon gaiety, and without appearing to ſuffer much from his diſtemper. At Naples he attended the public ſports which were given upon his arrival. From thence he continued his route to Beneventum, where Tiberius, being to embark at Brundiſium, took his leave, and the emperor ſet out on his return to Rome. But

[56] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 27, 28. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 72.
[57] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 121. [58] Ibid.

finding

finding his ſtrength decline on a ſudden, he halted at Nola, a place in which his family had originally ſome poſſeſſions, and at which his father died. From the time of his arrival at this place he refuſed to liſten to any buſineſs [59]. On the morning of the 18th of Auguſt, he aſked if his illneſs had cauſed any tumults or inſurrections, called for a mirror, and deſired to be dreſſed. He ſaid to thoſe who attended him, "What think you now? Have I acted my part properly?" then repeated the form with which actors commonly end the repreſentation of a play, deſiring the audience, that if the piece was to their liking they ſhould applaud [60]. "I found," he ſaid, "a city "of brick, and changed it into marble." In this he alluded to his policy in the State, as well as to his buildings at Rome.

Auguſtus died at three in the afternoon of the eighteenth of Auguſt, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. His body was tranſported from Nola to Bovillæ, carried by the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns on the route. They moved in the night, and halted by day, to avoid the heat of the ſeaſon. At Bovillæ it was received and carried forward to Rome, by a numerous company of the equeſtrian order.

The Senate met to deliberate on the honours to be paid at the funeral; and the members vied with each other in the propoſals they made to exalt the dead, and to expreſs their own ſorrow [61]. Some propoſed, that the funeral proceſſion ſhould paſs through a triumphal arch, preceded by the ſtatue of Victory; and that the ceremony ſhould conclude with a ſolemn dirge, or ſong of grief, to be performed by the children of all the principal families in Rome. Others moved, that on the day of his funeral the noble Romans ſhould exchange the gold ring, which was the badge of their rank, for one of

[59] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 100. [60] Ibid. [61] Ibid.

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iron; that the aſhes ſhould be collected from the funeral pile by the higheſt order of prieſts.

At this funeral, in whatever form it was executed, two orations were pronounced; one by Tiberius, who had been recalled on the near approach of the emperor's death; the other by Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, on whom the name and inheritance of Cæſar had now devolved.

CHAP. V.

The Will of Auguſtus.——Review of his Reign——And of his Character.——Tiberius returns to Nola.——Iſſues without delay his Orders throughout the Empire.——In the Senate affects Reluctance to charge himſelf with the Government.——Mutiny in Panonia——On the Rhine.——Second Mutiny on the Arrival of Deputies from the Senate.——Impoſture of Clemens.——Plot of Libo.——Deſcription of Tiberius.——Death of Germanicus——And Trial of Piſo.

CHAP. V.

AUGUSTUS had made his will about ſixteen months before he died, bequeathing two thirds of his eſtate to Tiberius, the other third to Livia, with an injunction to take the names of Julia and Auguſta. In ſucceſſion to Livia and her ſon he ſubſtituted the younger Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, for a third; and overlooking Claudius, one of the ſons of the elder Druſus, and grandſon of Livia, he bequeathed the remainder to the brother, Germanicus Cæſar, and his offspring, already conſiſting of three ſons and as many daughters [1]. To this numerous liſt of heirs he ſubſtituted an oſtentatious catalogue of principal citizens and Senators. But perſiſted ſo much in his ſeverity to the unhappy Julia, as to forbid her a place in his monument. As a legacy to be diſtributed to the Roman People, he bequeathed four millions of ſeſterces, or about thirty-three thouſand pounds ſterling: as a fund for the tribes or wards of the city, to defray their reſpective corporation expences, he bequeathed three millions five hundred thouſand ſeſterces, or about

[1] The three ſons were Nero, Druſus, and Caius or Caligula; the three daughters Agrippina, Druſilla, and Livia or Livilla.

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twenty-nine thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds ſterling; to the Prætorian bands one thouſand ſeſterces, or about eight pounds ſterling a man; to the Cohorts of the city five hundred, or about four pounds ſterling a man; to the Legions three hundred, or about two pounds ten ſhillings a man[a]. Theſe ſums he ordered to be paid immediately; leaving money in his coffers ſufficient for this purpoſe Other legacies, of which ſome did not exceed a hundred and ſixty, or a hundred and ſeventy pounds ſterling, he directed to be paid at different times, and alleged the ſcantineſs of his eſtate, from which his heirs were not likely to draw above a hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or about one million three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The ſums which he had received in legacies, amounting to about eleven millions ſterling, he had expended in public works.

After his will was read, four ſeparate memorials were produced. The firſt contained inſtructions for his funeral; the ſecond, a liſt of the actions which he wiſhed to have recorded on his tomb; the third, a ſtate of the republic, including the military eſtabliſhment, the diſtribution of the legions, the revenue, the public diſburſements, the money actually lodged in the treaſury, the arrears of taxes that were due, with a reference to the perſons in whoſe hands the vouchers were to be found.

The fourth memorial contained political inſtructions or maxims, in which he diſſuaded the people from the too frequent manumiſſion of ſlaves, and from the too eaſy admiſſion of foreigners to the dignity of Roman citizens; and recommended filling offices of State with perſons of experience and reputation. The public ſervice, he obſerved, never ſhould be entruſted to a ſingle officer, nor all the powers of the commonwealth be ſuffered to accumulate in the hands of any one perſon. Such excluſive truſts, he ſaid, muſt lead to

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 8.

abuſe,

abuſe, and end in a ſcarcity of perſons fit to be employed. Such were the arguments of Catulus and Cato, when they pleaded againſt the exorbitant powers of Pompey and Cæſar; and the reaſonings now aſcribed to Auguſtus ſeem to be borrowed from theirs, and with too little regard to the difference of perſons and times.

It is ſaid, that in this memorial the emperor concluded with an injunction not to attempt any farther conqueſt, or any farther extenſion of the empire [3].

Such are the principal circumſtances upon record, from which we are able to collect the character of this celebrated reign. The immediate effects of it, in many parts, appear to have been ſplendid and ſalutary. Among theſe we are to reckon the ceſſation of wars, and reformation of government in the Roman provinces. Under this eſtabliſhment, inſtead of the Conſuls, who, being annually elected by the People, as often renewed the paſſion of their country for war and conqueſt, there began a ſucceſſion of emperors who were addicted to ſloth and ſenſuality, more than to ambition; or if diſpoſed to war, who in youth, or in ſome particular period of life, exhauſted their paſſion for military fame, and became from thenceforward a powerful reſtraint on the ambition of their own officers. Theſe they conſidered as rivals and objects of jealouſy, or as dangerous inſtruments, ever ready to involve them in wars abroad, to diſturb their government at home, or to divert their revenue from thoſe pleaſurable applications in which they wiſhed to employ it.

Whatever was loſt to citizens of rank or high pretenſion at Rome, by the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, was gained to the other ſubjects of the empire. The provinces, from being the temporary property of individuals, and ſtript to enrich a ſucceſſion of maſters, became the continued ſubjects of a ſovereign, who, as often as he

[3] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 8.

underſtood

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underſtood his own intereſt, protected them againſt the oppreſſion of his officers, and ſpared or nurſed them as a continual ſource of revenue and of power to himſelf.

While theſe deſirable effects naturally reſulted from the new eſtabliſhment, many circumſtances of great luſtre in the hiſtory of the age were aſcribed to the ſovereign. The ſeeds of ingenuity and of liberal arts, which had been ſown, and which were already ſprung up with ſo much vigour under the republic, now began to be reaped in a plentiful harveſt.

Literature, and all the more agreeable fruits of ingenuity, received under the firſt Emperor a peculiar degree of attention and encouragement. Auguſtus was himſelf a proficient in letters, or, willing to be amuſed with the purſuits of the learned, read his own productions in the circle of his friends; and, what is more difficult for an author, heard without jealouſy the compoſitions of others, by which his own were probably far excelled. He had ſaved from the wreck of his enemy's party, protected from the oppreſſion of his own, and ſelected, as his favourites, the moſt ingenious men of the times [4]. By his munificence to theſe, his own name, as well as that of his miniſter, has become proverbial in the hiſtory of letters, and is deeply inſcribed on monuments which can never periſh, except by ſome calamity fatal to mankind.

The provinces greatly diverſified in reſpect to ſituation, climate, and ſoil, as well as in reſpect to the arts which they ſeverally poſſeſſed, having the benefit of general peace, and the protection of a common ſovereign, reaped the advantage of an eaſy communication and a flouriſhing trade. All the ſurplus wealth of the more cultivated parts of the earth being drawn to the capital, and being at the diſpoſal of ſingle men, was expended in works of magnificence, and if not

[4] Horace was ſaved from the route of the republican party at Philippi; and Virgil, from among the ſufferers ejected from their property, to make way for the army of Cæſar.

of utility, at leaſt of ſplendid caprice. From this fund, were erected thoſe magnificent fabrics, of which the ruins ſtill mark the place on which ſtood the capital of the weſtern world. The empire, at the ſame time, in all its parts, received thoſe improvements which are the ordinary attendants of opulence and peace. The lands were cultivated; cities were built, adorned, or enlarged.

The rough and vigorous hands by which this great empire was formed, had carried the balance and the ſword of ſtate before they could manage the tools of the more ordinary and inferior arts, and had given empire to their country, before they had provided for themſelves the ordinary means of accommodation or pleaſure. A Roman citizen was not an artiſt, but he was a man fit to command every artiſt. He was poſſeſſed of courage, penetration, ſagacity, and all the advantages which conſtitute the perſonal ſuperiority of one man over another. As a warrior and ſtateſman, he was the reverſe of thoſe ingenious and feeble ſubjects, of whom each profeſſes a particular part in the ſcience or practice of human affairs, but of whom none is qualified to direct the whole.

In proportion, however, as this nation of maſters forced into their ſervice the induſtrious and the learned in different parts of the earth, the practitioners of every art, and the profeſſors of every ſcience flocked to the capital. Their productions, though ſpurned and rejected at firſt, were received by degrees, and in the reign of Auguſtus found the moſt ample rewards. By theſe means, the practice of every art was introduced at Rome, even Romans were taught to become artiſts and mechanics, and, by following a multiplicity of inferior purſuits and occupations, were taught to lower the haughty ſpirit of the conquerors of the world, to the level of the nations they had ſubdued.

In the times immediately preceding the civil wars, foreign letters, though fondly received by many of the firſt citizens of Rome, were

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ſtill a novelty, and conſidered by the People as a foppiſh affectation. But the leaders in this faſhion being the firſt officers and greateſt men of the State, as Lucullus, Cicero, Cato, and Cæſar; ſuch illuſtrious examples ſoon removed every prejudice, and engaged, in the purſuit of learning, every talent that could be diverted from the more violent purſuits of ambition or pleaſure.

The civil wars for ſome time retarded the progreſs of letters; but when brought to an end, left the public in poſſeſſion of the bias it had received. Octavius himſelf having, in his youth, received this bias, was probably in his patronage of the learned, more led by inclination, and leſs by mere policy, than he was in other parts of the conduct with which he gained the favourable opinion of the world. He loved correctneſs and accuracy in all his compoſitions, and never delivered his mind on any ſerious matter, even in his own family, without memorials or written notes.

Although the effects of this reign, therefore, in many of the particulars we have mentioned, were the ſequel of mere peace, and of the reſpite which the world began to enjoy from the diſorders with which it had been lately afflicted, much likewiſe may be aſcribed to the perſonal character of the prince. After the ſecure eſtabliſhment of his power, his government began to be diſtinguiſhed by appearances of moderation and juſtice, ſupported, in this part of his life with a regular and ordinary tenor, which does not warrant any doubt of his ſincerity, or any ſuſpicion of an intention to impoſe upon the world, ſome purpoſe different from that which he profeſſed to have in view.

In his character of legiſlator, he generally ſubmitted his intended acts to public inſpection, encouraged perſons of every deſcription to offer amendments, and ſometimes adopted thoſe which were offered to him [s]. In the exerciſe of the executive power, he took the aſſiſt-

[s] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lii. c. 21.

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ance of a choſen council, with whom he deliberated on the ordinary meaſures of ſtate. In accepting of the honours which were offered to him, he checked inſtances of extreme ſervility, and acquitted himſelf with great liberality or moderation in the uſe of the powers, which the flattery of dying perſons frequently gave him over their families and eſtates. He became the guardian, rather than the coheir, of the orphans, with whom he was joined in the fathers will. Some he put in the immediate poſſeſſion of the whole inheritance; others, while under age, he treated as his wards, and brought up with every advantage to the enjoyment of their fortunes, which they often received with conſiderable additions, made either by his care or by his bounty.

But what is of all other circumſtances moſt peculiarly characteriſtic of this reign, was the judgment and addreſs with which the Emperor repreſſed the licence of the military, to whom he owed his own elevation; the artful policy by which he affected to reſtore ſome fragments of the civil government that he himſelf had broken down, and the caution with which he retained the character and profeſſion of a civil magiſtrate and of a citizen, while he governed as maſter. Joined to theſe, we may reckon the able choice which he made of officers fit to be truſted in the different departments of the public ſervice; the conſtancy with which he perſevered in employing them, and the liberality with which he made them feel that the proſperity of his fortunes was their own. While he gave theſe indications of a great mind, and poſſeſſed theſe powerful ſupports of a proſperous life, he diſpenſed with much of the flattery that is paid to princes, and in converſation encouraged the manners of a free and equal ſociety [6].

How then are we to decide upon his character, marked by appearances of perfidy, cruelty, and even of cowardice in ſome parts

[6] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvi. c. 43.

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of his life, diſtinguiſhed by moderation, clemency, and ſteadineſs in other parts of it? Are we to ſuppoſe what the Emperor Julian inſinuates [7], that Octavius received in the later period of his life new lights, was become a new man, and that, by the leſſons of Zeno, at an earlier period, this Cameleon might have fixed his colour, and been from the firſt, what he appeared to be in the laſt ſtate of his fortunes, a real friend to mankind? The authority of Julian, no doubt, is highly reſpectable; but if a perſon in youth carry the marks of a bad diſpoſition, and deliberately commit atrocious actions when his intereſt required them, we are ſtill warranted to queſtion the ſincerity of his converſion, though, in a different ſtate of his intereſt, even the whole tenor of his life ſhould change.

Octavius does not appear to have had from nature, in any high degree, thoſe diſpoſitions to benevolence or malice which are the great diſtinguiſhing principles of virtue and vice. He ſeems to have been indifferent to mankind; but deſirous of conſideration and power, as objects of intereſt to himſelf. His ruling paſſion was a deſire to reign. In his way to this end, he committed many crimes; but having once effected his purpoſe, he had no other criminal diſpoſitions to gratify: or, after he was ſovereign, ſtanding in awe of a free ſpirit which he durſt not inſult, he, either from inclination or policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is ſurpriſing that every one elſe does not prefer, the proper uſe of his power to the abuſe of it.

Upon this principle, in a life ſo varied as that of Octavius, appearances of cruelty and of clemency, of caution and of enterpriſe, of violence and of moderation, may have equally found a place in the courſe of his actions. And in his perſon, we may read the ſame character of ambitious deſign, when he affected to join the Senate in

[7] Vid. Cæſars of Julian.

reſtoring

reſtoring the republic, or when he ſigned a warrant for the murder of thoſe who were inclined to ſupport that form of government; when he courted the protection of Cicero againſt Antony, or when he ſacrificed the life of Cicero to the reſentments of his enemy; when he made or broke off his treaties of marriage, and ſought for aids to his ambition, even in the choice of his licentious amours; when he pardoned, and when he executed thoſe who were detected in deſigns againſt his own life.

If we ſtate ourſelves therefore as judges on the ſolemn appeal which Auguſtus on his death-bed made to the ſenſe of the world, it is probable, that as he was in ſome degree able to redeem, in the adminiſtration of his ſovereignty, the enormities which he had committed in obtaining it, we ſhall not beſtow upon him neither the epithets of reproach and of infamy, which he appears to have deſerved in the early period of his life, nor thoſe terms of encomium and praiſe, which he ſeems to have merited in the longer and more elevated parts of his reign. Neither the friend nor the enemy of mankind, he was, by his perſonal and intereſted ambition, the cauſe of harm and of good; but upon the whole, if the hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment made by him were to terminate with his own life; if the tranquillity of his reign be compared with the troubles of the preceding period; it will furniſh, to thoſe who contend for the preference of deſpotical government, an occaſion of triumph.

Juſtice and peace are at all times the great objects of attention and care to mankind; but the degree in which they can be obtained, and the means which may be employed to obtain them, are different in different circumſtances; different on the ſuppoſition of ſmall or extenſive ſtates, of poor or of rich nations; and, in ſome circumſtances, they may no doubt be better obtained by the wiſdom and diſcretion of a ſingle perſon, than by any ſyſtem of public councils or popular aſſemblies, which the people to be governed are themſelves fit to

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compoſe. When this is the caſe, it is fortunate that ſingle men are found, who, without any criminal inclinations, are willing to undertake the government of nations. A ſucceſſion of ſuch characters, indeed, is more than human nature, by any known rule of ſubſtitution, whether by inheritance or by election, can continue to furniſh. It is well, if, in a ſeries of ages, where the government of the world is committed to the diſcretion of an individual, the good in any degree compenſate the bad.

As Auguſtus had, to the laſt moment of his reign, affected to hold the ſovereignty by a mere temporary appointment, he could not, in conſiſtence with his own profeſſions, either name a ſucceſſor, or diſpoſe of the empire as the inheritance of his family. At his death, therefore, ſome perſons might hope to ſee the commonwealth reſtored; others might wiſh to ſee the late conteſt for dominion revived, and many queſtions might have ariſen, that would have involved the empire in freſh trouble. Theſe queſtions, however, with the projects or hopes that might be founded upon them, were in a great meaſure prevented, by the precaution which Livia had taken in having her ſon Tiberius, during the lifetime of the late Emperor, aſſociated with himſelf in the government.

When Auguſtus was ſeized with his laſt illneſs, Tiberius, in the capacity of his aſſociate in the empire, as has been mentioned, ſet out for the armies in Dalmatia; but he received on his way, a meſſage from his mother, intimating the laſt ſymptoms of approaching death in her huſband. Upon this intimation, he returned to Nola, and arrived either before Auguſtus expired, or before his death was publicly known; and having given out, that, in a conference with that experienced prince, he had received his laſt inſtructions for the government of the empire [8], he took hold of the

[8] Sueton. in vit. Tiber. c. 21.

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reins the moment the other was ſuppoſed to have dropped them, aſſumed his uſual imperial guards, and, by ſending orders to all the provinces and military ſtations, took upon him to continue the ſame model of government, without any ceſſation or interval whatever[9].

The new Emperor, with the uſual precaution to ſtifle competitors, ordered Agrippa, the ſurviving grandſon of Auguſtus, to be put to death, and took every other effectual meaſure to ſecure his own acceſſion. At the ſame time, either in imitation of the cautious policy of the late Emperor, or in purſuance of that hypocriſy and diſſimulation to which he himſelf had been long accuſtomed, and to which he was naturally inclined, he affected, in his correſpondence with the Senate, to pay the utmoſt deference to their authority, and, in his letters, took care to employ all the modeſt expreſſions of a private citizen.

Being Tribune of the People, he ventured only in this capacity, he ſaid, to call upon the Senate to give their orders reſpecting the funeral of Auguſtus. For his own part, he had taken his place by the corpſe of the deceaſed, and in nothing elſe could take any public function upon him. The Senate, he continued, would be pleaſed to order the guards that might be neceſſary to preſerve the peace, and they would take every other precaution for the regular performance of this ſolemn duty.

When the funeral was over, and the Senate was aſſembled for the opening of the will and memorials of the late Emperor, Tiberius delivered himſelf in a voice, interrupted with ſighs and tears; he obſerved, that a heavy burden, by the death of the only perſon who was able to bear it, had now devolved upon them all; that having himſelf been admitted to ſome ſhare in the government, he had learned how arduous a taſk it was to be charged with the whole of

[9] Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 3.

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it, and had learned to make a proper eſtimate of his own abilities [*], but that in a ſtate which could boaſt of ſo many illuſtrious men, they could not be limited in their choice, nor obliged to commit to one what was ſufficient to occupy the talents and abilities of many.

While he ſpoke to this purpoſe, and obſerved the aſpect of his audience, frowning particularly upon thoſe who gave any ſigns of aſſent, his known reputation for falſehood, the inconſiſtence of his actions with the profeſſions which he now made, the murder of Agrippa, and the military guard which attended his perſon, effectually preſerved the members who were preſent from becoming the dupes of a diſſimulation, which it was equally dangerous to reject too abruptly, or to miſtake for ſincerity.

Moſt of the members, though ſufficiently trained in the ſchool of Auguſtus, to know the part they were to act on ſuch occaſions, had not yet performed this part upon ſuch dangerous ground. They affected to believe that Tiberius was ſincere, lamented that there ſhould be any reluctance to accept of the government in the only perſon who was qualified to undertake it, and they beſeeched him not to deſert the republic in this extremity.

As the Senators vied with each other in theſe feigned importunities, Tiberius ſeemed to be diſtreſſed, though not perſuaded; and after he had remained ſome time undecided, in the end, as weary and ſilenced, though not convinced, he withdrew without making any reply, or without waiting for any formal reſolution of the Senate. In paſſing through the crowd, he was heard to ſay, "That a heavy "load indeed had been laid on his ſhoulders, but that it could not "be expected he was to bear it for ever; that old age at leaſt muſt "ſoon entitle him to reſpite." At the ſame time, thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be moſt in his confidence, gave out, that his concern

[*] Variè differebat de magnitudine imperii, ſua modeſtia. TACIT.

for

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for the public, and the intreaties of the Senate, had prevailed upon him to accept of the government; but the ridicule, which it was not permitted the Senators to obſerve, was ſeized by the People. "Few "men," it was ſaid, "can perform all that they undertake; but this "man, with a wonderful modeſty, refuſes to undertake even what "he performs[11]."

While Tiberius, with ſo much palpable and even unneceſſary craft, acted this farce in the Senate, his title to the ſovereignty underwent a more ſerious diſcuſſion in the provinces. The legions which were poſted in different ſtations, though long confined under the authority of an able reign to the ſtricteſt duties and ordinary advantages of their profeſſion, ſtill retained the impreſſion of their own importance, and of their power to diſpoſe of the empire. They recollected what ſome of them might have ſeen, and all of them had heard, of times in which they were courted by their leaders, retained with preſents or gratuities, and rewarded at the expiration of their ſervice with grants of land, and ſettlements in the richeſt and moſt cultivated diſtricts of Italy. They had waited with impatience for an opportunity to give a new maſter to the world, and hoped that, in performing this ſervice, they might recover their conſequence, and be entitled to rewards, ſuch as military men had formerly received.

It cannot be doubted, that if there had been any officer at the head of the principal armies on the Rhine or the Danube, prepared to avail himſelf of this diſpoſition of the army, the ſword in the preſent, as in many other inſtances, muſt have decided who was to ſucceed in the throne of Cæſar; but Auguſtus having, in the choice of provincial and military commanders, guarded againſt any danger to his own government, had by the ſame means provided for the ſecurity of his ſucceſſors. The perſons he employed, beſides thoſe of

[11] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 24. Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvii. c. 1.

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his own family, who depended entirely upon himſelf, were, for the moſt part, men of moderate ambition or mean pretenſions; ſo that there was not now any perſon of rank prepared to take part in the revolts of the army.

Germanicus, the nephew and adopted ſon of Tiberius, might, by his popularity and by his pretenſions, have become a formidable rival to his uncle, but was reſtrained by his moderation and the ſenſe of his duty. A mutinous ſpirit nevertheleſs broke out firſt in Panonia, where three legions were commanded by Junius Blæſus; and afterwards on the Rhine, where a great diviſion of the Roman armies, conſiſting of eight legions, were diſtributed in different ſtations, under the chief command of Germanicus himſelf.

The troops, not having at any of their ſtations perſons who were qualified to direct their diſcontents againſt the ſucceſſion of Tiberius, clamoured only for an augmentation of pay, and an earlier diſcharge from the ſervice, than, by the regulations of the former reign, they were allowed to expect. "Doomed," they ſaid, "to drag "out a life of hard ſervice for thirty or forty years, and at the end, "as their reward, to be baniſhed to ſome barren mountain or ſickly "moraſs, which, under the name of a ſettlement or grant of land, "they were required to cultivate or to drain, it was time that ſome "regard ſhould be paid to their merits, ſome relief provided for "their ſufferings." They contraſted their own condition, for ever ſtationed in the preſence of ferocious enemies, and ſubſiſting on ten Aſſes a day, with that of the Prætorian bands, having double their pay, and placed at eaſe amidſt all the comforts and pleaſures of the capital.

Excited by theſe conſiderations, the legions in Panonia refuſed to take the oath of allegiance to the new Emperor, until their grievances ſhould be redreſſed. They ſecured their colours, ſet at liberty all thoſe who were confined for any military crime, and ceaſed to obey

their officers, or to pay any regard to the ordinary duties and forms of the ſervice. CHAP. V.

Tiberius, though greatly alarmed, and ſenſible that this attack on his authority only needed a fit leader at the head of a few legions to reach him in the capital, and to ſupplant him in the empire, diſguiſed his apprehenſions, [and propoſing to ſoothe the diſcontents of the army, deputed to their quarters his own ſon Druſus, accompanied by Elius Sejanus, a young man already aſſociated with his father Sejanus, in the command of the Prætorian bands.

Theſe young men, in the capacity of commiſſioners, attended by many perſons of rank and conſideration from the city, eſcorted by two cohorts of choſen men, together with the greater part of the Prætorian cavalry and the German horſe, which uſually attended the perſon of the Emperor, ſet out on their miſſion. They were furniſhed with a letter to be read at the head of the troops, but were empowered, without any ſpecific inſtructions, to take ſuch meaſures as the occaſion might ſuggeſt. Having effected their march into Panonia, and approaching the ſtation of the mutinous legions, they were received in the front of the camp by the whole body, but with an aſpect rather of contumacy, than of reſpect or of duty.

The ſon of the Emperor was conducted to the platform, from which it was uſual for the troops to receive the commands, and to hear the addreſſes of their general. Having with ſome difficulty procured ſilence, he produced the letter which he had brought from his father, and which he had in charge to be communicated to the legions.

In this letter, Tiberius endeavoured to flatter and to ſoothe the diſcontents of the army; but to avoid committing himſelf too far, ſpoke of his intentions in general and ambiguous terms. "He might "aſſure theſe brave legions," he ſaid, "with whom he himſelf had "ſo often acted, that they were the principal objects of his care;

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" that as ſoon as he ſhould recover his mind from his preſent grief,
" he would move the Senate to take their juſt pretenſions under con-
" ſideration; that, in the mean while, he had ſent his own ſon in
" order, without loſs of time, to accommodate them in every thing
" that depended on himſelf; that many things muſt be referred to
" the Senate, a wiſe and experienced council, who were not likely
" to withhold the proper indulgence from thoſe who remained in
" the diſcharge of their duty, or to fail in the neceſſary rigour to
" thoſe who ventured to depart from it."

After this letter was read, a centurion, who had undertaken to anſwer for the legions, made a demand in their name, that their pay ſhould be ſixteen Aſſes a day inſtead of ten, and that they ſhould be entitled to their diſcharge at the end of ſixteen years, without being obliged, in the uſual way, after they were ſuppoſed diſqualified for the ordinary fatigues of the ſervice, ſtill to remain with their colours.

To theſe demands, Druſus declined giving any anſwer. " The mat-
" ter ſhould be reported to his father," he ſaid, " and referred to the
" Senate." Upon this reply, a general clamour aroſe. " Wherefore
" was he come, if not entruſted to relieve the army? He had no
" powers to relieve, but he had unlimited powers to diſtreſs, and
" to puniſh. So the father himſelf was accuſtomed to ſerve them,
" while he came to elude the prayers of the ſoldiers, by referring
" them to ſome one elſe, who was at a diſtance. Are we never,"
they ſaid, " to ſee the face of the Emperor? Is he to puniſh at diſ-
" cretion, but never to reward without conſent of the Senate? Our
" rewards, it ſeems, are to be carefully weighed and conſidered;
" but our fatigues and our puniſhments, are to be dealt without
" balance or meaſure."

In this diſpoſition the aſſembly broke up, and the ſoldiers went roving about in diſorderly parties, inſulting their officers, and affect-

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ing to treat the authority of the Emperor himſelf with contempt. Their preſumption, however, was ſuddenly checked at night by an eclipſe which took place in the moon, and which, in their ſuperſtitious way of interpreting natural appearances, formed an emblem of their own ſituation, and by its event was to prognoſticate the ſequel of their preſent attempts. Their deſpondence, during the progreſs of the eclipſe, kept pace with the diminution of the moon's light; and, as at the time of the greateſt obſcuration, the ſky itſelf was overcaſt with clouds, and every light ſuppreſt in the total darkneſs of a ſtormy night, they received this event as a ſupernatural preſage of their own fate, and in deſpair retired to their tents. They were ſoon afterwards perſwaded to reſtore the colours which they had removed from their place; and, in order to avert the evils with which they were threatened, to make ſeaſonable offers of ſubmiſſion to the Prince.

It was therefore thought proper, that Druſus ſhould inſtantly avail himſelf of this favourable change, and, as much as poſſible, facilitate the return of the troops to their duty. For this purpoſe, he called them again to the place of audience, treated their mutiny as a tranſient fit of humour which was paſt, and gave them to underſtand, that although he was not to be awed by their threats, he was moved by their dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour; that he ſhould diſpatch an officer with their requeſts to the Emperor, and ſhould join his own intreaties to procure them immediate attention, and to obtain every favour that might be conſiſtent with the order of the ſervice.

After the departure of this meſſenger, the expectations of the legions were fixed entirely upon the return he ſhould bring, and on the effect of the young Cæſar's interpoſition in their favours. In the mean time, the officers having reſumed their command, and being obeyed in all the ordinary duties and forms of the camp, propoſed to exert their authority in ſtifling the remains of a mutinous ſpi-

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rit, which had ſo far ſubſided. They accordingly gave orders to ſeize, and to puniſh the principal authors of the late diſorders.

Under this exertion of power, the troops became as tame and ſubmiſſive, as they had lately been refractory and ferocious. To ſignalize their zeal, ſome of the moſt guilty became the informers and inſtruments of juſtice againſt their own accomplices; and the humour from which this revolt proceeded, having ſunk as it roſe, without any rational plan, the mutiny appeared to be ſo intirely ſuppreſſed, and the diſcipline of the legions ſo effectually reſtored, that Druſus, with his company and the eſcort which attended them, departed for Italy, without waiting for the return of the officer he had diſpatched to the Emperor [12].

Theſe diſorders however were not peculiar to the troops in Panonia, they broke out with more violence, and a more dangerous tendency among thoſe of the German frontier. On this ſide, eight legions were placed at two ſeparate ſtations; one diviſion under Cecina, on the borders of the low countries; the other under Caius Silius, on the Upper Rhine, both under the orders of Germanicus, who being adopted into the family of Cæſar, had been veſted by Auguſtus with the command of theſe armies, and with the preſidency of Gaul. This young man had married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and of Julia Auguſta, by whom he had a numerous iſſue, a circumſtance generally attended with great popular favour among the Romans. He was now attended in his province by his wife Agrippina, with Caius, afterwards better known by the name of Caligula, the youngeſt of his three ſons, now carried in the arms of the mother. He himſelf being extremely acceptable to the army, and to the people of the provinces, it was not doubted, that if the empire were to be diſpoſed of, he would have had the wiſhes

[12] Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 30.

of

of mankind in his favour; and he became upon this account a principal object of jealouſy to his adoptive father. CHAP. V.

The troops that were ſtationed on the borders of the low countries under Cecina, comprehended the legions which had been haſtily levied, and which, in order the ſooner to replace the army that periſhed with Varus in the unfortunate expedition beyond the Rhine, had been formed without the uſual ſelection. Being in a great meaſure compoſed of emancipated ſlaves, and other perſons of mean condition, they had not yet imbibed the ſentiments of national and military honour, which Auguſtus endeavoured to preſerve in the legions. They conſidered themſelves, at the death of that Emperor, as diſcharged from their military oath. They roſe againſt their officers, killed moſt of the Centurions, and forced Cecina, with the Tribunes, to withdraw from their rage.

The authors of this revolt, probably, flattered themſelves that Germanicus, although he did not at firſt openly countenance their mutiny, might however give way to their deſires, and ſuffer himſelf to be elevated by their means to the throne of Cæſar. To preſerve the appearances of order, until they ſhould receive his commands, they appointed officers to act in place of thoſe they had killed, performed moſt of the uſual military duties, mounted the ordinary guards, and took the ſtated precautions, as in the preſence of an enemy, for the ſafety and peace of their camp.

Germanicus, when the accounts of this alarming tranſaction were brought to him, was occupied in the affairs of the province, and in adminiſtering the oaths of allegiance on the acceſſion of Tiberius. Senſible that his own high pretenſions expoſed him to be ſuſpected of having encouraged theſe diſorders, he repaired without delay to the camp, from which Cecina had been obliged to fly. Upon his approach, he was met by the legions; but inſtead of the reſpectful

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ſilence that was uſual in receiving their commander in chief, was ſaluted with cries of diſcontent, and a mixture of expoſtulation and inſult. He was followed by a multitude in the utmoſt confuſion, to that part of the camp at which it was uſual to harangue the army. That he might obſerve the different parts of his audience, or, in caſe any inſult were offered, that he might diſtinguiſh the diviſion from whence it came, he gave the ſignal for the whole to draw up in their legions and cohorts, and to diſplay their colours.

So long as he ſpoke of the veneration due to the memory of Auguſtus, and of the glories acquired at the head of theſe very legions by the preſent Emperor himſelf, he was heard with reſpect and attention; but when he touched on their want of duty, his voice could no longer be heard, and the whole preſence was thrown into tumult. Some uncovered their ſcars, called for the rewards that were due to their ſervices; others complained of the ſcantineſs of their pay, of their toilſome marches, of their hard labour in forming entrenchments, and in rearing magazines of wood and of forage. "We "have followed our colours," ſaid ſome of the veterans, "above "thirty years: Is death the only termination to be hoped for our "labours?" They called for the legacy, which they heard was bequeathed to them by Auguſtus: they invited the prince to declare himſelf ſovereign of the empire, and offered to ſupport his pretenſions with their ſwords.

On this propoſal, Germanicus, as if ſeized with horror, came down from the platform on which he ſtood, and was haſtening to retire, when numbers interpoſed to ſtop him. "My duty to the "Emperor," he ſaid, "is more precious to me than my life;" and and at theſe words, drawing his ſword, he turned the point of it towards his own breaſt. Some of thoſe who were near, laid hold of his arm; others called out, *let him ſtrike*; and one, in particular, reaching his ſword, ſaid, *take this; it is ſharper than your own.*

It is not to be queſtioned, that Germanicus might have led this army into Italy, and with a general conſent placed himſelf at the head of the empire; but he ſeems to have apprehended the rights of ſucceſſion in the preſent Emperor, with all the reſpect and fidelity that accompany the ſentiments of loyalty and duty, under monarchies already eſtabliſhed. Being deſirous to withdraw from the tumult, and a way being made for him by the officers of his train, he retired to deliberate on the preſent alarming ſtate of affairs.

The leaders of this mutiny were about to open a correſpondence with the legions on the Upper Rhine. The enemy were in ſight on the oppoſite banks of the river, and ready to take advantage of theſe diſtractions. Some of the officers preſent gave it as their opinion, that an army ſhould be formed from the provincial cohorts to overawe the legions; but this was rejected by others, as likely to end in a civil war. Severity, it was obſerved by ſome, might exaſperate; conceſſion, it was ſaid by others, might breed inſolence; and the ſervice was equally expoſed to ſuffer, whether the troops were indulged in all their demands, or in none. It was ſuggeſted at laſt, that by a little artifice, without committing the authority of the Emperor, the demands of the army might be ſatisfied. For this purpoſe, it was propoſed that a letter ſhould be feigned, as from Tiberius, ſo dated, that in writing it he could not be ſuppoſed to know of the diſorder which now took place; that in this letter, he ſhould be perſonated, as declaring, by a voluntary act of goodneſs, his intention to double the legacy bequeathed by Auguſtus; to fix the entire period of ſervice at twenty years, and that of the ordinary duties at ſixteen [13].

[13] A Roman ſoldier, after he was exempted from the ordinary duties of the camp, was retained at his colours to encounter the enemy.

A letter

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A letter to this purpoſe being accordingly produced, the artifice was ſuſpected, but the terms were agreed to, provided that the legacies were inſtantly paid; that thoſe who had ſerved twenty years ſhould be diſcharged, and thoſe who had ſerved ſixteen years, ſhould be exempted as veterans from the ordinary duties of the camp. Many were accordingly diſcharged, and the more clamorous were paid up their ſhare of the legacy, with ſuch money as could be collected among the attendants of the prince. Others were perſwaded to ſuffer a delay of payment, until they ſhould come into quarters for the winter.

From this ſtation, Germanicus repaired to that of the Upper Rhine, where with leſs trouble, and by means of the ſame gratuities, he prevailed on the legions of that diviſion to withdraw into quarters. A mutiny of the troops on the Weſer had broke out at the ſame time; but was ſuppreſſed by the courage and ability of the officer at their head.

It appears, that Tiberius, on hearing of theſe mutinies on the Rhine and the Weſer, had recourſe to the Senate, and wiſhed to avail himſelf of their authority in reſtoring the diſcipline of the army. He probably meant, in the name of this body, to inflict the neceſſary ſeverities, while he reſerved to himſelf the more popular office of granting indulgences, or of making ſome gracious conceſſions.

A committee of the Senate, of whom one Munatius Plancus is mentioned as the head, was accordingly ſent to the quarters of the army, and arrived at the *Ara Ubiorum* [14], where Germanicus, with two legions, after quieting the late mutiny, was retired for the winter. As ſoon as it was known, that deputies were arrived from the Senate, to take cognizance of the ſtate of the army, the ſoldiers apprehended that the late agreement was to be ſet aſide; that the indul-

[14] In the Biſhopric of Cologne.

gencies

gencies granted to them were to be recalled, and that ſomething ungracious was intended, which the Emperor choſe to execute in ſome other name than his own; for ſo the arts, by which the empire had been governed near fifty years, now began to be underſtood. In this perſuaſion, the ſoldiers, in a riotous manner, aſſembled round the quarters of their general; and as a ſignal, that they were not any longer to reſpect his authority, they tore the imperial ſtandard from thence; and to deter civil officers, for the future, from interpoſing in their affairs, meant to have murdered Munatius Plancus, and the other deputies of the Senate. Theſe officers, however, took refuge at the colours of one of the legions, where, according to the practice of the Roman army, they had the protection of a ſanctuary, and by this means eſcaped the fate that was intended for them.

Germanicus being ſtill accompanied in his quarters by his wife Agrippina and her infant ſon, the youngeſt of his children, and apprehending that they could not be ſafe in this place of diſorder, determined to remove them to ſome other ſtation, where the troops, remaining in their duty, were likely to afford them protection. At their departure, the ſoldiers ſeeing the wife and the infant child of their favourite leader, followed by a numerous train of female attendants, fly from their camp, as from a place in which no reſpect was to be paid to ſex, age, or rank, were ſtruck with the effect of their own violence. Some crowded in the way of this melancholy train, and endeavoured to detain them; while others ran to the huſband, and beſeeched him to ſpare the legions ſo cruel a reproach, as was implied, in his ſuppoſing that the wife of Germanicus, the daughter of Agrippa, and the grand-daughter of Cæſar, with her infant child, were obliged to fly for ſafety from their quarters.

The prince, obſerving the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, ſeized the opportunity of regaining his authority; and making it a condition that they would return to their duty, complied with their requeſt.

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In the firſt moment of zeal to ſignalize their affection, multitudes, without knowing the cauſe of the change, paſſed with the impetuoſity of popular tumults, by a rapid tranſition, from one extreme to the other, called out for juſtice on thoſe who had been leaders in the late mutiny; and themſelves became willing inſtruments in puniſhing ſuch as were pointed out to them as authors of a guilt, in which the whole had been concerned. Germanicus, and the principal officers withdrew from the ſcene, leaving a Centurion on the platform to preſide in this extraordinary courſe of juſtice. The priſoners that were brought to him, were hoiſted up into view, and upon the verdict of the multitude, to ſpare or to puniſh them, were releaſed, or thrown down from the platform, and ſuffered immediate death from the hands of their fellow ſoldiers.

The ſame diſorders had broken out, and ſtill ſubſiſted at Vetera [15], the ſtation of the fifth and twenty-firſt legions; but Germanicus being now in condition to enforce his authority, advanced at the head of a powerful army, ſent his inſtructions to Cecina, who was preſent with the mutinous troops, requiring that they ſhould, of their own accord, bring the guilty to juſtice; and intimating, that if this were not done before his arrival, he was determined, without diſtinction of perſons, to put the whole to the ſword.

On this intimation, a conſiderable number of the ſoldiers entered into a concert for executing the vengeance required of them, and at a time appointed, began the ſlaughter of thoſe who were moſt forward in the mutiny. As the camp was ſoon thrown into confuſion, it became impoſſible to make any diſtinction of perſons, and the maſſacre extended to all thoſe who crowded in the way, and who were not appriſed of the deſign. Germanicus, at his arrival, found the tents ſtained with blood, the paſſages ſtrewed with heaps of the

[15] Nearly oppoſite to Cleves.

ſlain,

ſlain, and all the appearances of a camp ſurpriſed, and of an army put to the ſword. Thoſe who remained, affected for the preſent to pay reſpect to the authority of their leaders; but had ſhewn themſelves capable of the greateſt extremes againſt their officers, as well as againſt their fellow ſoldiers.

Theſe were the principal difficulties which Tiberius encountered in effecting his ſucceſſion; he had other alarms in the commencement of his reign, but of inferior moment. Such were the troubles occaſioned by the impoſture of Clemens, who had been a ſlave in the ſervice of the poſthumous Agrippa, and the conſpiracy of Scribonius Libo, who, being encouraged by his affinity to the higheſt names in the republic, had formed ſome viſionary deſign on the empire.

Clemens, upon the death of the late Emperor, had gone to the place at which his maſter was detained in exile, meant to have conducted him to one of the armies in Gaul, where he made no doubt that the ſon of Agrippa, and the lineal deſcendant of Cæſar, would have found a favourable reception; but his deſign being prevented by the death of this unfortunate young man he formed a project ſtill more wild and romantic, founded in ſome reſemblance which he himſelf bore to his deceaſed maſter, he took his name, and propoſed to perſonate him. Pretending to have eſcaped from the cruelty of the uſurper Tiberius, he frequently changed his place, and affected concealment; but ſuffered himſelf to be ſeen by thoſe who were likely to be impoſed upon, and to afford him protection or ſupport. He was accordingly favoured by many perſons of conſequence, who were either deceived, or willing to countenance any attempt that was made to diſturb the preſent ſucceſſion. Among his ſuppoſed abettors, however, he had unfortunately one perſon employed by the Emperor himſelf, to ſeduce and to circumvent him. By this emiſſary affecting to believe his ſtory, and to aid him in aſſerting his pretenſions to the throne, he was delivered over into the

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of his enemies, and was put to death by order of Tiberius, who, it is ſaid, had the barbarous curioſity to viſit him, and to examine his likeneſs to Agrippa before he was executed.

The Emperor was ſoon after rather amuſed, than alarmed by the informations he received of the practices of Scribonius Libo, his other competitor for the throne of Cæſar. This young man, being by his mother, the grandſon of Pompey, and by his father, the nephew of Scribonia, who was the firſt wife of Auguſtus, was conſequently the couſin of Julia, and of her children. His affinity to the ſovereigns of the world, inſpired him with thoughts and expectations above the condition of a ſubject, and laid him open to the arts of falſe and deſigning men, whom the faſhion of the times encouraged with the proſpect of impunity, and even of rewards.

Such men affecting zeal for the ſafety of the Emperor, enticed the unwary to engage themſelves in ſome ſuppoſed treaſonable practice, in order to have the merit of informing againſt them. In this odious character, a Senator of the name of Firmius Catus, practiſed upon the weakneſs of Libo, made him acquainted with profeſſed magicians, aſtrologers, and interpreters of dreams, who flattered him with the hopes of empire; and after he was engaged in this idle or criminal correſpondence, contrived, by means of one Flaccus Veſculanius, who frequented the court, to give ſecret information of the whole to the Emperor.

Tiberius, employing all his artifice againſt this feeble antagoniſt, refuſed to ſee the informer, but directed him to continue his intrigue, and to report the progreſs of it by the ſame channel. While he concurred in laying this ſnare for the unhappy young man, he raiſed him to the dignity of Prætor, treated him, at the feaſts and entertainments of the palace, with uncommon marks of diſtinction, and took the malicious pleaſure of obſerving how far theſe flatteries, joined

joined to the hopes of empire that were given him, contributed to swell his presumption. CHAP. V.

In the mean time, and possibly before the design of the Emperor, and of his informers, was ripe for execution, Fulcinius Trio, another noted informer, having intimation of the matter from one of the astrologers, who had been consulted by Libo, proposing to snatch the prey from his original accuser, and to have a preferable claim to the reward, carried his discovery directly before the Senate; but the Emperor being present when this information was delivered, did justice to the first informer, confirmed the charge, and with an odious accuracy, enumerated the piteous follies of which Libo had been guilty. The Senators, pretending to be alarmed at such a treason, vied with each other in expressions of abhorrence, and many of them contended for the honour of conducting the prosecution which was to be formed against the criminal.

The slaves of the accused, agreeably to a late innovation in the law, were transferred in property to the Emperor, that they might be put to the question, or that they might be received in evidence against their master.

Libo had the first intimation of what had passed, by a party of armed men, who, with orders to seize his person, broke into his house. Terrified by this appearance, he pleaded for mercy; or if this could not be obtained, implored that one of his own servants might be allowed to put an end to his life; and being disappointed in both these requests, he took poison or wounded himself, and was in the agonies of death, when, according to Dion Cassius, he was, in order to secure the confiscation of his estate, carried before the Senate to receive his sentence. By the decree which was given, the name and family of Libo were consigned to infamy, and the astrologers, his accomplices, were expelled from Italy, or put to death.

The

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The Emperor, when this ſentence paſſed, affected regret for the unhappy young man, complained of his precipitancy in preventing the effects of mercy, and profeſſed an intention to have ſpared his life

From the time at which the mutinies on the Rhine and Danube were ſuppreſſed, and from the concluſion of this formal proceeding againſt Scribonius, as a traitor to the lawful ſovereign of the empire, we may date the acceſſion of Tiberius to the throne of Cæſar. He was now in the fifty-ſixth year of his age; is deſcribed in his perſon as tall, robuſt, and healthy; erect in his walk; of a fair complexion, handſome countenance, large eye, but frowning; of few words, and ſlow of utterance; without any action or geſture while he ſpoke, beſides a kind of involuntary motion with his fingers. His manner, notwithſtanding his figure, was ſo ungracious, that Auguſtus, in recommending him to public favour, thought proper to make an apology for this defect in his appearance; obſerving that his ungracious looks were mere accidents in the outward form of his perſon, not expreſſions of vice in his temper [15]. In his youth, he was addicted to debauchery; but as he advanced to manhood, being in awe of the Emperor, he learned in many things to diſguiſe his inclinations, and acquired a habit of reſerve and hypocriſy.

Auguſtus on all occaſions ſeemed to receive Tiberius with ſome degree of repugnance; ſo that when he came into company, the Emperor, if engaged in any pleaſurable converſation, changed the ſubject, and altered his countenance. Though in ſome degree reconciled to him, or obliged from neceſſity to employ him in the conduct of his affairs, and though obſerved ſometimes to ſpeak of him even in terms of affection and confidence, yet he gave more frequently, with reſpect to him, ſigns of averſion and diſtruſt; and

[15] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21. & Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

it

it is not unlikely that he fluctuated to the laſt in his opinion concerning him. Determined, however, by the influence and intrigues of Livia, or by the relation ſubſiſting between them, he left him in poſſeſſion of the empire, which he had long intended for perſons more nearly related in blood, and more in his favour; but whatever were the motives of his choice, ſuch was the belief of a deliberate and ſelfiſh deſign in all the actions of Auguſtus, that he was by many ſuppoſed to have choſen Tiberius, merely, that in the compariſon of his own character with that of his ſucceſſor, the preference might be given to himſelf.

Before the events which have been mentioned had put Tiberius in full poſſeſſion of the government, and while he yet affected to decline it, the Conſuls, the Senate, and all the principal citizens at Rome, had taken the oath of ſubmiſſion and allegiance. The whole army, and all the provinces ſoon after followed their example, and the world looked with anxious expectation for the full diſplay of a character, hitherto for the moſt part wrapped up in reſerve, and juſtly ſuſpected of cruelty. Among the firſt diſcoveries that were made of his temper, it appeared that even his mother Livia had miſtaken his diſpoſition, or over-rated her own aſcendant over him. In procuring the empire to her ſon, ſhe had joined to the zeal of a mother, a high degree of ambition, and a deſire to emerge from a ſpecies of obſcurity, in which ſhe had lived in the reign of her huſband. She flattered herſelf, that upon the acceſſion of Tiberius, ſhe was to poſſeſs a great part of the Imperial power, or to exerciſe the whole in his name. Truſting to the deference, which he hitherto affected for all her opinions, or to the gratitude which he owed to her for the high obligations ſhe had conferred upon him, ſhe inſtantly aſſumed all the conſequence ſhe expected to reap from his greatneſs, laid aſide the caution and reſerve which ſhe had ever preſerved in the reign of Auguſtus, advanced into public view, and, as if ſhe had taken poſ-

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ſeſſion of the empire for herſelf, under pretence of beſtowing it upon her ſon, took a principal part in all matters of ſtate, and appeared on ſolemn occaſions with her lictors, and all the other enſigns or formalities of a public ſtation [17].

The Senate, truſting to the mother's ſuppoſed knowledge of her ſon's inclinations, yielded to her in all the prerogatives ſhe was pleaſed to aſſume, inſerted her name with that of the Emperor in all public acts, and, in the titles of Tiberius, ſtiled him the ſon of Auguſta as well as of Cæſar. They were not however ſuffered long to remain in this error. They were told by the Emperor with an alarming coldneſs of manner, which left no doubt of his ſincerity, *That the ambition of women ſhould be kept within proper bounds, and that he ſhould always endeavour to preſcribe ſuch bounds to his own* [18].

From the time in which this declaration was made by the Emperor, it appears that Livia entirely dropt her pretenſions to any part in the government, and became no leſs reſerved in the reign of her ſon, than ſhe had been in that of her huſband.

As Auguſtus, in aſſuming the ſovereignty, and in the whole of his reign was kept in awe by the republican ſpirit, which he ſuppoſed ſtill to lurk with a dangerous violence in the minds of the People; ſo Tiberius, to the affectation of treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, joined a great meaſure of diſtruſt in the diſpoſitions of the people towards himſelf, and in their predilection for others, who might be ſuppoſed more worthy to reign. Among theſe, he looked upon Germanicus as the firſt or principal object of his jealouſy. He had adopted this young man, merely in compliance with the late Emperor's will, and conſidered him not only, as he was become by this act of adoption, a rival to his own ſon, but as he was, by the affection of the people, by the attachment of the army, and the high

[17] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvii. c. 12. Ibid. lib. lvi. fine. [18] Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 14.

pretenſions of his wife Agrippina, a moſt dangerous rival to himſelf. He could not forgive a perſon to whom the legions had made offers of the empire; and who, for having declined the offer, was deemed the more worthy of it. Although he endeavoured, under profeſſions of the higheſt regard, to diſſemble his feelings, and in making his report to the Senate of the diſorders which had lately taken place in the army, ſpoke of the conduct of his two ſons, Germanicus and Druſus, with equal tenderneſs and applauſe; he had nevertheleſs ſuffered the retainers of his court to ſee through this diſguiſe, encouraged them to charge Germanicus with want of capacity or courage on that occaſion; and had taken his own reſolution to remove him from a ſituation in which his popularity, the ambition of Agrippina, or the preſumption of the troops under his command, might, in a moment, engage him in ſome dangerous deſign on the empire.

Upon theſe motives, therefore, it was propoſed to remove Germanicus from the German ſtation, and from the command of troops by whom he was beloved, to the command of an army, inferior in point of character, and to which he was leſs known, or leſs an object of favour.

While this reſolution was taken at Rome, Germanicus, after the ſuppreſſion of the late mutinies, that he might not ſuffer the ſoldiers to brood over their grievances, give them leiſure to renew their complaints, or leave them to languiſh for want of employment, projected an expedition beyond the Rhine, and paſſed this river with twelve thouſand men of the legions, twenty cohorts of the provinces, and eight alæ, or regiments of horſe. By this ſudden irruption, made before it was known that his troops were willing to obey him, he ſurpriſed a great body of barbarians aſſembled to take advantage of the diſorder which they ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt in the Roman army, diſperſed them with great ſlaughter, continued his march to the famous

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ground on which Varus had been cut off with his legions; and finding the field ſtill covered with the unburied bones of the ſlain, gave directions to have them collected and interred. In this pious office the prince himſelf mixed with the private men, and put his hand to the work; a circumſtance which, when reported at Rome, conſiderably increaſed the jealouſy of the emperor. From thence he propoſed to invade the territory of Arminius, and to puniſh that barbarian for his treachery to thoſe unfortunate legions. In execution of this deſign, being provided with a thouſand veſſels, he embarked on the Ems, fell down this river to a conſiderable diſtance; and having landed on its eaſtern banks, and over-run the country from thence to the Weſer, in his encounter with the natives obtained two conſiderable victories.

After theſe operations, Germanicus again returned to his ſhips in the Ems, and continued his navigation to the ſea. Suppoſing that the mouth of the Rhine was contiguous to that of the Ems, he propoſed, by a ſhort voyage on the coaſt, to paſs from the one to the other; and without expoſing himſelf to be haraſſed in a march by land, to recover his former ſtation on the frontier of Gaul. On this ſtormy coaſt, however, having met with difficulties with which neither his veſſels nor his mariners were fit to contend, his fleet was diſperſed; many of his ſhips were caſt away on the continent, others wrecked on the contiguous iſlands, and ſome drove quite into Britain. He himſelf got on ſhore on the coaſt which is now called Eaſt Friezland, and ſaw with deſpair the apparent wreck of many veſſels of his fleet, which ſeemed to be loſt irrecoverably on the banks which were left by the ſea at low-water. From this diſaſter, however, he recovered the greater part of his forces. The veſſels that were in company with his own, got afloat on the return of the flood, and the troops from on board of them were landed without any conſiderable loſs. By this eſcape of his army, he was ſtill in condition to

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make head againſt the natives of the country, who, intending to profit by the loſſes he had recently ſuſtained, were aſſembled on the Weſer; but being ſurpriſed by his ſudden re-appearance, they fled before him, and ſeparated to their different quarters.

Germanicus, upon his return from this expedition, and while he was meditating a renewal of ſuch operations on the following year, had intimation of the emperor's intention to remove him from his ſtation on the Rhine. This intimation was accompanied with a meſſage full of the moſt flattering commendation of his ſervices. He was invited to Rome under pretence of celebrating a triumph, which had been decreed to him for his late victories; and for the purpoſe of aſſuming the Conſulate, to which he was deſtined on the approaching year as colleague to the emperor himſelf. As it was ſuppoſed, however, that, under an appearance of modeſty, or unwilling to withdraw from a hazardous war in which the troops he commanded were ſtill engaged, he might decline accepting of a mere honorary invitation, it was ſubjoined to theſe reaſons of recall, that the remains of glory, if there were ſtill any to be reaped in that quarter, ought to be reſerved for his brother Druſus, there being no other enemy left from whom to collect *his laurels*.

An invitation to court, accompanied with the laſt of theſe conſiderations, though veiled under ſo many flattering pretences, was ſufficiently underſtood to be a peremptory command, which Germanicus accordingly obeyed. On his arrival in Italy, only two cohorts or battalions were ſent from Rome to receive him. But every circumſtance tended to augment the jealouſy of the emperor; the greater part of the Prætorian bands, mingled with multitudes of the People of every ſex, condition, and age, advanced of their own accord ſome miles from the city, and received him with uncommon acclamations of joy [19]. Having made his entry, as had been propoſed,

[19] Sueton. in Vita Caii.

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in triumph, he was, with the emperor himſelf, put in nomination for the Conſulate of the following year.

The popularity of which Germanicus now appeared to be poſſeſſed in the city, was no leſs mortifying to the emperor, than his power in the army was ſuppoſed to be dangerous. His preſence, if it did not obſcure the luſtre of the emperor himſelf, ſeemed to place him in a continual ſtate of competition with the other ſon of Tiberius; and the intereſts of theſe two princes, the one by adoption, the other by birth, the ſon of the emperor, though ſuppoſed to be on the beſt terms with each other, had divided the court.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, inheriting the blood of Auguſtus, and ever carrying in her haughty looks the pretenſions of the Cæſarian family, was become to Livia, whom ſhe conſidered as a ſtepmother, no leſs an object of animoſity, than ſhe was to the emperor himſelf. Under theſe circumſtances, the reſolution to ſeparate Germanicus from the German armies, and to place him in the command of the eaſtern provinces, a ſituation apparently honourable, but in which he ſhould be ſurrounded with perſons who might ſerve as a reſtraint, or as ſpies on his conduct, was now carried into execution. He was veſted with a commiſſion to reſtore the tranquillity of Aſia, that was diſturbed by ſome diſputes which had ariſen on the ſucceſſion to the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia.

Germanicus, in the end of the third year of the preſent reign, ſet out upon this apparently honourable commiſſion. Having a ſupreme authority in the ſeveral provinces through which he was to paſs, from the ſea of Ionia to the extremities of Egypt and of Syria, he viſited, as chief in command, the cities of Greece, ſtill revered as the principal ſeminaries of philoſophy and literature; and upon his entry into Aſia, proceeded to execute the commiſſion on which he was ſent. He reduced Cappadocia and Commagené to the form of Roman provinces, making ſome abatement of the taxes formerly paid

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to their own princes [20], and ſettled Zeno, ſon to the king of Pontus, on the throne of Armenia. He afterwards ventured to continue his progreſs into Egypt, though contrary to an edict of the late emperor, which was ſtill in force. On his return from thence he was taken ill, and died at Antioch in the thirty-fourth year of his age, with ſome ſuſpicions of having been poiſoned by Cn. Piſo, the Præfect of Syria, not without the connivance or the direction of Tiberius himſelf [21].

It is not to be doubted, that the emperor looked upon Germanicus with great diſtruſt, and might have ſought for opportunities to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety, or to that of his ſon Druſus; but it does not appear that he proceeded any farther on this occaſion, than to remove him from a ſituation in which he furniſhed the court with continual occaſions of mortification or jealouſy, into one that was equally ſplendid in appearance, but tending to leſſen his conſequence in the empire; and that he meant only to place him in the command of armies over whom he had no perſonal influence, and who, if diſpoſed to revolt, were leſs to be feared than the legions which were formed on the Rhine and the Danube.

In ſending Germanicus into Aſia, great attention indeed was paid to place in his way as governor of Syria, the province which contained in itſelf the principal reſources of the Eaſt, a perſon more likely to thwart and counteract him in every meaſure, than to become ſubſervient to his ambition, or to promote his greatneſs. This intention was rendered extremely evident by the removal of Greticus Silanus, with whom Germanicus was about to contract an alliance by the intermarriage of two of their children, to make way for Piſo, a man already unacceptable to Germanicus, and, in general, diſtinguiſhed by a temper harſh and intractable, or likely to diſagree with every ſuperior.

[20] Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 56.

[21] Sueton. in Vita Caii, c. 1.

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It is likewiſe extremely probable, that Piſo, as well as his wife Plancina, might have learned by their own penetration, that Germanicus and Agrippina had incurred the diſpleaſure of Tiberius and Livia; and that they would not meet with any cordial ſupport at the court of the emperor, in caſe of a diſagreement with the officers who ſtood in their way in the provinces.

Some effects of an inſolence, founded upon this ſuppoſition, appeared in the behaviour of Piſo and Plancina, while Germanicus was yet on his way to Aſia. Piſo, having overtaken the prince, and paſſing him on the route, without the cuſtomary marks of reſpect or attention, from thenceforward ſeemed to ſet him at defiance. At their firſt interview in Syria, both were extremely guarded, and ſhowed no ſigns of cordiality or confidence. Piſo afterwards endeavoured to pre-occupy the affections of the army in oppoſition to Germanicus; and had the boldneſs to march, in contempt of his orders, with a body of troops into Armenia. When the prince was taken ill, it was ſaid, that Piſo had ſpies to obſerve the progreſs of his diſeaſe, and ſeemed to await the event, as likely to place himſelf at the head of all the forces in Aſia. Germanicus having recovered from his firſt fit of illneſs, had the conduct of Piſo repreſented to him in ſuch terms, that he ordered him into his preſence, declared open enmity againſt him, and diſmiſſed him the province. But, as he ſoon after relapſed, he accuſed Piſo of having practiſed againſt his life, and charged all his friends, who were preſent at his death, to bring the author of it to a ſevere and juſt retribution.

Piſo, hearing of the death of Germanicus, while he was yet on the coaſt of Aſia, betrayed his animoſity to the dead by public and indecent demonſtrations of joy. He afterwards attempted, by force, to reinſtate himſelf in the province of Syria, from which he had been ordered by Germanicus to depart; but was repulſed by Sentius, who had been choſen by the officers of the prince's train to keep poſſeſ-

ſion of the province till the pleaſure of the emperor ſhould be known.

Upon this event, Piſo ſent forward his own ſon to Rome, in order to prevent, as much as poſſible, the aſperſions which were likely to be propagated againſt him in the city. He himſelf paſſed by Illyricum, to pay his court to Druſus, who was then in that province, and to implore his protection. Being received by this prince with coldneſs, though without prepoſſeſſion, he from thence continued his voyage into Italy.

Agrippina, arriving ſoon after at Brundiſium with the aſhes of her deceaſed huſband, was, by order of the emperor, received by a great military eſcort and the honours of war. She paſſed in a kind of funeral proceſſion through multitudes that were collected from every part of the country to gaze upon her; and coming to Rome ſufficiently impreſſed with the idea that her huſband was poiſoned, called for revenge upon the ſuppoſed authors of his death. Numbers contended for the honour of carrying her complaints before the tribunals of juſtice, and of being the accuſers of her huſband's murderers.

A proſecution ſoon after commenced againſt Piſo; in which all that was known to be exceptionable in the preceding life and behaviour of the accuſed, was ſtated againſt him by Fulcinius Trio, the perſon already mentioned as having exerciſed the trade of informer in the caſe of Libo. The conduct of the accuſation of poiſoning, and the other crimes imputed to Piſo in his late command, was committed to Vitellius and Veranus, perſons peculiarly attached to Germanicus. The trial having begun before the emperor himſelf, was afterwards transferred to the Senate. Two days were allowed to the accuſers to enforce their charge, and three to the accuſed to make his defence. The proſecutors brought ſufficient evidence of Piſo's arrogance and extortion; of much undutiful behaviour to Germanicus himſelf in Aſia; of diſobeying his orders; of having

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made war beyond the limits of his province, but no ſufficient evidence of his having made any attempts by poiſon on the life of the prince. The charge indeed, as ſtated, or laid, was extremely incredible, that Piſo ſhould, at the table of Germanicus, and in the midſt of ſervants, attendants, and friends, venture to mix poiſon in a diſh from which numbers were to eat. To render this imputation ſtill more improbable, it was obſerved, that the dead body had been expoſed to public view in the market-place at Antioch, and that no external marks or indications of poiſon were found.

The principal evidence that was produced of any criminal practice againſt the prince's life conſiſted of a collection of human bones, ſome verſes, pieces of lead marked with the name of Germanicus, and other ſuppoſed charms, which were found in his quarters, and which were conſidered as implements of ſorcery, employed againſt the life of the perſon whoſe name was inſcribed, and againſt whom they were ſuppoſed to take effect if the poiſon ſhould fail.

The charge of murder, therefore, ſupported by ſuch evidence, will appear to the modern reader entirely groundleſs, and muſt have been rejected even by the tribunal to which it was referred; but the accuſed ſeeing that the torrent ran high againſt him, and probably to prevent the conſequences of a formal ſentence in the confiſcation of his family-eſtate, cut ſhort the proceedings by a voluntary death; or, as was ſuppoſed by many, was ſecretly put to death by an order from the court, leſt his public confeſſion ſhould appear to involve the emperor himſelf in the guilt.

On either ſuppoſition, the death of Piſo being conſidered as an act of ſelf-condemnation, or as a precaution in Tiberius to prevent a diſcovery, confirmed the People in their ſuſpicion, that they were jointly concerned in the murder of the favourite prince.

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Review of the First Period in the Reign of Tiberius.——Applications of penal Law.——Diſpoſition of Tiberius to a recluſe Life.——Place and Character of Sejanus.——Death of Druſus, Son of the Emperor.——Retirement of Tiberius to the Iſland of Capreæ.——Jealouſy of the Emperor againſt Agrippina and her Children.——Death of Livia Auguſta.——Deſign formed againſt Sejanus.——His Death.——Proſecution of his ſuppoſed Accomplices.——Artifices——old Age——and Death of Tiberius.

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THE death of Germanicus is conſidered by ſome Hiſtorians as a remarkable epoch in the preſent reign [1]. Before this event, Tiberius, as if conſcious that he held the empire by his good behaviour, was popular in his manners, and guarded in his adminiſtration; declined the extravagant honours which were offered to him; was eaſy of acceſs; affected to live like a private citizen; returned viſits, and accepted invitations to entertainments and feaſts; viſited the ſick, attended funerals, and delivered orations in praiſe of the dead [2]. He treated the titular magiſtrates of Rome with the ſame ceremonious reſpect that uſed to be obſerved in times of the republic; roſe, and ſtood, in the preſence of the Conſul; took his place in the Senate as a private member; was frequently ſeen in the courts of juſtice as an aſſeſſor, as an advocate, as an evidence, or as a ſpectator. To a perſon who ſaluted him with the title of *Maſter*, "Inſult "me not," he ſaid, "with that odious appellation. I am the maſter "of my ſlaves, general of the army, and no more than prince, or "firſt

[1] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lvii. c. 13.

[2] Ibid.

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" firſt in the rolls of the Senate and People." He took the title of Auguſtus only in his correſpondence with foreign powers. In all his addreſſes, whether to particular members of the Senate, or to this body at large, he was in the higheſt degree reſpectful and courteous. When engaged in debate, he endeavoured to qualify contradiction or difference of opinion with reſpect and regret. To a Senator, named Haterius, on ſome ſuch occaſion, he ſaid, " I hope you will forgive " me, if, in my duty as a Senator, I differ from you ſomewhat too " freely." At a meeting of the Senate, in referring ſome matter to their deciſion, he concluded with theſe words: " I have formerly " ſaid, and now ſay, that it becomes the perſon you have intruſted " with ſo large a ſhare of the public affairs, to conſider himſelf as " the ſervant of this aſſembly, as the ſervant of the People, and of " every individual; nor do I repent me of this ſaying; for I have " found you, and ſtill find you candid, indulgent, and kind maſters[3]." He affected a continual deference to their judgment on every ſubject, whether of policy, revenue, or foreign correſpondence; even ſeemed to wait for their orders in what concerned the command of the army, and pretended to be diſpleaſed, when officers, employed in the provinces, made their report directly to himſelf, without communicating the ſubject of their diſpatches firſt to the Senate.

With theſe popular arts, which the Senators indeed did not miſtake for a real acknowledgment of their authority, he joined an adminiſtration in many things worthy of a wiſe and exemplary prince; indulged the People in the freedom of ſpeech to which they had been accuſtomed, ſaying, " That, in a free country, the mind and the " tongue ſhould be free." To thoſe who brought him information of any ſlander ſpoken of himſelf, he affected indifference. " If you " mind ſuch accuſations as theſe," he would ſay, " there will be

[3] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 29.

" no

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"no end of them." He gave a ready hearing and redreſs to all the complaints that were made to him from the provinces, and carefully limited the exactions of his officers within the bounds of eſtabliſhed and ordinary fees[4]. To perſons ſuffering by fire, earthquakes, or other public calamities, to the families of decayed Senators, to the children of thoſe who had bequeathed him their eſtates by will, he was munificent and liberal; took effectual meaſures to ſuppreſs the banditti, which, from the time of the civil wars, ſtill infeſted the country; and endeavoured to diminiſh that conſtant ſource of corruption, the idleneſs which the People contracted in the too frequent repetition of ſhews and of public entertainments. He gave an abatement of ſome taxes which had been impoſed by the late emperor, and, in particular, mitigated the penalties which had been erroneouſly inflicted on celibacy.

Tiberius ſeemed to have perceived that the ſeverities employed by his predeceſſor, to inforce marriage, ſerved only to multiply the evils of the times, without adminiſtering any effectual remedy to that which was complained of. But what, in this enumeration of examples of his political conduct, would have done him moſt honour, had he continued to ſupport it in the ſubſequent part of his reign, was the equanimity with which he rejected many frivolous accuſations which were brought againſt the unwary by his own flatterers, or by the mercenary informers who began to ſwarm in his time.

In reſpect to criminal proſecutions, the change of government, which took place at Rome, had, without altering the legal forms, made a fatal change in the effect of the laws, and ſerved to ſhow, that the ſeeds of deſpotiſm may be laid in the freeſt eſtabliſhments; and that when the characters of men are changed, the worſt abuſe may proceed from the beſt inſtitutions[5].

[4] Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 6—7.

[5] Lex Majeſtatis.—Majeſtas eſt amplitudo et dignitas civitatis. Cicero de Orat. lib. ii. c. 39.

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The ſecurities of majeſty, or the reſtraints provided againſt treaſonable practices, were principal objects in the laws of the republic. The crimes [6] againſt which thoſe reſtraints were provided, were, in reality, a treſpaſs on the majeſty of the commonwealth, including rebellion, breach of public truſt, betraying the forces of the State to its enemies, or violating the perſon of the magiſtrate in the diſcharge of his office. Theſe were juſtly reputed an invaſion of the rights of the People, were public crimes, and might be proſecuted by any citizen, though not particularly intereſted in the iſſue of the trial.

In the time of the republic the proſecution of public crimes was conſidered as a duty; and the character of an informer, bringing to light what offended the commonwealth, though in ſome inſtances invidious, was not reckoned diſhonourable [7]. In this character the moſt reſpectable and popular citizens ſometimes braved the reſentment of the moſt powerful offenders, or, when engaged in private enmities, ſought their revenge, without incurring any diſhonour as informers, by raiſing proſecutions on a public account [8].

The mere permiſſion, however, to become a public accuſer, and the credit annexed to this character, were not, in all caſes, ſufficient to obtain proſecutions, or to prevail upon perſons, not called upon by ſome material intereſt, to engage in ſo arduous and often ſo dangerous a taſk, as that of urging to juſtice offenders, who were powerfully ſupported by their fortunes, their rank, or the number of their adherents and friends. In the latter times of the republic, therefore, as the ardour of zeal for the commonwealth was ſuppoſed to wax cold, and motives of ambition and intereſt were required in aid of public virtue; it was enacted, That whoever convicted a perſon of any public crime, incurring degradation or forfeiture, ſhould be intitled to ſucceed to the

[6] Public crimes.

[7] Private crimes or offences could not be proſecuted by any perſon beſides the party aggrieved, or ſome perſon having an intereſt in the caſe.

[8] Plutarch. in Lucullo, initio.

dignity,

dignity, whether of Citizen, Knight, or Senator, from which the criminal was degraded. And leſt even this conſideration ſhould not be ſufficient to excite proſecutors, it was enacted, That a fourth part of the eſtate of the perſon convicted ſhould be joined to the reward.

The office of an accuſer, ſupported by a pure concern for the public ſafety, was commendable; but proceeding, in any degree, upon mercenary motives, even under the republic, when the cauſe to be ſupported was the majeſty of the State itſelf, muſt have become, in a high degree, odious and contemptible; but under the preſent government, when the object of the law, as well as the motive for the application of it, were ſo much changed, the character of a proſecutor, though diſguiſed under the antient forms and titles, was, in the higheſt degree, vile and deteſtable.

Under the eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus, the idea of majeſty was transferred from the State itſelf to the emperor; and the principal object of the law being to guard his perſon, not only his ſafety and the authority of his government, but his moſt private concerns, made a part in the majeſty which was to be preſerved. Whatever implied diſreſpect, whatever alarmed his jealouſy, or interfered with his caprice, even intrigues of debauch with women of his family, were conſtructed as treaſon. Under a continuation of this government, the evil was inflamed by the pretended zeal of ſpies and informers, who, partly to pay their court, and partly to merit the rewards which were promiſed from the confiſcation of eſtates, endeavoured to keep on foot a continual inquiſition, in which they brought to trial the moſt trivial indiſcretions, as well as more real offences, againſt the perſon, authority, or dignity of the prince. The ſwarms of ſuch perſons who haunted the ſteps of the unwary, and filled the Senate and the courts of juſtice with cruel or frivolous proſecutions; in which, by intereſting the paſſions of the emperor, they endeavoured

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voured to make him a party, was one of the moſt grievous circumſtances attending the late revolution of government.

Tiberius, notwithſtanding this tendency of the eſtabliſhment to which he ſucceeded, and his own temper, which was ſufficiently prompt and ſanguinary in preventing attempts on his perſon, or on his government, had the honour, during the firſt years of his reign, in ſome meaſure, to withſtand this torrent, and to treat many frivolous accuſations with a proper degree of contempt. A Senator of the name of Falenius, being accuſed of having included, with other furniture in the ſale of his houſe, a ſtatue of Auguſtus[9]; another, of the name of Rubrius, being accuſed of having taken a falſe oath by the name of Auguſtus; and Granius Marcellus being accuſed of having taken the head from a ſtatue of that prince, in order to ſubſtitute a head of Tiberius in place of it, a manner of paying his court rather ridiculous than criminal; in theſe and other inſtances of the ſame kind, Tiberius either took no part, or gave his inſtructions to the Senate in very liberal and manly terms. On the ſubject of the proſecution that was raiſed againſt Falenius, "My father," he ſaid, "was deified, that his divinity might be a ſafeguard and a protec-"tion, not a ſnare to the People. His image may, no doubt, be "included, with thoſe of the other gods, as part in the furniture of a "houſe that is ſold." With reſpect to the ſuppoſed perjury of Rubrius, he obſerved, "That if any one ſwear, and is perjured, the crime is "the ſame, whoever be the God whoſe name is profaned. Au-"guſtus is no more to be regarded, in this matter, than Jupiter; "and either of theſe Gods, if offended, can avenge himſelf[10]." The

[9] It is ſufficiently known, that, in the heathen mythology, a place among the Gods was ſometimes conferred on mortal men; that an apotheoſis was little more than canonization is in later times; and that this honour having been conferred on Auguſtus, his name and his ſtatue were ranked among thoſe of the Gods.

[10] Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ.

third offence, or the ſhifting of heads from one ſtatue to another [11], being conſidered as a mockery of that adulation which was ſo eaſily transferred from one to another in the ſucceſſion of princes, and as ſome degree of ridicule on the prince himſelf, was not ſo eaſily forgiven; though, for the preſent, overlooked, it was reſerved as a ſubject of future reſentment.

To whatever motive we aſcribe a conduct ſo popular, and in many particulars ſo worthy of empire, it is obſerved, that its effects on the minds of the People were not ſuch as might have been expected, and did not procure to the emperor the favourable opinion or credit to which he aſpired. His manner, even when he affected humanity and condeſcenſion, was ungracious and alarming; and, notwithſtanding any appearances to the contrary, his real character was ſuppoſed to be malicious and cruel. It is ſaid, that in the midſt of the hypocriſy and diſſimulation by which he had endeavoured to diſguiſe himſelf before his acceſſion, he made ſome ſlips which betrayed the reality of this diſpoſition; and that he had been ſurpriſed into acts of inſolence and ſeverity, in which, by mixing deriſion and ſarcaſm with cruelty, he had given the ſtrongeſt proofs of a mercileſs nature. For the preſent it was obſerved, that his overacting the part of popularity, the ridiculous tyranny he exerciſed over the Senate in requiring at once the affectation of freedom and the groſſeſt ſervility; that the farce of affecting reluctance in accepting of a government which he had previouſly ſecured with the greateſt care; the ridicule of dividing in the Senate, or giving his vote with the minority, when a reſolution was to be taken in favour of himſelf, ſerved to join mockery and inſult to the weight of his uſurpation; that even his affectation of popularity, for the moſt part, encreaſed the terrors of his government; that his preſence in the courts of juſtice took

[11] Tacit. lib. i. c. 73.

away

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away all freedom of judgment; and that the diſcretionary power which he aſſumed, of mitigating or reverſing ſentences, and of diſpenſing with laws, under pretence of correcting their general tendency by ſeaſonable exceptions, only ſerved to fruſtrate the pretenſions to civil government, which, in imitation of Auguſtus, he ſtill affected to preſerve.

But in whatever ſenſe the favourable appearances, which preſented themſelves in the beginning of this reign, were to be interpreted, they were no more than temporary, and, in the manners of this prince, gave way to the growing aſperity of age, or to the preſumption which took place in his mind, upon the removal of a perſon whom he conſidered as a dangerous rival, and who, in caſe of any public diſcontent, might have been made the inſtrument of overturning his governmet.

Soon after the death of Germanicus, the temper of Tiberius, which had probably gained ſtrength from reſtraint, broke forth in many cruel and alarming effects. His vigilance, hitherto limited to one object, and his jealouſy, directed againſt a ſingle perſon, now found a multiplicity of ſubjects on which, with leſs diſguiſe or reſerve, to exert their force.

Among the particulars in which the emperor, in the firſt period of his reign, impoſed the greateſt violence on his own diſpoſition, we may reckon the openneſs and acceſſibility which, with a temper naturally dark and reſerved, he affected to maintain with the People; and one of the principal circumſtances, probably, in which he propoſed to indulge himſelf, on his being relieved from his fears of Germanicus, was in retiring from the public view, and in eluding the obſervation of perſons whom he conſidered as ſpies on his actions. In the eighth year of his reign, and in the ſecond year after the death of Germanicus, having aſſociated his ſon Druſus with himſelf in the Conſulate, and leaving him in the adminiſtration of affairs in the city,

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he withdrew for ſome time into Campania, meditating, as Tacitus obſerves, a more entire and continued rètreat. During the two firſt years after his acceſſion he had confined himſelf to the walls of Rome, and remained in the city, as in the watch-tower, from whence he was to obſerve and prevent all deſigns that might be formed on his government. After thoſe years were paſſed, he made ſome excurſions to Antium [12], and other towns or villages on the ſame coaſt, but never to any greater diſtance. In order, however, that the provincial officers might not think themſelves altogether ſecure from his perſonal inſpection, he frequently, even during this period, affected a purpoſe to viſit the more diſtant parts of the empire; ordered his equipages, placed changes of horſes and carriages, and permitted the uſual ſacrifices to be offered up for his ſafe return; but always, for ſome ſpecious reaſon, delayed the execution of his pretended deſign. After having, in this manner, for ſome time amuſed the world, and, by the repetition of theſe and other artifices, furniſhed a key to the ſecret of his own conduct; his myſteries, for the moſt part, became extremely plain, and his true intentions eaſily perceived, merely becauſe he never ſpoke truth.

But while the Emperor thus endeavoured to debar the People from all acceſs to his perſon, and to ſeclude himſelf from public view, he ſelected, as a proper inſtrument of his power, and, in appearance, as an object of his moſt implicit confidence, Ælius Sejanus, who has been already mentioned, as accompanying his ſon Druſus on his miſſion to the mutinous legions in Panonia. This perſon, ſuppoſed to have no dangerous pretenſions, or though falſe to others, ſuppoſed true to his maſter, he had placed at the head of his guards or Prætorian bands, and diſtinguiſhed him with a degree of affection and confidence hitherto without example in any former part of his

[12] About thirty miles from Rome.

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life. This being the firſt of his intimate connections, whatever may have been its motive, it did not admit of competition or participation, and rendered a perſon, who was dark and impenetrable to every one elſe, open and communicative to this favourite alone.

Sejanus is deſcribed by Tacitus as of a hardy and indefatigable conſtitution of body; of a bold ſpirit and an inſatiable ambition, which he diſguiſed under an affectation of modeſty. He is deſcribed as a perſon poſſeſſed of great art in concealing his own vices, and of an inſidious penetration in prying into thoſe of others; verſatile in his manners, and either careleſs and profuſe, or vigilant and ſevere, as ſuited the occaſion; inſolent to thoſe over whom he had any advantage, but fawning where he was the inferior, or had an intereſt to gain. In his youth he had attached himſelf to Caius Cæſar, the adopted ſon of Auguſtus; and afterwards ſucceeding his own father, in the ſtation which he now occupied at the head of the Prætorian bands, ſeemed to improve the acceſs which this ſituation gave him to the perſon of the emperor, into an aſcendant over his mind.

One of the firſt or moſt obſervable ſigns of the great elevation of Sejanus, was the propoſed marriage of his daughter with the ſon of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus; a perſon, though at this time in a great meaſure neglected at court, yet nearly related to the emperor; and, in the ſequel of events, himſelf deſtined to aſcend the Imperial throne.

Sejanus being thus pointed out as favourite, by a mark of honour which tended to gratify his vanity, he took meaſures, at the ſame time, the moſt efficacious to eſtabliſh his power. For this purpoſe he employed his credit in filling up with his own creatures, as faſt as vacancies happened, the Prætorian bands, the legions, and every civil as well as military department in the State; knowing that where government reſts its authority on principles of reaſon and juſtice, the Civilian, the Senator, and the Stateſman are its principal inſtruments;

inſtruments; but where it is founded intirely on force, its miniſters are ſoldiers of fortune, and its powers reſt chiefly with thoſe military bodies who are in poſſeſſion of the capital, or who ſurround the perſon of the prince. This adventurer, therefore, being already at the head of this powerful department, ſtudied every method to concentrate its force, and to ſecure in his own perſon the direction of it. To this motive is imputed the change which he now made in the manner of diſpoſing of the Prætorian bands. Theſe troops were hitherto quartered on the citizens, or diſtributed in the villages round the walls of the city, apprehending, it is alleged, that they might, in that way of life, imbibe the prejudices of the people, and become part of the families with whom they were mixed, he perſuaded the emperor to detach them from that ſociety; and, under the ordinary pretence of having the cohorts together, and more under the eye of their officers, erected a citadel and barracks for their reception; in this manner eſtabliſhing in Rome itſelf, or contiguous to its walls, a fortreſs from which he could command the city, and employ the profeſſional prejudices of thoſe who occupied this garriſon, moſt effectually againſt every perſon that was ſuppoſed diſaffected to his perſon. In this diſpoſition, whatever may have been the object of it, there is no doubt that the Prætorian bands became more detached from the People, and that the force and preſumption of this formidable body became more tremendous to the other parts of the empire, and even to the emperor himſelf.

As Tiberius ſeemed to ſet no bounds to his confidence in the miniſter, and enabled him to employ all the powers of the empire in ſupport of his own elevation, the jealouſies or reſentments of the favourite became equally fatal with thoſe of his maſter, and being more numerous, involved the government of the emperor in perpetual animoſities, proſecutions, and cruelties, which may have,

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for the preſent, gratified his ſevere and jealous temper, but which were in no way conducive to his intereſt.

Under the influence of this connection, joined to his own diſpoſition, Tiberius gave a ready ear to that numerous tribe of informers, who brought accuſations againſt perſons in any degree obnoxious or unacceptable to himſelf or to his favourite. In this predicament, the deſcendants of the antient nobility, perſons eminent by their birth, popular favour, or perſonal qualities, and conſidered as rivals in the apprehenſion of either, were the principal ſufferers. The perpetual inquiſition to which they were expoſed, and which makes a principal article in the hiſtory of this and ſome of the ſucceeding reigns, muſt, by the frequent repetition of ſimilar examples, become an object of diſguſt, as well as of indignation or pity. And it may perhaps have been true of this emperor, that even his character, though in itſelf ſufficiently odious, may, for ſome time at leaſt, have incurred additional deteſtation, from his having committed his adminiſtration into the hands of a ſervant, who multiplied the errors of his government, or gave them the direction of paſſions more numerous or leſs liberal than even thoſe of the maſter.

As Sejanus was moſt vigilant and jealous in exacting obſervances, it became more dangerous to neglect the attention he required, than even that which was due to the prince. A courtſhip was accordingly paid to him by the retainers of the palace, by the Senate, by the army, and by the People, more aſſiduous than even that which they paid to the emperor. In private, every ſpecies of flattery; in public, honorary decrees, were invented to gratify his vanity. The anniverſary of his birth was joined to the feſtivals of the year. His name was inſerted in the public prayers; and when any deputation was ſent with addreſſes of reſpect to the emperor from the Senate,

from

from the Equeſtrian order, or from any other public deſcription of men, compliments were at the ſame time ſent to his favourite. The effigies of both were carried together among the enſigns of the legions, and their ſtatues were grouped together in the ſtreets. Women of every rank thought themſelves honoured by the addreſſes of this fortunate man, and became the tools of his ambition, or the proſtitutes of his pleaſure. By debauching the wife, he ſometimes obtained intelligence what were the deſigns or ordinary purſuits of the huſband; and by encouraging the zeal of ſpies and informers, who were now become the favourite retainers of the court, he was enabled to pry into the actions of every citizen, and to watch all the ſymptoms of diſaffection to the emperor or to himſelf. Intoxicated with the extraordinary circumſtances of his fortune, it is probable that he thought himſelf placed within reach of the empire, and meaſured his conſequence with that of the perſons who apparently ſtood before him in their pretenſions to this elevation. The preſent emperor himſelf had ſucceeded to the government, not by his birth, but merely by having ſurvived every perſon on whom his predeceſſor could rely for ſupport, or through whom, by any line of inheritance, he could tranſmit his power. Pointed out by mere accident to the choice of Auguſtus, he had been firſt adopted into the family of Cæſar, and afterwards aſſociated in the empire.

Sejanus computed that he himſelf was already poſſeſſed of more favour with the reigning emperor, than Tiberius ever had enjoyed with the perſon to whom he ſucceeded; and that there was nothing in the farther progreſs of his fortune too arduous or difficult for him to undertake. The conduct of the young princes towards him had been provoking, and ſeemed to juſtify his reſentment. They bore with impatience the intruſion of a rival into the emperor's favour. Druſus in particular was frequently heard to complain, that his father had choſen a favourite to ſupplant his own ſon, and had made a

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ſtranger little leſs than a colleague in the empire; that the ſteps which remained for Sejanus to make to this elevation were not ſo many, nor ſo difficult, as thoſe he had already made. "And we muſt rely," he ſaid, "on the *modeſty* of this man for the bounds he may think "proper to ſet to his farther pretenſions."

This favourite had already formed an intrigue with Livia, or Livilla, the ſiſter of Germanicus, married to Druſus. By his intelligence with the wife, he had notice of what paſſed in the converſations of the huſband; and, in concert with this abandoned woman, determined to remove a perſon from whom he had ſo much to fear. They took into their confidence, for this purpoſe, Eudemus a phyſician, who, under pretence of his profeſſion, had a frequent and a ſecret acceſs to Livilla; and, after ſome heſitation, and frequent change of their councils, they found means, by the hands of one Ligdus, a eunuch, to adminiſter poiſon to the prince, of which he died. The cauſe of his death, and the circumſtances of this daring crime, were not known till about eight years afterwards.

In the mean time Sejanus, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, flattered himſelf that he might ſtep into the place of the prince whom he had thus removed out of his way; and, in concert with Livilla, with whom he had already lived in habits of adultery, he waited for a decent interval to propoſe himſelf to the emperor as a huſband for the widow of his ſon.

Tiberius, although he had, by his deceaſed ſon, a grandſon of his own name; yet this young man being ſtill under age, he thought proper, upon the breach which had recently been made in his family, to bring forward the two elder ſons of Germanicus, Nero and Druſus, whom he preſented to the Senate, as the great-grandchildren of Auguſtus, and the future ſupports of the commonwealth. "Theſe," he ſaid, addreſſing himſelf to the young men, "are your fathers. "Such is the condition of your birth, that whatever concerns you, "whether

" whether good or evil, muſt affect the empire." It is however ſingular, that this ſpeech, made in behalf of the ſons of Germanicus, appears to have awakened the jealouſy of the perſon who made it. Obſerving that the audience were moved with theſe expreſſions, and ſuppoſing that the tenderneſs which was ſhewn to the ſons, was a remainder of that popular eſteem which, in the father, had given him ſo much uneaſineſs, he appeared to be ſuddenly embarraſſed; and, as if he had been reproached with intruding himſelf into a ſtation which the world wiſhed to have reſerved for the parent of theſe young men, he proceeded to counteract his own apprehenſions with his uſual affectation of humility and moderation. " I beſeech you," he ſaid to the Senate, " that I may be allowed, at " a proper time, to reſign the empire." And as he was always diſtruſted, and had the worſt conſtruction put on his words, theſe were ſuppoſed to be the expreſſions of mere embarraſſment, and that he was in reality mortified with the demonſtrations of joy which were given on this apparent reſtoration of the family of a favourite prince.

Sejanus, who bore with great impatience the admiſſion of new rivals in the way of his ambition, improved theſe circumſtances in the manner which he knew to be moſt effectual to awaken the emperor's jealouſy, and to inflame the animoſity already ſubſiſting betwixt the empreſs Livia and Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and the mother of theſe young men. The effect of his artifices and inſinuations operating on the diſtruſtful mind of the emperor, firſt appeared in the deſtruction of many perſons who had been attached to Germanicus, and who ſtill adhered to his family; and afterwards in the ruin of Agrippina herſelf, and in the death of the two elder of her ſons.

The paſſions of jealouſy and diſtruſt, by which the mind of Tiberius was ſecretly devoured, but which he had endeavoured to conceal in the former part of his life, inſtead of abating in proportion

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as he became ſecure, only became leſs diſguiſed and more violent in their effects againſt thoſe who happened to be the objects of them. He liſtened without reſerve to every ſpy or informer, and, under the pretence of treaſon, directed proſecutions againſt every perſon in any degree expoſed to ſuſpicion.

Under ſuch proſecutions the accuſed, having no hopes to eſcape from a charge in which the paſſions of the ſovereign were engaged againſt them, endeavoured, for the moſt part, to prevent by a voluntary death the confiſcation of their eſtates. And this direful neceſſity frequently repeated, being imputed to the mercileſs policy or ſuggeſtion of Sejanus, inſtead of drawing upon him public marks of indignation or hatred, greatly increaſed the court which was paid to him, and multiplied the profeſſions of public regard.

The emperor, in the mean time, as he ſought for ſecurity and peace of mind in a quarter in which they ſurely are not to be found, in the deſtruction of the moſt innocent objects of his ſuſpicion, felt his odious paſſion of jealouſy ripen into a general hatred of mankind, with a diſlike, in particular, to thoſe perſons who had been the inſtruments of his diſtruſt, and with an averſion to the very place at which he had multiplied its cruel effects. Conſcious of what he endeavoured to conceal, and of what men were able to penetrate, he was jealous of every prying look, and deteſted every perſon whom he thought qualified to diſtinguiſh truth from appearances. At one time, he received the crowd of informers who haunted his court, as the moſt acceptable members of it; at other times, he abhorred them as perſons who penetrated his character, and who, to their own advantage, and to the diſgrace of his government, were practiſing upon his weakneſs. After having reſided conſtantly in the city for many years, he began to multiply and to prolong his viſits to ſome of his favourite retreats in the country, placed guards wherever he went, to keep the curious multitude at a diſtance, declined

clined the attendance of thoſe who wiſhed to pay their court, and was acceſſible only to his favourite miniſter. CHAP. VI.

Sejanus, ſtill appearing to riſe in the confidence of his maſter on the ruin of every one elſe, ventured, according to the agreement long ſince made with Livilla, to propoſe himſelf to the emperor as ſecond huſband to the widow of his ſon. It was the practice of Tiberius to require, even from perſons who had daily acceſs to him, that every propoſal they made ſhould be put in writing; and it was his practice likewiſe to give anſwers in the ſame form. Sejanus accordingly preſented a memorial to the following purpoſe: "That he "had been ſo long accuſtomed to look up to Auguſtus for pro- "tection, and to Tiberius for every effect of munificence and good- "neſs, that his wiſhes and his prayers were carried to them more "directly than even to the gods themſelves; that the ſplendor of "high fortune had no charms for him; that his delights were in the "cares and toils of a ſoldier ſtationed for the defence of the em- "peror's perſon; that he had nevertheleſs already attained to the "higheſt honours in the alliance of his family with that of Cæſar [13]; "and from thence probably aroſe the farther hopes which he ven- "tured to conceive. Auguſtus, when he deliberated on the "marriage of his daughter, had condeſcended to think of a Roman "knight. If a huſband, therefore, ſhould be thought of for Livilla, "might he not preſume to hope that the emperor would not over- "look a perſon ſo profoundly attached to him, who coveted nothing, "on this occaſion, beſides the honour of being choſen into this "high connection, and who had no ambition beyond the duties of "his truſt as a guard to the ſacred perſon of his maſter. For "himſelf he was willing to periſh whenever the emperor ſhould "ceaſe to protect him; but his family had many enemies, and

[13] The marriage of his ſon with the daughter of Claudius.

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" needed to be raiſed into ſome ſuch place of advantage, where they " might be leſs expoſed to the haughty and imperious inſults of " Agrippina and her offspring "[14]."

In anſwer to this memorial, the emperor acknowledged the merits of his favourite; but did not give him any encouragement on the ſubject of his requeſt. " Princes," he ſaid, " were not, like private " men, at liberty to follow their own inclinations, but muſt conſult " the opinion of the world; and obſerved, that, under this reſtraint, " he muſt, for the preſent, ſuppreſs what he was moſt inclined to " reply. That Livilla might determine for herſelf, whether, having " been the wife of Druſus, ſhe was to accept of a ſecond huſband; " or if ſhe had any doubts in the matter, ſhe might conſult her " mother and her grandmother, fitter counſellors on that occaſion than " he could pretend to be; that the marriage which Sejanus propoſed for " himſelf would not allay the malice of Agrippina, but rather inflame " it, and divide the family of Cæſar into parties; that it would be " impoſſible for him, if he ſhould form this alliance, to remain in " his preſent condition: that Auguſtus, in deliberating on the choice " of a huſband for his own daughter, becauſe he wiſhed for a ſon-in- " law whoſe pretenſions were not likely to diſturb the public peace, " had turned his thoughts on ſome perſons of equeſtrian rank; but " that the example, neverthelefs, was againſt Sejanus; for Auguſtus " did not actually marry his daughter to a Roman knight, but firſt " to Agrippa, and afterwards to himſelf." He concluded with inſinuating that he had other views for his friend; owned that there was nothing too high for his merits; and his opinion in this matter, he ſaid, he ſhould in a proper time make known to the Senate and to the People[15].

[14] Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 39. [15] Ibid. c. 40.

Sejanus

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Sejanus was alarmed by this intricate and ambiguous anſwer, and dreaded a change of his maſter's diſpoſition. He had hitherto excluded every competitor from the emperor's favour; but a temper ſo prone to ſuſpicion, he knew could be eaſily turned againſt him, and would receive encouragement from numbers, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the firſt ſigns of diſtruſt. For theſe reaſons, he is ſaid at this time to have formed the deſign of perſuading Tiberius to remove from the city. When at a diſtance, he truſted that, by means of the guards, who were the bearers of all expreſſes and meſſages, he might be maſter of the emperor's correſpondence, and prevent the acceſs of every ſuſpicious perſon. With this view he exaggerated the troubles to which the ſovereign was expoſed at Rome; moleſted with trifles, and crowded, wherever he went, with multitudes of idle or importunate people; magnifying, at the ſame time, the pleaſures of retirement, where, free from the diſguſt and the avocation of inferior objects, he might beſtow his attention on the conduct and reſult of affairs that were worthy of his notice.

Whatever effect we may ſuppoſe the repreſentations of Sejanus to have had in perſuading the emperor to retire from Rome, it is probable that, in forming this reſolution, ſtill more was owing to his own temper. Though deeply tinctured with pride, the inherent vice of his family[16], Tiberius had not any ſhare of that vanity which leads men to diſplay their fortunes and perſons in the view of the world. Content with the gratification of his appetites, and joining hypocriſy with the worſt ſpecies of ſenſuality, he could ſubmit to obſcurity; and, although the reſources of ſolitude were now diminiſhed by the effects of age, yet a temper become more jealous of the world, and more averſe to its notice, inclined him more to withdraw from the city, and to maintain from a diſtance that watch

[16] Inſita Claudiæ familiæ ſuperbia. TACIT.

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which he had hitherto kept over the actions, words, and even thoughts of its inhabitants. He accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of dedicating in Campania a temple to Jupiter and another to Auguſtus, withdrew from Rome, and after this time, during the remainder of his life, under various pretences, but with continual intimations of his intention to return, abſented himſelf from the city. Having performed the ceremonies for which he had gone to Campania, he paſſed from thence to Caprex, a ſmall iſland under a head-land, which was called the Promontory of Minerva, making one ſide of the Bay of Naples. It is probable that, after mature deliberation, he had fixed on this ſpot as a place of ſecurity and an agreeable retreat. It was covered by the high lands of Minerva from the north-eaſt winds, and was open to breezes from the ſea on the ſouth-weſt. It was acceſſible only to very ſmall veſſels, and this only at a ſingle place. The ſeas were open to his ſcouts, and no ſail could approach without his knowledge and permiſſion. In this receſſion it appears, that he divided the guards, having one part in the iſland for the defence of his perſon, and the other at Rome, to enforce the mandates of his government.

Among the Romans who were admitted into this retreat are mentioned Sejanus, from whom the emperor was ſtill inſeparable, Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight, and Cocceius Nerva [17], a Senator of great dignity, who, poſſeſſing much knowledge in the laws and conſtitutions of the commonwealth, was ſtill acceptable, or even neceſſary in the councils of a prince, who, except where his own paſſions were concerned, ſtill wiſhed to be reaſonable and juſt. This perſon, however, from whatever cauſe, ſoon after ended his days on this iſland by a voluntary death.

[17] Tacit Annal. lib. iv. c. 58.

Tiberius,

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Tiberius, in the latter part of his life, admitted likewiſe into his privacy at Capreæ, Caius, the third ſon of Germanicus, better known by the name of Caligula. The ſociety, however, in which he delighted moſt, was made up chiefly of Greeks, profeſſed men of letters, but more eminent as flatterers and miniſters of pleaſure. For ſuch men he had no reſpect, but ſuffered them to amuſe him with their ſpeculations, or rather with a kind of literary buffoonery, in diſcuſſing ludicrous queſtions which he was pleaſed to propoſe; ſuch as, Who was the mother of Hecuba, and what ſpecies of muſic was ſung by the Syrens[15]? Theſe literary buffoons, however, no leſs than the objects of his political jealouſy, experienced occaſionally the effects of his capricious diſguſts. One of them was baniſhed to the iſland Cynaria for hinting a joke on the Doric accent, which the emperor had acquired at Rhodes in his pronunciation of Greek. Another, having found out that the emperor read books every morning, out of which he propoſed his queſtions at night; and obſerving the book which the emperor had been reading, came ſo well prepared to anſwer every queſtion, that his trick was ſuſpected. He was baniſhed from the emperor's company, and afterwards, by cruel uſage, induced to lay violent hands on himſelf.

Were it eſtabliſhed that ignominy could have no effect, nor the odious aſpect of vice deter mankind from yielding to the vile conſiderations that lead to the practice of it, there would be no apology for moleſting the world with many particulars, either of the paſt or ſubſequent part of this deteſtable reign. But it is likely that ingenuous minds may arrive at what is juſt, by deſiring to ſhun what is odious and vile, no leſs than by admiring and aiming at what is noble and worthy. Certain follies and vices ſometimes gain ſtrength from the faſhion and the example of perſons in high ſtation. But it is

[15] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 70.

eſtabliſhed

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eſtabliſhed by the feelings of mankind through every age, that malice, jealouſy, and cruelty, can receive no luſtre even from the purple and the throne of Cæſar, and Tiberius himſelf, conſidered as the monument of an infamy to be ſhunned, may be a teacher of humanity and of wiſdom not inferior to Trajan or Aurelius.

This tyrant, though now withdrawn from the reſentment of thoſe he injured, did not ſuffer his vigilant jealouſy to ſleep over the rumours and reports of his informers and ſpies, but rather, with a more open and unguarded ſeverity, watched over crimes which had no exiſtence but in his own imagination, or in his remembrance of the countenance and aſpect of the perſons he diſliked. In his preſent retreat, he ſeemed to multiply the objects of his hatred, in proportion as he himſelf was ſecure; and in order to compenſate the diſtance to which he was removed, employed a proportional ſpeed and deciſion to ſurpriſe, and to prevent thoſe who were ſuſpected of any deſigns againſt him. From Capreæ, his mandates, for the moſt part, were carried to the Senate, and to the military officers at Rome, not as complaints againſt the ſuppoſed offender, or as inſtructions to the magiſtrate to make trial or inquiry into the guilt of the accuſed, but as warrants for their immediate execution.

Agrippina and her ſons, with their adherents, and thoſe of Germanicus, were principal objects of the preſent Emperor's animoſity and cruel diſlike. This family being high in the favour of the People, he fancied that the young men might not be diſpoſed to defer the completion of their hopes, until a natural event had beſtowed a ſucceſſion, which a daring attempt might accelerate. Nero and Druſus, the two elder ſons of this family, having, without any authority from the Emperor, been included by the Senate in the forms of public prayer, their names were again expunged by his order, and with an admonition to the Senate, not to inflame the ambition of youth with premature and exorbitant honours.

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This forward attempt to place the ſons of Germanicus on the ſteps of the throne, was ſuppoſed to procced from the ambition of their mother Agrippina, who appearing to carry in her high looks and vehement temper the pretenſions of the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, and the mother of future Emperors, ever ſeemed to reproach Tiberius with having uſurped, and with continuing to poſſeſs, what was due to herſelf and to her children. Sejanus did not neglect to cultivate the animoſity of either party. He had informations conveyed to Agrippina, of a deſign that was hatching at Capreæ againſt her life, and excited her by theſe means to give the Emperor provoking marks of her caution and diſtruſt, which were eaſily interpreted as the ſymptoms of a guilty mind in herſelf, and haſtened the preventions on his part, which he thought proper to employ againſt her.

As mutual provocations had paſſed between Agrippina and the Emperor before his departure from Rome, and as ſhe was become a principal object of his diſlike, it is extremely probable that he had then reſolved upon the ruin of her family, at leaſt upon her own; and that he took his ſtation at Capreæ for the more ſafe execution of an unpopular act, which might occaſion ſome tumult in the city, or even a defection of the army. He proceeded, however, by degrees in the execution of his purpoſe, and before his departure from Rome, had made a trial of his power againſt ſome of her relations and friends. Under this deſcription, he had ordered the execution of Soſia Galla and Claudia Pulchra, two women of noble birth, who were related to her by blood, and much in her confidence.

Upon occaſion of the laſt of theſe executions, Agrippina, who conſidered herſelf as aimed at in this cruel action, ventured, with a vehemence and impetuoſity which made part of her character, to reproach the Emperor with his tyranny, accoſting him to this purpoſe, as he was engaged in his devotions at the ſhrine of Auguſtus: "It ill becomes a perſon," ſhe ſaid, "who affects to worſhip the

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" parent, to practiſe the ruin of his offspring. The ſpirit of him " you adore, is not transferred into the inanimate marble which you " worſhip, but into his living poſterity whom you oppreſs, and " whom you cauſe to live in continual mourning, and in ſorrow. " Pulchra muſt periſh now for the ſame reaſon that was formerly " fatal to Soſia, for her being the unhappy relation and friend of " thoſe you are determined to ruin." Tiberius replied in a Greek quotation, implying *that ſhe was hurt, becauſe ſhe was not allowed to reign*[a]; and in theſe words, contrary to his uſual diſſimulation, betrayed the rancour of his mind[b].

After the retreat of Tiberius to Capreæ, Sejanus, to gratify the paſſions of his maſter, and to make way for his own ambition, continued his practices againſt the family of Germanicus. He had ſpies placed about them, and received frequent informations, in writing, of what paſſed in their company. He had an account of all the actions and words of Nero, the eldeſt of the two ſons from Julia Druſilla, the wife of this young man, who was engaged by her mother Livilla to betray her huſband. He took meaſures to provoke both the brothers to angry and unguarded expreſſions, and had theſe effects of his own provocations carefully reported to the Emperor. He had emiſſaries, who inſinuating themſelves into the favour and confidence of theſe young men, urged them to raſh and deſperate reſolutions; ſuch as that of calling upon the armies in Germany to ſupport their rights, of taking refuge at the ſhrine of Auguſtus, and of appealing to the People. When theſe emiſſaries could not actually engage the perſons againſt whom they were employed in the crimes they ſuggeſted, they had inſtructions to accuſe them to the Emperor of having deliberated on ſuch dangerous projects.

[a] Ideo læsi, quia non regnaret.

[b] Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 52.

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While the ſons of Agrippina were thus ſurrounded with ſnares, their moſt faithful retainers and friends were expoſed to the ſame dangers, or actually fell under the hands of the executioner. Among theſe, Titius Sabinus had been diſtinguiſhed by his affection to Germanicus, and remained ſtill attached to his family. He had been, upon this account, an object of the Emperor's averſion, and likely to ſuffer under the firſt plauſible pretence that could be found againſt him. Being ſelected, ſoon after the retreat of Tiberius, by the ſagacity of thoſe who wiſhed to pay their court, as a proper object on whom to diſplay their zeal, he was attacked at once by four perſons of Senatorian rank, Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Politius Rufus, and M. Oppius, all of them already promoted to the dignity of Prætor, and now aſpiring to that of Conſul. They agreed to pay their court, by ſome notable ſervice, to the prince and his favourite. The firſt undertook, by inſinuating himſelf into the confidence of Sabinus, to betray him into ſome criminal action or expreſſion. The other three were to be placed within hearing of what ſhould paſs, in order to be cited as witneſſes.

A ſnare ſo artfully laid could ſcarcely be avoided. The injured, wherever they think themſelves ſafe, are apt to complain; and Sabinus, finding that his faithful attachment to the family of his late friend was warmly applauded by Latiaris, unwarily joined with the traitor in lamenting the iniquity of the times, and the cruelty of Sejanus and Tiberius. Converſations to this purpoſe being repeated at ſome ſuppoſed confidential interviews; but in the hearing of the other three, who were poſted as witneſſes, it ſoon appeared, that there was ſufficient matter againſt Sabinus; and the information was conveyed to the Emperor.

The informers, as a ſpecimen both of their zeal and of their ability, gave a particular account of their conduct in bringing the treaſonable thoughts of Sabinus to light. The information was applauded by the Emperor, tranſmitted to the Senate, and by them

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conſidered as a warrant for the immediate death of the accuſed. Being found by the officers, commiſſioned to ſeize him, paying his devotion at ſome public altar, he was dragged from thence to immediate execution. The particulars of the detection were publiſhed, in order to ſhew with what zeal the Emperor was ſerved, and in order to reſtrain the diſaffected, by a mutual diſtruſt of each other, from entering into any ſuch dangerous councils.

The tragical death of Sabinus, a perſon generally loved and reſpected; his being dragged by the executioner through the ſtreets at noon-day in ſight of the People, ſpread a general conſternation in the city. All orders of men, under their firſt impreſſions, deſerted the public places; but preſently recollecting that their flight might be imputed to a participation of guilt, or at leaſt to ſome degree of ſympathy with the perſon who ſuffered, they immediately returned to the places of public reſort, and affected their uſual eaſe and tranquillity. But from thenceforward, for ſome time, it was obſerved, that a melancholy ſilence took place, even in the moſt ſecret converſations of relations and intimate companions, who, from this example, had learned to diſtruſt each other.

Tiberius, upon receiving the report of Sabinus's execution, thanked the Senate for the juſtice they had done on this enemy of the commonwealth, and mentioned a danger to which his perſon was ſtill expoſed from other enemies, more formidable than thoſe they had already deſtroyed. In this ominous inſinuation, he was ſuppoſed to point at Agrippina and her ſons. Aſinius Gallus ventured to call for an explanation, by moving the Senate to addreſs the Emperor, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to make known the object of his apprehenſions, and that he would accept of their ſervices in the defence of his perſon.

Gallus had married Vipſania, from whom Tiberius was ſeparated, when his marriage with Julia was determined. By this alliance, he became

came the relation of Agrippina[20]; and, what was ſtill more dangerous, had preſumed to ſucceed the Emperor himſelf in a connection, of which he ſtill was envious and jealous. This circumſtance rendered him, to the dark and vindictive mind of Tiberius, an object of deliberate malice. When his motion to addreſs the Emperor for an explanation of his fears was reported at court, it was conſidered as a ſaucy attempt to penetrate the ſecrets of government, as a contempt of authority, and a dangerous attack upon the majeſty of the prince.

Tiberius would have ſeized this opportunity to execute his revenge againſt Gallus, if he had not been diverted from it by Sejanus himſelf, who wiſhed rather to keep his mind intent on the deſtruction of Agrippina and her two eldeſt ſons, who were equally objects of jealouſy to the miniſter as to the Emperor.

Such were the affairs which ſucceeded in the State, to the great political queſtions that formerly uſed to divide the Senate and the People; and as the event of theſe affairs turned upon the caprice of individuals, they were very much affected by any alterations which happened at court. It being now the fourth year after the retreat of the Emperor to Capreæ, a conſiderable change took place in the death of Livia Auguſta, who, by her firſt marriage, was the mother of Tiberius, and by her ſecond, the widow of Auguſtus, by whom ſhe had no children. She appears to have been a woman of conſummate addreſs. According to Tacitus, a fond and partial mother, an obſequious wife, and uniting, in her own character, the abilities of her huſband, with the duplicity of her ſon. Being aſked, by what arts ſhe had kept her place ſo long in the confidence of Auguſtus? "By "the moſt ſcrupulous virtue," ſhe ſaid; "by implicit obedience; "by not meddling in affairs of ſtate; by overlooking his intrigues "with other women[21]."

[20] Vipſania was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage, and conſequently the half ſiſter of Agrippina.

[21] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lviii. c. 2.

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The authority of Livia had been a conſiderable reſtraint on the temper of her ſon; and being exerted to thwart him on ſome occaſions, had contributed to the reſolution he took of retiring from Rome. Both the mother and the ſon had their jealouſies and their reſentments; but as they ſeldom fixed on the ſame objects, ſuch as were perſecuted by the one, ſometimes found a refuge with the other. They concurred in their averſion to Agrippina, but might have been divided in their inclinations towards her children. Livia, tainted with the rancour of a ſtepmother [22], and incited by perſonal jealouſies, ever ſaw in the perſon of Agrippina an air of ſuperiority which ſeemed to reproach her as the wife of Nero, and but an intruder into the family of Cæſar. With reſpect to the widow of Germanicus, therefore, ſhe was probably more implacable even than the Emperor; but with reſpect to his children, theſe being deſcended of herſelf, it may be ſuppoſed that ſhe could not poſſibly adopt the paſſions of Sejanus to their prejudice, nor wiſh to remove them, in order to make way for the ambition of a ſtranger. The death of Livia was accordingly to thoſe young men a fatal circumſtance, and facilitated the execution of the deſigns, which the Emperor or his favourite had formed againſt them. Soon after the funeral rites were performed, the ſtorm which had been long impending over them accordingly broke out. A letter from the Emperor was preſented to the Senate, accuſing Agrippina, and Nero the eldeſt of her ſons, not of any plot or conſpiracy againſt the State, or of any breach of the public peace, but charging the young man with lewdneſs, and the mother with haughty looks, and a ſtubborn heart.

This letter was received in the Senate with ſurpriſe. After ſome interval of conſternation and ſilence, a motion was made to proceed in the matter to which it referred; but there being no ſpecific charge,

[22] Novercalibus odiis. TACIT.

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and no inſtructions to form a proſecution, it was obſerved, that the Emperor might have given way to his diſpleaſure in angry expreſſions, without intending any further cenſure or judicial ſeverities. Junius Ruſticus, who had been appointed by Tiberius clerk or ſecretary of the Senate, ventured to adviſe a delay, in order that the Emperor might have time to reconſider the ſubject, and to make the Senate acquainted with his real intentions.

In the mean time, the purport of this letter was rumoured abroad, and the Senate was beſet with multitudes of the People, who, carrying the effigies of Agrippina and her ſon, exclaimed that the letter in queſtion muſt have been forged; that it was impoſſible the Emperor could intend the deſtruction of his own family; and, after the Senate broke up, there continued to be handed about in the ſtreets invectives againſt Sejanus, alleged to be the ſpeeches of members in that aſſembly.

When theſe particulars came be known at Capreæ, they were repreſented by Sejanus as an inſult upon the Senate, and as a contempt of the Emperor's authority. Libels, he ſaid, were daringly publiſhed; the people were aſſembled in diſorderly tumults, and nothing was wanting to complete the rebellion, but arms, and the perſonal preſence of thoſe leaders who were already followed in effigy.

Tiberius accordingly renewed his complaint to the Senate, reprimanding them for not having proceeded on his former letter; but inſinuated, that he did not aim at the life of Agrippina, nor at that of her ſon. In this, he ſeemed to require a ſentence of exile or impriſonment; and the members, now as much decided as they had been lately perplexed and irreſolute, were eager to diſtinguiſh their zeal. After four-and-forty elaborate ſpeeches had been delivered, all tending to prove the neceſſity of immediate ſeverities, it was reſolved that Agrippina, with the eldeſt of her ſons, ſhould be baniſhed; the firſt into the iſland of Pandateria, the place where her

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mother, the unhappy Julia, had been confined; and the other to Pontia, another iſland on the ſame coaſt [23]. The younger brothers were overlooked on the preſent occaſion. Druſus, the ſecond, being perſwaded by Sejanus that the removal of his elder brother tended to his own advantage, by opening his way to the empire, took no part in the diſtreſſes of his family. He himſelf, however, was ſoon after put in confinement, and for ſome years kept a priſoner at Rome, in a ſecret receſs of the Emperor's palace.

Tiberius, in ſome inſtances, endeavoured to compenſate the injuſtice which he practiſed againſt one ſet of perſons, by acts of munificence to others, whom he ſelected as objects of his bounty, or who were of too little conſequence to incur his jealouſy. He ſeized an opportunity of this kind, about the time that Agrippina and her ſon experienced his vengeance, by relieving numbers who had ſuffered by a fire which had recently conſumed ſome part of the city, and others, who had ſuffered by the fall of a theatre erected at Fidenæ; a diſaſter, by which, according to Tacitus, about fifty thouſand perſons were killed or hurt. Continuing, however, with reſpect to thoſe who incurred his averſion or his diſtruſt, to exerciſe a cruelty which ſeemed to increaſe with age, or with the conſciouſneſs of his own demerit towards mankind, he proceeded againſt Aſinius Gallus with ſingular marks of deliberate malice; took meaſures to prolong the ſufferings of this favourite victim; wiſhed to witneſs their effects, and to enforce the impreſſion of them with peculiar circumſtances of inſult and mockery. For this purpoſe, he procured a deputation from the Senate to be ſent to Capreæ, and took care that Aſinius Gallus ſhould be one of the deputies. Upon their arrival, he received Gallus in a manner peculiarly gracious, admitted him as a party in all his entertainments, and as an ordinary gueſt at his table;

[23] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 33, 34.

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but having in the mean time ſent a complaint of treaſon againſt him to Rome, and directed that a warrant from the Senate ſhould be ſent to ſeize his perſon, he continued his former behaviour, and detained him at Capreæ, under various pretences of kindneſs, until the warrant of the Senate to ſeize him ſhould arrive. He took care to be preſent when this warrant was executed, affected ſurpriſe, even pretended to be diſtreſſed, and, when the priſoner was removed, gave ſtrict injunctions that no violence ſhould be offered to him, nor any ſentence paſſed againſt him, until he himſelf ſhould return to Rome.

In this ambiguous injunction, Gallus was condemned to a lingering ſtate of ſuſpence, and of ſuffering without the knowledge of his crime, or of the perſon by whom he was accuſed; a ſpecies of refinement on cruelty which Tiberius had lately adopted, and which he ſometimes expreſſed. Having a petition preſented to him, that one of his priſoners might be allowed to die: "I am not," he ſaid, "ſufficiently reconciled to him for that."

While Sejanus was conſidered as the author of moſt of theſe cruel acts, and was accordingly the general object of flattery as well as of terror, he was in reality the dupe of his maſter's cunning, and at this very time was already doomed to deſtruction.

Tiberius, either moved by a mere change of caprice incident to unhappy men, or warned of ſome danger to his own perſon, from the height and from the views to which he had raiſed this favourite, had for ſome time ſecretly reſolved on his ruin; but while he revolved this purpoſe in his own mind, and weighed the dangers to which he might be expoſed in the execution of it, he redoubled the uſual marks of his favour, and in all his diſpatches, in which he mentioned Sejanus to the Senate, deſigned him, *My Sejanus, and the partner of my cares and my labours.*

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The public, as well as Sejanus himſelf, were impoſed upon by theſe appearances. No honour was moved for the Emperor, in which Sejanus was not included. Their ſtatues ſtill continued to be erected together, and were multiplied in every ſtreet; and when the Emperor ſignified his pleaſure that Sejanus ſhould be named to the Conſulate, together with himſelf, the Senate replied, by an act, veſting the prince and his favourite with this dignity for five years.

Hitherto, it is probable that Tiberius, well aware of the vigilance and penetration of his favourite, and of the numerous ſpies he had employed, had not confided his ſecret to any perſon whatever, and wiſhed to remove him from his perſon, before he ventured to proceed any farther in his deſign. For this purpoſe, he had choſen him for his own colleague in the Conſulate of the enſuing year; and, under pretence of delegating to him the whole functions of an office, which the Emperor himſelf could not attend, he ſent him to Rome.

For ſome time after the arrival of Sejanus in the city, the uſual executions for treaſon were continued, and perſons who had incurred the ſuſpicion either of the prince or his miniſter, periſhed with their wives and their children. Many of them, as uſual, to prevent the effects of a formal ſentence, laid violent hands on themſelves, and ſome exhibited this horrid ſpectacle even at the bar of the Senate [24].

While Sejanus thus ſeemed to wield the Imperial power, and to hold the lives of the people at his mercy, he was attended by multitudes, who preſſed to his gate in ſuch numbers, that the court of his palace could ſcarcely receive them. He ſlighted the attentions that were paid to him; but with unwearied jealouſy remarked every appearance of neglect, and doomed to deſtruction perſons who gave

[24] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lviii. c. 4.

any

any ſigns of impatience, under the ſtate of ſervility and debaſement to which they were reduced. CHAP. VI.

In the mean time, Tiberius proceeded with great circumſpection. He had accepted of the Conſulate merely to flatter his miniſter, and to increaſe his ſecurity, in being placed as the colleague of the Emperor in that ſtation. Being to deſtroy him, it was neceſſary that ſome one ſhould be preſent, on whom the dignity of Conſul might devolve. For this reaſon, he diveſted himſelf of the office, and ſubſtituted in his own place C. Memmius Regulus, who, on the firſt of May, was admitted as the colleague of Sejanus. From thenceforward, the conduct of the Emperor threw the favourite himſelf, and the public in general, into great perplexity. In ſome of his letters to the Senate, he ſpoke of his health as declining, and of himſelf as a dying perſon. In his next, he announced his recovery, and a deſign of ſpeedily viſiting the metropolis. He commended Sejanus in one letter, he cenſured him in another; ſometimes favoured none but his partizans and adherents, at other times affected to prefer his rivals. It is poſſible, that in theſe inconſiſtencies, he himſelf actually wavered between hatred and fear; and apprehending the great influence of Sejanus over the Prætorian guards, heſitated in the execution of his purpoſe. It is likewiſe extremely agreeable to his character, to ſuppoſe that he meant, by holding forth ſome ſigns of diſpleaſure, to urge the object of it to ſome act of indiſcretion or inſolence, which could be made the foundation of a plauſible charge againſt him, and that he had ſpies on his conduct to lay hold of any pretence he ſhould furniſh for an impeachment; but that, fearing to drive him to ſome dangerous act of deſpair, he retracted in one meſſage the provocation he had given in a former.

While Sejanus appeared, from ſome circumſtances in the conduct of the Emperor towards him, to be out of favour, he was ſuddenly raiſed to the dignity of Pontiff, together with Caius Cæſar Caligula;

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and thinking this a favourable opportunity to recover his place about the perſon of his maſter; he deſired leave to offer his thanks at Capreæ; but was told that he might ſpare himſelf the trouble, for that the Emperor was ſoon to be at Rome.

To try the effect of a freſh mortification on the temper of this devoted favourite, Caius Cæſar Caligula was declared ſucceſſor in the empire. The popularity of the family of Germanicus, made this declaration be received with univerſal joy; and being joined to other indications, that Sejanus no longer had the excluſive poſſeſſion of the Emperor's favour, greatly diminiſhed the court that was paid to him.

From this time, it is probable that Tiberius took into his confidence Macro, an officer already of high rank in the Prætorian bands, and whom he deſtined to ſucceed Sejanus in the command of that body. With Macro, he concerted the manner of removing this dangerous man, and formed a plan, which was to be entruſted to his execution. Sejanus was to be flattered with new hopes; he was to be ſurpriſed in the Senate, while the guards were to be amuſed with, what was a new circumſtance in this reign, the diſtribution of a donative from the Emperor.

In proceeding to execute this deſign, in a manner which the Emperor choſe from his love of duplicity, or which, from his fear of the troops that were under the command of Sejanus, he thought himſelf obliged to contrive with ſo much circumſpection, he intimated to the Senate, and to Sejanus himſelf, that he ſpeedily meant to veſt him with the character of Tribune, a dignity which rendered the perſon ſacred, and which the Cæſars had in ſome meaſure appropriated to themſelves. While this intimation was ſuppoſed to lull Sejanus in perfect ſecurity, Macro was diſpatched to Rome, and took care to arrive at an hour, when the Senate had been, by order of the Emperor, appointed to aſſemble. He met with Sejanus, juſt as he had poſted

his guard, and was entering at the door of the Senate-houſe; and being aſked, what commands he had from the Emperor, and what letters for himſelf? anſwered, That he had brought his appointment to the Tribunitian power, and was to lay it before the Senate.

Sejanus took his place, with the uſual attendance of perſons who had accompanied him from his own houſe, and had the members of the Senate ſtill crowding around him as uſual, when Macro preſented the mandate of the Emperor, and retired.

This paper was artfully drawn up, to gain time in the reading, and to keep all parties in ſuſpence, while Macro ſhould take his meaſures to ſecure the guards. In the preamble, the name of Sejanus was not at all mentioned; in the ſubſequent parts of the paper, he was ſometimes extolled, and ſometimes cenſured. Other affairs were intermixed with this, and the ſuſpence which ſo long and ſo ſtrange a performance occaſioned in the minds of thoſe who were preſent, amounted to ſome degree of ſtupefaction. But it concluded at laſt with a peremptory charge of treaſon againſt Sejanus; and the crowd of attendants inſtantly withdrew from the Conſul's chair on which he was ſeated. His colleague in office, Regulus, called upon him by name to ſtand up; but ſo much was he diſtracted, and ſo little accuſtomed to this tone of voice, that upon a ſecond call, he ſtarted from his ſeat, and aſked, if the words were addreſſed to him? Surpriſe had diſqualified him to take any vigorous reſolution; and when he began to recollect himſelf, the precautions which had been taken by his enemies, rendered all his endeavours too late.

Macro, as ſoon as he had delivered the Emperor's letter to be read in the Senate, went to the guard which was poſted at the doors, informed them that he brought a donative from the Emperor, which they were then to ſhare with their fellow ſoldiers in the barracks; that for this purpoſe, they were immediately to be relieved by a party

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of the city watch. This being done, he led them to the citadel, or what was called the Camp of the Prætorian bands [25], distributed the Emperor's bounty, and at the ſame time taxed their commander with ingratitude to ſo kind a maſter; intimated his removal, produced his own commiſſion to ſucceed in that important ſtation, and, by his authority, as well as by theſe precautions, prevented any diſturbance among that formidable body of men.

Sejanus being deſerted in the Senate by thoſe who had attended him into the houſe, and who a few moments before preſſed to be firſt in his obſervation, was taken into cuſtody of the party which had relieved his own guard, and was treated as a perſon accuſed of the higheſt crimes. On the firſt motion for a commitment, he was ordered to priſon, and perſons of every deſcription began to give unfeigned or affected demonſtrations of joy. From many who were preſent, the fear that was lately expreſſed in adulation and courtſhip, now burſt forth in reproaches and inſults. In others, who were more nearly connected with the priſoner, or more likely to be involved in his fate, the terror with which they were ſeized, was diſguiſed under the affectation of joy. The populace, as he paſſed through the ſtreets, took their part as uſual in the ſtorm which burſt on this unfortunate man, and, that he might not have the conſolation of paſſing unſeen, tore away the lappet of his gown, with which he endeavoured to cover his face.

On the ſame day, the Senate met again in a temple contiguous to the priſon in which Sejanus was confined, and, without any ſpecific charge or evidence of guilt, gave ſentence of death againſt him, which was accordingly executed. The dead body, as uſual in the caſe of treaſon, being made faſt on a hook, was dragged through the ſtreets, and caſt into the river, where it was thrown up, or continued

[25] Caſtrum Prætorium.

nued afloat during ſome days, under the continual inſults of a multitude of people.

It is not eaſy to determine how far this miniſter was accountable for a tyranny, which occaſioned ſo vehement and ſo general a reſentment. His crimes were undoubtedly great, and the envy of his fortune was not to be aſſwaged by common ſufferings. But as human nature is liable to error in the manner of puniſhing crimes, as well as in the commiſſion of them, the rage which now animated the populace againſt Sejanus, mixed with a ſervile intention to pay their court to the Emperor, led to an action as criminal and more odious than any of which he himſelf had been accuſed or ſuſpected. The children of this unhappy man, a boy and a girl, though too young to partake in his guilt, or to furniſh any ſubject of diſtruſt or of jealouſy to his enemies, were included in the ſame fate with the father: the girl with ſo much innocence, that ſhe often aſked the perſons by whom ſhe was ſeized, what ſhe had done? aſſured them, with an infantine ſimplicity, that ſhe never would do it again; begged that they would not carry her to priſon; ſaid that ſhe never was obſtinate, and that a few ſtrokes of the rod were enough to correct her.

It is ſubjoined to this piteous detail, that, in compliance with a vile ſuperſtition, which the conſideration of innocence could not reſtrain, ſhe was ordered to be raviſhed previous to her execution, becauſe it was ominous of misfortune to inflict the puniſhment of death on a virgin [26]. The bodies of theſe innocents, in the ſame manner with that of their father, were dragged through the ſtreets, and caſt into the river.

It is difficult to account, from any principles of human nature, for acts of ſuch amazing depravity. Tyrants ſeldom exceed the bounds

[26] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lviii. c. 11. Tacit. Annal. lib. v. c. 5.

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of reſentment, jealouſy, or fear; but the vile tools that are procured by ſervility to execute their purpoſe, in order to ingratiate themſelves, often outrun, in their affectation of zeal, what tyranny or cowardice itſelf could not ſuggeſt or perpetrate.

Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and the mother of theſe unhappy children, having firſt diſcloſed the conſpiracy, by which Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, had been poiſoned, laid violent hands on herſelf, and, by the diſcovery ſhe made, ſoon after brought on the ruin of the widow Livilla, with that of the other accomplices in that daring crime.

It was reported, that the anxiety of Tiberius, whether real or affected, was ſuch, during the dependance of his deſign on Sejanus, that he inſtructed Macro, in caſe of any reſiſtance from the guards, to bring forth Druſus, the ſon of Germanicus, then a priſoner in the palace, to aſſemble the citizens againſt them; that he had prepared ſhipping at Capreæ to waft himſelf, in caſe of neceſſity, to ſome of the military ſtations on the frontier; that he had formed a chain of poſts from Rome to the neareſt promontory of Campania, with orders to light fires, and to make other concerted ſignals, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary for him to conſult his ſafety by flight. In his letter to the Senate, in order to make a ſuitable impreſſion of the danger to which he wiſhed the public to believe he was expoſed from the deſigns of Sejanus, he concluded, with expreſſing his wiſhes to be again at Rome; but deſired that the Conſul, who remained at the head of the commonwealth, might come forth with the powers of the republic to conduct him in ſafety [27]. His deſign however having ſucceeded to his wiſhes, Druſus was ſtill retained a priſoner in the palace, and the Conſul being arrived in Campania with his Lictors, to give the Emperor a ſafe conduct to Rome, was every where conſidered as an object of ridicule.

[27] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lviii. c. 13.

After

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After the execution of Sejanus, the city continued in a ferment during many days. The People having been diſpoſed, for ſome time, to impute to the miniſter the ſyſtem of tyranny which had been lately purſued, rejoiced in his fall, applauded the ſeverities which were executed on the partners of his guilt, and willingly pointed out, as accomplices in his crimes, his relations and friends, and all who had ever moved for any of the extravagant honours that were lately beſtowed upon himſelf; but, as in imputing the guilt of many cruel meaſures to Sejanus, they were too favourable to the Emperor, ſo they probably over-rated the influence of the miniſter, who was in fact more the dupe, than the director, of his maſter's deſigns.

As it ſoon after appeared, that the cruel jealouſies of this reign did not terminate with the death of the favourite, the People, as uſual, ran to the oppoſite extreme, conſidered him as a mere inſtrument of his maſter's tyranny, as a perſon employed while his ſervices were convenient, but in the end betrayed with a degree of perfidy, which rendered the cruelty of the tyrant, in that caſe, more odious than even when it was practiſed againſt the moſt innocent ſubjects [28]. So prone are mankind, in particular inſtances, to ſuſpect the falſehood, or to exaggerate the wickedneſs of thoſe, who, by general duplicity and malice, have incurred their deteſtation.

The death of Sejanus was ſo far from introducing any mitigation of the former tyranny, that it rather furniſhed a new ſet of pretences, under which to exert its force. Intimacy with the fallen miniſter, or a ſuppoſed participation of his guilt, involved greater numbers, than had been formerly queſtioned on account of any other ſpecies of treaſon. Perſons of every ſex and of every condition, were caſt indiſcriminately into the ſame priſons; and the time of the Senate was divided between the ordering of executions, and the appointment

[28] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 55.

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pointment of honours, which were decreed to the prince for his vigilance in this matter. The title of Father of his country was again offered to him; additional rejoicings were deviſed for the anniverſary of his birth; a general thankſgiving was appointed to the Gods; and a new ſtatue was to be erected to Liberty. All perſons were forbidden to wear mourning for Sejanus; the anniverſary of his death was to be kept as a feſtival, or celebrated with public entertainments and ſports; and it was reſolved in the Senate, that the extravagant honours ſo profuſely laviſhed on that miniſter, ſhould not be repeated in the caſe of any ſubject whatever.

Theſe decrees, Tiberius, ſo far as they were intended to confer honours on himſelf, rejected with diſdain, and even refuſed to ſee the deputies who were ſeparately ſent from the Senate, from the Equeſtrian order, and from the People, to congratulate him on this occaſion. He deſpiſed the givers too much to be flattered with the gift, and was aware of their duplicity in pretending to offer him praiſe. Under this impreſſion, at one of the laſt times he had attended the Senate in perſon, he was obſerved to leave the aſſembly with ſcorn. *What a collection*, he ſaid, *of willing ſlaves*[29]. There is, it ſeems, a degree of good nature as well as of weakneſs, in wiſhing to be flattered. This prince was equally exempted from both.

The Senate, however, the more they were ſpurned, became the more ſenſible of their own degradation, and only endeavoured to vary the mode of their flattery. As Tiberius ever talked of his approaching return to Rome, and of his intended appearance in the Senate, they paſſed a decree, that twenty of their own number, to be named by the Emperor himſelf, ſhould be armed with ſwords, and ſhould have charge of his ſafety as often as he took his ſeat in their meetings. When this reſolution was intimated to him, he

[29] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lviii. c. 13.

returned thanks for their zeal, and with ſome deriſion deſired to know, Whether this Senatorial guard ſhould be young men or old men? Whether they ſhould continue for life, or be taken in rotation? And whether they ſhould arm only at the door of the Senate-houſe, or paſs in arms through the ſtreets[29]? And concluded with ſaying, That, if his life was worth preſerving, he ſhould think himſelf ſufficiently ſafe, when attended by Macro and ſome Tribunes of his guards, whom he would take the liberty to bring into the Senate.

This reference to the guards had the effect of an admonition, and drew from the Senate an attempt to pay heir court likewiſe to this formidable body of men. Bounties in money and honorary diſtinctions were decreed to them; ſuch as, that the Prætorian ſoldier, at the expiration of the time for which he inliſted, ſhould be allowed a place at the theatre on the bench of the Equeſtrian order. In this, however, the compliment was not more ſucceſsful than it had been in other inſtances. It was even reſented by the emperor as an attempt to ſhare the affection of the troops with himſelf. Junius Gallio, who had made the motion, was ordered into exile, and afterwards committed to priſon in the city. And the Senate, as a laſt effort to pleaſe this froward prince, ſeeing that the project to arm a part of their own number in his defence was not acceptable, reſolved, That every member, in entering the houſe, ſhould be ſearched for concealed weapons, as a precaution for the ſafety of a perſon who probably never meant to intruſt himſelf in their hands[30].

In the midſt of theſe ſervilities, the emperor met with ſome inſtances of a daring petulance, and with ſome even of a noble freedom, which he had the diſcretion to overlook, or to treat with affected reſpect. The defects of his perſon, he being bald, foul-faced, and bent

[29] Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. ii.

[30] Dio. Caſſ. lib. lviii. c. 18.

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with age, were exhibited by actors on the ſtage; and the monſter, ſo repreſented, it was ſaid, practiſed in ſecret the moſt deteſtable vices; alluding to the manner in which the emperor paſſed his time at Capreæ. But with reſpect to ſuch buffooneries, he had the diſcernment to know, that a ſerious attempt to puniſh the authors, would only tend to confirm the application, and to increaſe its effects.

Among the numbers that were queſtioned as partners in the guilt of the late miniſter, and of whom many periſhed by their own hands, or by that of the executioner, Marcus Terentius, a Roman Knight, had the courage to acknowledge his guilt, and pleaded his cauſe in a manner that ſuſpended the proceedings of the Senate againſt him. "It were "ſafer, perhaps, for me," he ſaid, "to deny, than to confeſs, my con-"nection with Sejanus. But whatever may be the event, I muſt "own that I attached myſelf to that miniſter; that I deſired to be "reckoned among his friends, and was proud of this title. In him I "ſaw the firſt officer of the army, the firſt miniſter of the State, and the "colleague of Cæſar; a powerful patron, and an irreſiſtible enemy; "one whoſe favour was preferment and honour, whoſe diſpleaſure "was ruin and diſgrace. It was not for me to penetrate the councils "of my prince, nor to decide on the reaſons of his conduct. It was "my duty to honour whom he honoured; and in this, as well as in "every thing elſe, to acquit myſelf as a faithful ſubject, by a perfect "compliance with my ſovereign's will. Pleaſe to recollect the period "of this miniſter's favour, as well as of his diſgrace. My conduct "in both, and my defence, is the ſame with thoſe of many others. "We adhered to him, while the ſovereign commanded us to do ſo; "we left him the moment he was ſuppoſed to be the enemy of our "prince." Upon this defence, the abſurdity of puniſhing in others an error of which the emperor himſelf had ſet the example, ſuſpended, for a moment, the rage of proſecution; and the priſoner, with conſent of Tiberius, was acquitted.

An

An officer, named Lentulus Gentulicus, then at the head of the legions on the Upper Rhine, being ſome time afterwards accuſed as an accomplice with Sejanus, had the boldneſs to write, that his connection with that miniſter was pointed out to him by the emperor himſelf; that the miſtake was common to both, and that what was deemed innocent in one perſon, ought not to be imputed as a crime to another. "I have hitherto," he ſaid, "been faithful in the diſcharge of my "truſt, and mean to continue ſo; but the firſt attempt to ſuperſede "me, I ſhall conſider as a warning to defend myſelf. Matters, "however, may remain in quiet; I am willing to acknowledge the "emperor ſo long as I remain unmoleſted." Tiberius, now far advanced in years, governing by his reputation, and by the influence of forms eſtabliſhed in the reign of his predeceſſor and his own, did not chooſe to riſk his authority againſt a perſon, who, being at the head of an army, had the courage to hold ſuch language; and affected, from this time forward, to treat Gentulicus with particular marks of favour and reſpect [31].

Others were impriſoned, and carried to execution in troops and companies; and the emperor at laſt, as if tired with the purſuit of offenders in detail, or in ſeparate diviſions, ordered the jails to be cleared by a general execution of all perſons confined as accomplices in the treaſon of Sejanus. In conſequence of this order, numbers of dead bodies of every ſex, age, and condition, were caſt forth into the ſtreets, and lying ſcattered about, or collected in heaps, until they began to corrupt, were thrown into the river [32].

Myſtery and concealment being the favourite arts of Tiberius, as often as he believed himſelf to be obſerved, he became jealous of every prying look, and deteſted ſuch perſons as ſeemed to be qualified to diſtinguiſh truth from appearances. At one time he received in-

[31] Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 30.

[32] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 19.

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formers as the moſt acceptable members of his court; at other times, he appeared to deteſt them as perſons who had detected his vices, and were haſtening to make them known to the world. During the proſecution of his deſign againſt Sejanus, he encouraged his ſpies with additional rewards, and even with public honours. But after he had aſſuaged his paſſion in the blood of ſo many victims, he turned his diſtruſt and averſion againſt the inſtruments of his cruelties, and ordered the city to be cleared of informers by a general ſlaughter.

In one of his letters to the Senate, under the effects of diſguſt and averſion to meaſures which he had purſued for his own ſafety, but which he found to involve him in growing danger and guilt, he betrayed the diſtraction and anguiſh of his mind. "May I periſh," he ſaid, "under evils ſtill worſe than thoſe I endure, if I know what to "write, or what I ſhould not write." Theſe were probably the boils, ulcers, and ſores, on the body of Tiberius, to which Julian alludes [11] in preſenting him among his Cæſars.

In the memoirs which this emperor kept of the tranſactions of his reign, he ſtated the diſgrace and execution of Sejanus, as a puniſhment inflicted on him for his cruelties to the family of Germanicus; and yet theſe cruelties, which were afterwards carried to much greater heights by the emperor himſelf, had been only begun under the influence of that miniſter.

Agrippina, with two of her ſons, Nero and Druſus, had, during the adminiſtration of Sejanus, been taken into cuſtody, or baniſhed to ſome of the iſlands contiguous to the coaſt of Italy; but all of them periſhed after the death of Sejanus, either by the executioner, or by their own hands, urged to deſpair by the indignities they were made to ſuffer.

The mother periſhed in one or other of theſe ways in the iſland Pandateria, the place of her exile; and the eldeſt of her two ſons

[11] Vid. Cæſars of Julian.

was ſtarved to death in one of the ſmall iſlands called Pontiæ, to which he was confined.

The ſecond ſon periſhed in the ſame manner, ſome time afterwards, in a priſon to which he had been committed in the palace. A diary had been kept of all the expreſſions of impatience which, under this confinement, had dropt from him during ſome years; and the reproaches which were extorted from him, by his ſufferings, were ſtated as the crimes for which he ſuffered.

A third ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina, Caius, better known by the name of Caligula, yet remained, to convince the Roman People, that the fond expectations which are formed of princes who die prematurely, are not always well founded. This young man, whether recommended to Tiberius by an early ſympathy of their characters, or merely overlooked by him on account of his youth, not only eſcaped the perſecutions in which his family was involved, but was at laſt embraced by the emperor as a ſupport to his age; and making a part of his court at Capreæ, next to Macro, enjoyed the ſecond place in his favour.

The emperor had a grandſon by birth of the name of Tiberius; but Caius, who was his grandſon by adoption, being elder, was pointed out by this circumſtance of ſeniority, and by the favour which the People ſtill bore to the family of Germanicus, as heir apparent to the empire.

Caius was encouraged by the grandfather, to whom falſehood appeared to be a neceſſary ingredient in every tranſaction, to expect the ſucceſſion, while it was really intended for Tiberius. The firſt, though not qualified by addreſs to extricate himſelf from any difficulties, acted, perhaps from mere inſenſibility or fear, the part which was fitteſt in his place, and which continued to render him ſufferable at the court of Tiberius. He acquieſced in the fate of his mother, and of his brothers, without uttering a ſingle word of impatience

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tience or regret, regulated his own behaviour by the emperor's looks; and whether his countenance were gloomy or gay, formed his own upon the ſame model, carrying, under the aſpect of extreme ſervility, while a ſubject, that deteſtable profligacy which rendered him afterwards ſo cruel a tyrant, and which gave occaſion to the famous ſaying, "That his acceſſion to the empire ſpoilt a good ſlave to make "a deteſtable maſter [34]."

The accounts which are given of the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, have more the appearance of invective than of hiſtory. Even this hateful monſter, it is ſaid, was addicted to pleaſure; but of ſo vile a kind, as to excite deteſtation and loathing, more than to increaſe the indignation which is felt at his cruelties and other crimes. His procurers had authority to employ ſeduction, money, and force; and, in their endeavours to ſupply his caprice, ſpared neither condition nor ſex. It is difficult to conceive, that a world, enlightened by the reaſon and experience of ſo many ages; that citizens, acquainted with the character and the rights tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors; that military men, yet rivalling the reputation of the antient Romans, and having no intereſt in the horrid uſe that was made in the capital of the imperial and military power which they themſelves beſtowed and ſupported; ſhould ſubmit to be commanded for ſo many years by a ſuperannuated monſter, retired from the world, and ſuppoſed to practiſe every ſpecies of private abomination, as well as of public oppreſſion.

In accounting for the patience of the Romans under this odious reign, we may obſerve, that, in the ſenſe of a People who ſtill retained the ferocity of their anceſtors, though poſſeſſed of few of their good qualities, the cruelties which are mentioned had leſs effect than they have on our feelings. They were practiſed chiefly againſt per-

[34] Tacit. Annal. c. 20.

ſons, who, being of the emperor's family, or raiſed by himſelf to be objects of general envy, were eaſily abandoned by the public to his will.

Senators of diſtinction at Rome, having no protection to expect from the populace, by whom they were hated, from the troops who were jealous of them, or from their own order, who were long ſince ſtript of every remnant of real power, were abandoned to the mercy of the tyrant. The followers of his own court at Capreæ, amongſt whom the executioner made a principal perſonage, were ſtill more in his power. They were commonly executed in preſence of the emperor himſelf, who aſſiſted in the refinements of cruelty which were practiſed againſt them. It was a favourite ſport to throw thoſe, whom he doomed to deſtruction, from a precipice into the ſea, where they were received by a party from the galleys, who, with boat-hooks and oars, diſpatched ſuch as were otherwiſe likely to eſcape.

After ſuch an account of the character of this emperor, it is painful, in accounting for the ſucceſs of his government, to acknowledge that he was a man of conſiderable ability; and that, while he indulged his paſſions in the capital, or at his own court, yet in the provinces, where the conſequences of an error might have been fatal or dangerous to his power, he held the reins with a ſteady and a well-directed hand. Having poſſeſſion of the empire by means of the army, he maintained his authority over this order of men by a well-placed application of diſcipline; not by any extraordinary indulgence, or bounty, which often corrupt, and render ungovernable, thoſe whom they are intended to gain. On this ſubject, it is obſerved that he never made any general donation beſide that of doubling the legacy which Auguſtus had bequeathed to the troops; and no particular one, beſides thoſe which he made to the Prætorian bands to ſecure their acquieſcence in the fate of Sejanus; and to the legions of the Eaſt, as a reward for their not having paid, to this favourite, in the height of his

power,

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power, the honours which were done to him by all the other armies of the empire[35]. He preſerved his authority in the provinces by a jealous inſpection of thoſe who were intruſted with the adminiſtration of his affairs; and in this was, no doubt, greatly aſſiſted by his indifference to perſonal friendſhips, which, in princes better diſpoſed than himſelf, have often the effect of pernicious predilections and partialities. He checked all attempts at conſpiracies, by the impreſſion he gave of his vigilance, and by the mutual diſtruſt with which he inſpired his enemies, making their treachery to each other, the road to preferments, honours, and wealth.

The ordinary rotation and ſucceſſion to office and command, which Auguſtus, in continuation of the republican forms, had ſtill maintained, Tiberius, by a very natural tendency of the monarchical ſpirit, in a great meaſure, or entirely, aboliſhed. Such officers as were ſucceſsful in keeping the peace of their provinces, he generally continued for many years, and ſometimes for life. He avoided, as much as poſſible, the neceſſity of employing, at the head of armies, men of enterpriſe, forward ambition, or even ſuperior capacity. He left the diſorders, or troubles, that aroſe in any diſtant province, to the effect of time, rather than be obliged to employ, in repreſſing them, men who were likely to eclipſe his own glory, or to awaken his jealouſy. But as ſuch men were likely ill to endure the ſtate of obſcurity in which they were kept, he ſoothed their diſcontents, ſometimes, by flattering them with extraordinary honours. He named them for ſtations of high command; but ſtill under various pretences detained them at Rome, where they were allowed to appear with the enſigns of their public character, but never to enter on the poſſeſſion of its powers.

[35] In the armies of the Weſt, the effgy of Sejanus was carried with the colours, or enſigns of the legion.

To

CHAP. VI.

To theſe particulars we may join the advantages which Tiberius enjoyed by ſucceeding to Auguſtus, whoſe long and well-regulated government had left, throughout the empire, habits of ſubmiſſion and obedience, which could not be ſhaken by offences committed within the verge of the court, or in the capital, and againſt particular deſcriptions of men, in whom the empire at large took little concern.

The ordinary reſidence of this emperor, during eleven years in the later period of his reign, was in the iſland of Capreæ. This he had choſen as a place of ſecurity againſt any ſudden attempts which might be made on his life. He nevertheleſs paid occaſional viſits to the continent of Italy, and made ſome ſtay at his villas ſituated in different parts of the country. In changing his abode, he kept the city of Rome in continual dread of his approach, ſometimes preſented himſelf in the neighbouring villages, and in the ſuburbs, but never entered the gates. At one time, he came by water to the gardens of the Naumachia, and, feeling himſelf incommoded by the courſe of people, placed guards to keep them at a diſtance, and ſoon after withdrew; at another time, in the laſt years of his reign, he advanced to the ſeventh mile-ſtone, and was in the ſight of the battlements, but proceeded no farther. Being ſenſible of his decline and approaching diſſolution, he undertook theſe journeys to keep the Romans in awe, and to check the hopes they were apt to entertain of an approaching deliverance from his tyranny. From the ſame motives, he prohibited the reſort of the People to ſuppoſed oracles which he knew to be conſulted with reſpect to the proſpect of his own deceaſe, and forbade all intercourſe with aſtrologers and magicians, a claſs of men, in whoſe ſkill he himſelf, though a contemner of the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition, had much faith.

On the approach of death, Tiberius, feeling his ſtrength rapidly decline, ſtrove to amuſe the public with another voyage, in which he

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he once more pretended an intention to viſit Rome; and being attended by Caius, by Macro, and by his uſual retinue of guards and paraſites, he croſſed the bay of Baiæ, to the head-land of Miſenum, where he poſſeſſed a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. At this place one of his phyſicians, under pretence of taking his leave for ſome days, preſſed his hand, and took an opportunity to feel his pulſe. From this ſtolen obſervation, it is ſaid, that he ventured to inform Caius and Macro, that the emperor could not ſurvive many days.

Tiberius being led by ſome appearances to penetrate their thoughts, or wiſhing to conceal the real ſtate of his health, took his place, as uſual, at table, affected to prolong the entertainment, and addreſſed himſelf, at parting, with ſome particular words of attention to every gueſt: but after an effort of this ſort, being retired to his apartment, he fainted away, and lay on his bed for dead. The report immediately ran from one end of the villa to the other. All the officers of the guards in attendance, and all the members and followers of the court, repaired to Caius with congratulations on his ſuppoſed acceſſion to the empire. But while they were thus employed in paying their addreſſes to the ſucceſſor, a ſervant arrived, and, in great conſternation, announced that the emperor was revived, and called for aſſiſtance. The company, in a moment, was diſperſed; and Caius, with extreme terror, ſaw the ruin which threatened him for his premature acceptance of the court that was paid to him. But Macro retained his preſence of mind, and put a ſudden ſtop to the feeble efforts of returning life in Tiberius, by gathering up the coverlet of his bed, ſo as to ſtop his breath until he was ſuffocated.

CHAP. VII.

Succeſſion of Caius to the Empire.——The firſt Appearances of his Reign.——Concluſion of the Hiſtory.——Obſervations on the Sequel.——Acceſſion of the Flavian Family.——Viciſſitudes of Character in the Emperors.——Sources of Degradation in the Imperial Eſtabliſhment.——Its Preſervatives.——Its real and continual, though almoſt inſenſible, Decline.

CHAP. VII.

TIBERIUS died in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign. By this event the Imperial throne, for the firſt time ſince its eſtabliſhment, became actually vacant. Men were left to form their conjectures of what was likely to happen, or, without any eſtabliſhed rule of ſucceſſion, to form their judgment of what was proper to be done on this emergency. Every queſtion relating to the ſucceſſion had been prevented at the demiſe of Auguſtus, by his having aſſociated Tiberius in the government, a precaution by which the ſucceſſor, inſtead of being left to rely on a controvertible title, was put in actual poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty. It is likely that Tiberius would have followed this example, if his grandſon by birth, for whom he intended the empire, had been of a proper age to aſſume the government; but this young man was no more than ſeventeen years of age, while Caius, the grandſon by adoption, was already five-and-twenty, had the better pretenſion, and was ſupported by the favour of the Roman People.

In theſe circumſtances, the dying emperor thought it dangerous to declare for his grandſon; but ſecretly drew up a will in his favour, of which he carefully lodged many copies, while he made the world

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believe, that he intended the ſucceſſion for Caius. In this act of duplicity he had concealed his real intentions, even from Macro, the commander of the Prætorian bands, on whom the execution of his purpoſe chiefly depended; and by theſe means rendered it entirely abortive.

Macro, having been for ſome time paſt in actual concert with Caius on the meaſures that were neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſſion; and both being equally ſurpriſed to find, at the demiſe of Tiberius, a formal conveyance of the ſovereignty in a different channel, their firſt intention was to cancel this deed; but they ſoon found, that the teſtator had made ſo many copies of his will, and lodged them ſo ſecurely, as to render their deſign impracticable. It was determined, therefore, as more adviſeable, to refer the matter to the Senate, and to obtain an act, founded on a ſuppoſed right of ſeniority, preferring Caius to the throne of Cæſar.

By ſuch an acknowledgment of right, the monarchy gained a new advantage, and perhaps one of the greateſt of which it was then ſuſceptible, that ſome rule of inheritance ſhould be followed to prevent the ruinous conteſts which ariſe from an elective or diſputed ſucceſſion, and to give, if poſſible, together with a permanent right of the ſovereign to his high eſtate, a correſponding right of every citizen to his rank, to his privilege, and to his property.

By this declaration in favour of Caius, it ſeemed to be admitted, that men were to look for a ſucceſſor to the empire in the perſon who ſtood foremoſt, by birth or adoption, in the family of Cæſar; and the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy appeared to be complete. The titles of Emperor and Prince[a], or head of the army and of the Senate, under which Auguſtus endeavoured to conceal the extent of his uſurpation, came, in the courſe of his own and the ſucceeding reign, to ſignify what,

[a] Imperator & Princeps.

among

among the designations of sovereignty and imperial power, they now actually import, and what, through a race of men, blessed with virtuous or moderate dispositions, might, as in other instances, have passed by hereditary succession to a very distant posterity; but in the persons who immediately succeeded to the government, the transmission of this inheritance was accompanied with much violence and frequent interruption. CHAP. VII.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment now made in favour of hereditary right, the example of a formal resignation and resumption of the sovereignty, set by Augustus, and repeated by Tiberius, had entailed a kind of farce on the empire, to be acted, not only at the accession of successive masters, but in the same reign, at every period of ten years. At every such period the appointment of an emperor was supposed to be renewed: the occasion was attended with much solemnity, and the celebration of a great festival[2] for the entertainment of the People.

Caius, therefore, while he was far from admitting any doubt of his right to the sovereignty, nevertheless, mimicked the caution or artifice with which Augustus and Tiberius proceeded to assume the reins of government. He repeated the same professions of respect and of zeal for the commonwealth, the same expressions of personal modesty, the same unwillingness to undertake the government, the same reluctant compliance with the pressing requests of the Senate and People, the same affectation of filial piety to his predecessor, and of indulgence or candour to those who had, in any way, obstructed his own advancement. It was become the fashion to affect destroying all papers and records, from which any one could fear to have matter of accusation brought against him; but it was become the practice to preserve them with great care.

[2] The Decennalia.

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While the new emperor paſſed from Miſenum to Rome, he was attended on the highways by incredible numbers of people, who, animated by the affection which they bore to his father Germanicus, and by the hopes of exchanging a cruel and jealous tyrant for a youth of a noble and virtuous extraction, received him with acclamations of joy, calling him their propitious ſtar, the child and the nurſling of the Roman People, and beſtowing upon him every other appellation of fondneſs and reſpect. It is ſcarcely to be doubted, as his mind was then elated with joy, for his deliverance from the inſidious and cruel jealouſy of his predeceſſor, and moved by the affection and cordiality with which his ſucceſſion was acknowledged by all orders of men, that he muſt have felt a real, however temporary, gleam of good will and affection to mankind. When officiouſly told of ſome offences which had been committed againſt his perſon or his pretenſions, he ſaid, "That he had done nothing to merit the hatred of "any one, and ſhould be deaf to the whiſpers of informers or ſpies." Affecting to follow the impulſe of his own filial piety, and to be moved by the affectionate ſympathy of the Roman People, he haſtened to the iſland of Pandateria, where his mother Agrippina had ſuffered ſo long a confinement under the tyranny of Tiberius, raked up the aſhes of her funeral pile, embraced her remains, and ordered them to be carried with great oſtentation to Rome. Although decency required him to obſerve the forms, and to carry the aſpect of mourning for his late adoptive father and predeceſſor, he complied with what he knew to be the wiſhes of the Roman People, affecting to reverſe many orders that were eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration and policy of the preceding reign.

Here then, if not before, we may date the final and irretrievable extinction of the Roman republic, not only in the ſubverſion of its own inſtitutions, and in the actual ſubſtitution of different forms, but in the acknowledgment of a right which made the ſucceſſion to imperial

imperial power hereditary, as well as the extent of it far beyond what was conſiſtent with the prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the Senate and People of Rome. At this termination, therefore, of the Roman republic, agreeably to the deſign of this hiſtory, the narration muſt ceaſe or conclude, with a very general view of what befel the empire in the ſucceſſion of maſters, and in the reſult of its own greatneſs.

Notwithſtanding the favourable appearances which preſented themſelves at the acceſſion of Caius, he not having, either in his underſtanding or diſpoſitions, the permanent foundation of any good character, his perſonal vices ſoon broke out in one of the moſt brutal and ſanguinary tyrannies of which there is any example in the hiſtory of mankind. Having no choice of amuſement above that of the loweſt people, he ſoon plunged, together with them, into every ſpecies of diſſipation and debauchery; remained whole days and nights in the theatres and in the circus, entertained with the fights of gladiators, the baiting of wild beaſts, and all the other ſpecies of ſhows, of which the Romans, once a warlike people, now a corrupted populace, were ſo immoderately fond.

Ambitious citizens under the republic, and even the late emperors, with their court, had occaſionally given their attendance at ſuch entertainments, more to pleaſe the humour of the populace than to gratify their own: but this emperor himſelf, in reſpect to the qualities of his mind, was to be ranked with the loweſt of the vulgar. He conſidered the circus as the principal ſcene of his glory, and the number of ſhows he could procure as the meaſure of his greatneſs. That the ſcenes might not be interrupted, or the ſpectators be obliged to retire to their meals, he fed them in the theatre. He promoted perſons to offices of State, or marked them out for diſgrace or ruin, according to the ardour or indifference which they ſeemed to have for theſe entertainments. In the degree of extravagance to which he carried this matter, he incurred an immoderate expence; and,

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beſides applying to this purpoſe the ordinary revenue of the empire, ſquandered, within the year, a ſaving of about two-and-twenty millions ſterling, left in the treaſury by his predeceſſor.

In the ſequel of theſe vile miſapplications of time, the ſatiety he experienced led him to indulge himſelf in the moſt ſcandalous and offenſive debauch. A ſenſe of the public hatred or contempt which he incurred, galled him with jealouſy and diſtruſt; and theſe paſſions ſoon ripened into a general enmity to mankind. Every ſpecies of brutal indulgence, qualified with the name of pleaſure; deliberate murders, under the pretence of the execution of juſtice, ordered without any formalities of trial, perpetrated in his own preſence, and attended with expreſſions of inſult and ſcorn from himſelf, make up the ſequel of a reign which began with ſome profeſſions and propitious appearances of moderation and regard to the opinion of the world. But the degree to which human nature itſelf was diſgraced and inſulted, in theſe deteſtable abuſes of power, haſtened an attempt to relieve the empire from the dominion of this monſter. He fell in about three years after he began to reign, in one of the paſſages of his own palace, by the hands of Chærea, an officer of his guard, who, without any intention to ſupplant or to ſucceed him in the empire, formed a conſpiracy againſt his life.

The Senate, for a few hours after this event, flattered themſelves in the belief that the government had devolved on themſelves; and Chærea, by whoſe hands the tyrant had fallen, fondly wiſhed for the reſtoration of the republic; but the Prætorian bands thought themſelves intitled to diſpoſe of the empire. Before their officers had taken any meaſures for this purpoſe, a few ſtraggling ſoldiers pervading the courts and receſſes of the palace, ſeized upon Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and uncle of Caligula, who, as a changeling devoid of ordinary underſtanding, had been long neglected or overlooked in the palace. This being the perſon who ſeemed, by his relation

to

to the late emperors, to have the beſt claim to the name and ſucceſſion of the Cæſarian or Claudian families, they raiſed him on their ſhoulders, yet trembling with fear, leſt he ſhould be involved in the fate of his kinſman Caligula, and haſtening with their burden to the fortreſs or barrack, were received by their companions with ſhouts and acclamations, which announced to the Senate and the People that a ſucceſſor was given to the throne of Cæſar.

The inactivity of this new ſovereign might have furniſhed the world with at leaſt an innocent maſter, if his want of capacity could have been ſupplied without committing his power into hands equally diſpoſed to abuſe it with the worſt of his predeceſſors. Fit only to be a pageant in the ceremonies of a court, or a tool to be employed by thoſe who got poſſeſſion of him, he came at laſt into the hands of the ſecond Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and ſiſter of Caligula, who, though his niece, became his wife, and prevailed upon him to adopt the young Domitius Ahenobarbus, her ſon by a former huſband; and by theſe means made way for his ſucceſſion to the empire under the appellation of Nero.

This impetuous, ſevere, and profligate woman, equally ardent in the acquiſition as in the abuſe of power, miſtook, for parental affection, the earneſt paſſion with which ſhe wiſhed to govern in the name of her ſon. Having ability enough, however, where ſhe was not miſled by her paſſions, to diſtinguiſh the proper inſtruments of government, ſhe endeavoured to procure for him, in the tutory of Burhus, who was placed by her means at the head of the Prætorian bands, and of Seneca, who was by her means likewiſe recalled from baniſhment to his place in the Senate, the moſt able or ſpecious direction which the times could afford.

Nero acting for ſome time what Burhus ſuggeſted, and ſpeaking what Seneca dictated, appeared to be a prodigy of wiſdom and ingenuity. But his own perſonal diſpoſition, making its way in a

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little time through the maſk of ſayings and of actions which were not his own, gave ſufficient evidence, that the circumſtance of having been the mere puppet, though actuated by the moſt able and ingenious hands, does not beſtow ingenuity or ability, and that a direction, however wiſe, received from others without diſcernment or knowledge of its value, cannot carry to the mind of thoſe who ſubmit to it the character of wiſdom.

The name of Nero, after the perſon who bore it had, during a few years in the beginning of his reign, been ſuppoſed the model of royal and philoſophic virtue [3], has become proverbial for caprice, folly, brutality, inſolence, and cruelty. To the contempt of his ſubjects he at laſt joined a contempt of that very dignity to which he himſelf was raiſed as ſovereign of ſo great an empire: Having a talent for muſic, he became, or believed himſelf to be, a diſtinguiſhed performer, exhibited his ſkill on the public theatres, and travelled through Greece in the character of an artiſt, to receive the applauſes of a people ſuppoſed to excel in diſcernment and taſte.

The contempt which Nero incurred in quitting the character of Sovereign for that of Muſician, became more fatal to him than the general deteſtation which he had formerly excited. A revolt which took place at firſt in Gaul, was followed by a defection of all the armies of the empire, and reduced him to the neceſſity of quitting, together with his life, a ſituation of which he proved ſo unworthy. Next to the fears which aſſailed him on the proſpect of death, he was moſt affected, it is ſaid, with ſurpriſe, that the world could ſubmit to loſe the hand of ſo great a performer.

Such then, in the firſt period of this monarchy, was the progreſs of a ſovereignty erected by the Cæſars with ſo much violence, bloodſhed, and criminal addreſs. According to our ideas of inheritance,

[3] The quinquennium Neronis, was a proverbial expreſſion for what promiſed well, but turned out otherwiſe.

the

the ſucceſſion did not once take place in the family of the firſt founder, but was pieced out by continual adoptions from the Octavian, the Claudian, and, laſt of all, from the Domitian family.

The reign of Auguſtus has been generally applauded, and may be conſidered as a model for thoſe, who wiſh to govern with the leaſt poſſible oppoſition or obſtruction to their power. It may ſerve likewiſe as a caution to thoſe, who need to be told under what diſguiſe the moſt deteſtable tyranny will ſometimes approach mankind. The wary deſign which marked the character of Auguſtus, was followed by worſe principles in the breaſts of thoſe who ſucceeded him; and the dominion he eſtabliſhed, merely to ſubject the empire to his own power, without any diſpoſition to abuſe it, became, in the ſequel, an inſtrument of the vileſt tyranny, and brought upon the public ſtage of the world actors, whom their diſpoſitions and characters muſt otherwiſe have condemned to obſcurity, or expoſed as a diſgrace and a blemiſh to human nature.

The manners of the Imperial court, and the conduct of ſucceeding emperors, will ſcarcely gain credit with thoſe who eſtimate probabilities from the ſtandard of modern times. But the Romans were capable of much greater extremes than we are acquainted with. They retained, through all the ſteps of the revolution which they had undergone, their ferocity entire, without poſſeſſing, along with it, any of thoſe better qualities, which, under the republic, had directed their courage to noble, at leaſt to great and national, purpoſes.

Auguſtus had eſtabliſhed the military government with great caution, and even affected the appearances of a citizen, while he ſecured all the powers of a maſter. His ſucceſſors retained in public the ſame familiarity of manners, without the ſame guard againſt its abuſes, and affected to be popular in the city and in the camp, without the circumſpection which preſerved the firſt emperor from the

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contagion of mean and degrading examples. The State itſelf was juſt emerged from democracy, in which the pretenſions to equality checked the ordinary uſes which, under monarchies, are made of fortune and ſuperior condition. The diſtinctions of royalty, and with theſe the proprieties of behaviour, in high rank, were unknown. An attempt at elegant magnificence and courtly reſerve, which, in eſtabliſhed monarchies, makes a part of the royal ſtate, and a conſiderable ſupport of its dignity, were avoided in this fallen republic, as more likely to excite envy and hatred, than deference or reſpect.

The Roman emperors, perhaps, in point of expence, both public and private, exceeded every other ſovereign of the world; but their public expences conſiſted in the exhibition of ſhows and entertainments, in which they admitted the meaneſt of the people to partake with themſelves. Their perſonal expences conſiſted not ſo much in the oſtentation of elegance or refined pleaſure, as in a ſerious attempt to improve ſenſuality into a continual ſource of enjoyment; and their pleaſures conſiſted, of conſequence, in the exceſſes of a brutal and retired debauch. This debauch was ſupported by continual endeavours to excite ſatiated appetite, to prolong its gratifications, and to ſupply the defects of mere animal pleaſure, with conceits of fancy and efforts of buffoonery or low humour.

The manners of imperial Rome are thus deſcribed in the remains of a ſatire [4], as elegant in the ſtyle, as it is groſs and diſguſting in the matter, and which we may ſuppoſe to be juſt in the general repreſentation, whatever we may think of its application to any of the princes whoſe names and ſucceſſion have been mentioned [5].

Although it would be abſurd to imagine ſuch a ſatire levelled at the corruptions of a modern court, whoſe principal weakneſs is vanity,

[4] That of Petronius.

[5] Mr. Voltaire has with contempt rejected its ſuppoſed application to the manners of a court.

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and whoſe luxury conſiſts in oſtentation; we muſt not therefore reject every ſuppoſed application of it to the pollutions of a Roman barrack, or, what nearly reſembled a barrack, the receſſes of a Roman palace, where the human blood that was ſhed in ſport, was ſometimes mixed with the wine that was ſpilt in debauch [6]. The repreſentations of Petronius may be applied, in ſome parts, to the court of Tiberius and Claudius, more properly than to that of Caligula or Nero, or may have been a general ſatire levelled at the corruptions of the times, without any ſuch application. But with reſpect to one or other of thoſe emperors, every part in the feaſt of Tremalchio may have been a genuine, though diſguiſed picture.

Even in the court of the ſober Auguſtus, pleaſure was but another name for debauch. Love was no more than the ebullition of temperament, without the allurements of elegance, or the ſeduction of affection or paſſion. In the licence of the ſexes, both of them alike reſorted to the places of public debauch. Women of the higheſt rank affected the manners of proſtitutes, and, to realize the evidence of their victories, collected the ordinary rewards of proſtitution. Such was the debauch for which Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus, was infamous, and in which ſhe exhibited, as has been obſerved, not the weakneſs of a mind miſled by paſſion, or ſeduced by ſome partial affection, but the groſs exceſs of an appetite unacquainted with decency and above reſtraint.

In this ſtate of manners the firſt ſucceſſors of Cæſar, not having the habits of a courtly decorum to preſerve them from the contagion of mean and degrading vices, and not conſidering their own elevation as any other than a mere poſt of advantage, from which they could indulge every caprice with impunity, after a few attempts in the beginning of a reign to prejudice the world in their favour, plunged into every

[6] The Romans had combats of gladiators exhibited while they were at table.

ſpecies

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ſpecies of exceſs, that a vile diſpoſition, ſet free from reſtraint, and exaſperated by the ſenſe of general averſion, could incur. Perſons inclined to this courſe generally proceed in their vices, until they meet with ſome obſtacle which neceſſity or fear preſents to them, and where they meet with no ſuch obſtacle, they preſerve no bounds.

A perfect freedom from all external reſtraint would be ſufficiently dangerous for perſons of the beſt diſpoſitions; but to thoſe who are curſt with the worſt, ſuch a freedom from reſtraint would be accompanied with certain ruin. It is indeed nowhere to be found; but the firſt ſucceſſors of Cæſar flattered themſelves that they had found it; and as they ſupported the firſt offences which they committed againſt the rules of propriety, by ſetting reaſon itſelf and the ſenſe of mankind at defiance, they came to apprehend a ſpecies of pleaſure in braving the deteſtation which they incurred by their infamies[7]. They purſued the firſt ſtrokes of injuſtice and malice by a continual warfare of diſtruſt, prevention, and revenge againſt thoſe to whom they ſuppoſed that their perſons or government were odious; and they perſiſted in this courſe until the extreme itſelf, being what nothing leſs than the poſſeſſion of ſovereign power could ſupport, appeared characteriſtic of empire, and worthy of the deſcendants of Cæſar.

During this unhappy ſucceſſion of Cæſars, the ſupreme power had been, for the moſt part, held or diſpoſed of by the Prætorian bands. Theſe troops being poſted in the capital, overawed the Senate and People, and, though not fit to contend with the legions who were ſtill employed in actual ſervice, they gave poſſeſſion of the empire, at every vacancy, before the armies of the frontier had time to deliberate or to take part in the choice.

This pre-eminence, however, of the Prætorian bands had been impatiently ſuffered by the legions of the Rhine and the Danube.

[7] Magnitudo infamiæ cujus apud prodigos noviſſima voluptas.

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They wiſhed, at the death of Auguſtus, to have given a ſpecimen of their conſequence in naming a ſucceſſor to the empire; but being then over-ruled by the dutiful ſpirit or moderation of Germanicus, they acquieſced in the government of Tiberius, and remained in quiet under all the ſucceſſions which followed; until, being excited by the defection of Gaul, which happened under Nero, and impatient of the mockery of ſovereignty exhibited in the infamies of that unhappy perſon, they entertained, almoſt in every quarter of the empire at once, the project of giving a better and more reſpectable ſovereign to the world.

Within the compaſs of one year and a few months, after it was known that the province of Gaul had revolted from Nero, all the armies from the Rhine and the Danube, from Gaul, Syria, Spain, and Britain, were for their march towards Italy, for the important purpoſe of giving a ſovereign to the empire. And it is remarkable, that this project did not originate with the leaders, or appear to be ſuggeſted by the ambition of generals, but aroſe from a ſpirit of commotion which pervaded the troops.

Every legionary ſoldier, excited by the deſire of rapine, by the proſpect of poſſeſſing the capital, and of rioting in the riches and pleaſures of Italy, conceived the deſign of puſhing forward his general to the head of the empire. They burſt at once from their quarters, and, conſidering themſelves as ſet free from every ſpecies of government, whether civil or military, ſet no bounds to their violence. Augmenting their fury by the conſideration of the puniſhments they incurred, in caſe they ſhould fail in their attempt, they paſſed through every city and province in their way, like a ſtorm that waſtes and deſtroys whatever is oppoſed to its courſe. Within the ſhort period we have mentioned, a motley aſſemblage of provincial troops, dreſſed in the garb of their different countries, with different arms and different languages, mixed with the Roman legions,

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legions, who, now for many years ſtrangers to each other, met on the Po and the Tiber to diſpoſe of the empire. And, in the ſequel of their conteſt, whether as victors or vanquiſhed, whether moved by inſolence or deſpair, did equal execution on the pacific inhabitants.

Theſe troubles, however, ended in the elevation of a great and reſpectable officer [8] to the throne of Cæſar, and in the ſubſtitution of the Flavian family to that of Claudius and of Julius. At the acceſſion of Veſpaſian every army had tried its ſtrength, and competitors from the Court, the Senate, and the Camp had made trial of their fortune. The victors in this conteſt received a willing ſubmiſſion from the pacific inhabitants of the provinces, who were ready to congratulate themſelves on the return of public tranquillity.

Fortunately the firſt emperors of the new family, Veſpaſian himſelf, and the eldeſt of his two ſons [9], come from the ſchool of experience, had learned the value of reaſon, humanity, and juſtice in the government of mankind; and they accordingly exhibited a character which, in ſome of its parts, was ſtill new on the throne of Cæſar: the character of wiſdom, propriety, and humanity, aſſumed, for its own ſake, and without any intention to circumvent the People, or to impoſe upon the world. But the fortunes of this ſecond imperial family, like thoſe of the firſt, ſoon devolved on a [10] perſon equally unfit to ſuſtain them, and equally unfit to be ſuffered by the patience of an abject court or a ſubmiſſive world.

As mankind are known to run, occaſionally, from one extreme to another, the evils which had been experienced in the characters of ſome of the preceding emperors, perhaps helped to direct the armies of the empire, at times, to think of the oppoſite extreme; and they made a compenſation, in ſome of their elections, for the miſchiefs which they had brought upon the world in others.

[8] Veſpaſian. [9] Titus. [10] Domitian.

Amidſt

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Amidſt the variety of examples that were ſet on the imperial throne, different emperors paid unequal degrees of reſpect to the civil forms which were handed down to them from the republic, and which were ſtill retained at leaſt in name. But the characters of ſovereign in the empire, and head of the army, were neceſſarily united in the ſame perſon; and, in proportion as the army itſelf came to be corrupted, the imperial eſtabliſhment ſuffered, not an occaſional and temporary abuſe, but a radical and irrecoverable decline of its character and force.

The Prætorian bands were early debauched by their reſidence in the capital, the principal ſeat of licentiouſneſs; they were inſpired with preſumption from the acceſs which they had to practiſe on the vices of their ſovereign, and they outran all the armies of the empire in profligacy, inſolence, and venality. They were, upon this account, broke or diſbanded with indignation by Galba, the firſt provincial officer who was advanced to the purple; but this reformation only made way for others, who, being placed in the ſame ſchool of diſorder and vice, ſoon equalled their predeceſſors in all the evils which they had brought on the capital, and on the empire.

The contagion of military arrogance gradually ſpread from the barrack or camp of the Prætorian bands, to the legions of the frontier, and, together with the hopes of raiſing a favourite leader to the head of the empire, promiſed indulgence of crimes and exemption from every painful reſtraint. The practice of diſpoſing of the empire was followed by that of ſelling it for pecuniary bounties, and formally capitulating with every new maſter for a relaxation of diſcipline and the impunity of crimes.

In proportion as the character of Roman citizen loſt its conſideration and its conſequence, the name was eaſily communicated to all the ſubjects or natives of any province. But this promiſcuous admiſſion of every ſubject, under the ſame predicament of a Roman

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citizen, instead of raising the provincials to the dignity of Romans, sunk the latter to the level of provincial subjects; extinguished all the sentiments on which the legions of old were wont to value themselves, and, with their loss of self-estimation as Romans, probably diminished the interest they had in the preservation of the Roman name. They became by degrees, and at every succession, more mercenary and venal in the choice of their masters, more brutal in the exercise of their force against their fellow-subjects; and, with a continual degradation from bad to worse, substituted for the order, courage, and discipline of Roman legions, mere ferocity, and a disposition to rapine and mutiny.

In composing such armies, the natives of the more rude and uncultivated provinces took the ascendant over those of the more civilized and pacific; and the empire itself sometimes received its master from its most barbarous extremities, and from the nurseries of brutality, ignorance, and violence.

From such a general tendency to corruption, it is not surprising that an empire, though once of such mighty power, should, in process of time, verge to its ruin; it is rather surprising, that a fabric, mouldering so fast within, should have so long withstood the storm with which it was naturally assailed from abroad. From the accession of Caligula to the admission of Alaric into Rome, was a period of no more than about four hundred years; but from the same Epoch to the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, was a period of one thousand four hundred and sixteen years. So long was it before the lights of civil, political, and military wisdom, erected by the Roman commonwealth, though struck out by the Goths and Vandals in the West, and continually sinking in the East, were entirely extinguished.

The fabric of the empire had many advantages to account for so long a duration, both in the nature of its materials and in the disposition of its parts. The provinces were conveniently situated for

mutual intercourſe and for mutual ſupport; and there was an eaſy acceſs from the ſeat of dominion, to the fartheſt bounds of the empire. The order eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, and confirmed by Tiberius, remained unaltered, even by many of their ſucceſſors. The worſt of the Cæſars ſuffered that order to ſubſiſt in the provinces, and never looked beyond the court and capital for the objects of their jealouſy, and fit ſubjects of tyranny. Even in ſuch hands the engine of empire continued to work, becauſe the maſter neither pretended to underſtand, nor attempted to interpoſe in the operation of its diſtant parts. And the authority of government continued high in the extremities of this vaſt dominion, while it ſunk or was abuſed in the centre.

Valour and diſcipline, the beſt preſervatives of many other valuable qualities, being long in requeſt, though ſometimes impaired in the Roman legions, ſtill formed examples of a noble and heroic virtue, which qualified ſome of thoſe, who attained to the more high and reſpectable ſtations in the military poſſeſſion, to fill with advantage the imperial throne.

The inhabitants of the empire in general were corrected of that ferocity, or reduced from that national ſpirit which renders ſubjects refractory. They were addicted to pacific arts, tractable, and eaſily retained within the bounds of their duty; and they acquieſced in any government, however negligent or incapable. Some of the emperors promoted this orderly and pacific diſpoſition, by the confidence which they taught the ſubject to have in the ſecurity of his perſon and of his property, and by the encouragement which they gave to purſuits and applications which inſpire the love of peace and tranquillity [7].

[7] Veſpaſian gave ſalaries of about 800 l. a-year to maſters of rhetoric at Rome. Marcus Aurelius gave ſalaries to many teachers of philoſophy at Athens. Hadrian eſtabliſhed the School of liberal arts, called the Athenæum. Dio. Caſſ. lib. lxxi. c. 37. Sextus Aurelius Victor de Cæſaribus.

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It may appear ſtrange, but it is true, that even under the government of mere ſoldiers of fortune, the principles of law, founded in the maxims of the republic, though in ſome things perverted to the purpoſes of deſpotic power, was made the object of a ſelect profeſſion, and was ſtudied as a rule of peace and of property. The civil law was thus not only ſuffered to remain in force, but received, from the pleadings of advocates, the deciſions of judges, and the edicts of princes, continual acceſſions of light and authority, which has rendered it the great baſis of juſtice to all the modern nations of Europe.

Philoſophy continued in repute from the times of the republic far down in the empire, and the doctrines of Epicurus, which had prevailed in the later times of the commonwealth, now gave way to thoſe of Zeno and the Stoics. While men had rights to preſerve, and hazardous duties to perform on the public ſcene, they had affected to believe, with Epicurus, that pleaſure was the ſtandard of good and of evil. But now, when the public occupations of ſtate were withheld from them, and when perſonal ſafety was the higheſt object in their view, they returned to the idea, which ſeemed to have inſpired the virtue of ancient times, that men were made happy by what they themſelves were and performed, not by what they poſſeſſed. Under the diſcouragements of many a cruel and oppreſſive reign, men of education and of high deſcent accordingly had recourſe to the philoſophy of Zeno, as to a conſolation and ſupport; and although they were deprived of the opportunity to act upon their own ideas in any diſtinguiſhed ſituation, they gave ſufficient evidence of their ſincerity, in the manly indifference with which they ſometimes incurred the conſequences of their independence and freedom of mind.

From theſe materials, the law was ſometimes furniſhed with practitioners, the Senate with its members, the army with commanders, and the empire itſelf with its head; and the throne of Cæſar, in the

viciſſitudes to which it was expoſed, preſented examples as honourable to human nature in ſome inſtances, as they were degrading and ſhameful in others. In theſe varieties, however, it is no diſparagement to the good, to ſuppoſe that they were not able to compenſate the bad, or to produce effects, to which the greateſt abilities in a few individuals cannot extend.

The wiſdom of Nerva gave riſe to a ſucceſſion, which, in the perſons of Trajan and the Antonines, formed a counterpart to the race of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; and it muſt be admitted, that if a people could be happy by any other virtue than their own, there was a period in the hiſtory of this empire, during which the happineſs of mankind may have been ſuppoſed complete. This however is but a fond and miſtaken apprehenſion. A People may receive protection from the juſtice and humanity of ſingle men; but can receive independence, vigour, and peace of mind only from their own. Even the virtues of this happy ſucceſſion could do no more than diſcontinue, for a while, the former abuſes of power, adminiſtrate juſtice, reſtrain the guilty, and protect the innocent. Many of the evils under which human nature was labouring, ſtill remained without a cure; and the empire, after having in the higheſt degree experienced the effects of wiſdom and goodneſs, was aſſailed anew with all the abuſes of the oppoſite extreme [9].

[9] Theſe extremes ſcarcely gain credit with the modern reader, as they are ſo much beyond what his own experience or obſervation can parallel. Nero ſeems to have been a Demon, and Aurelius a Divinity; and theſe prodigies, whether in the extreme of good or of evil, exhibited, amidſt the ruins of the Roman republic, are no longer to be found. Individuals were then formed on their ſpecific diſpoſitions to wiſdom or folly. In later times, they are more caſt in a general mould, which gives a certain form independent of the materials. Religion, faſhion, and manners preſcribe more of the actions of men, or mark a deeper tract in which men are conſtrained to move.

The maxims of a Chriſtian and a Gentleman, the remains of what men were taught by thoſe maxims in the days of chivalry, pervade every rank, have ſome effect in places of the leaſt reſtraint; and if they do not inſpire decency of character, at leaſt awe the profligate with the fear of contempt, from which even the moſt powerful are not ſecure. Inſomuch, that if human nature wants the force to produce an Aurelius or a Trajan, it is not ſo much expoſed to the infamies of a Domitian or a Nero.

For

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For many ages, nevertheleſs, the frontier continued to be defended and the internal peace of the empire to be tolerably ſecure. Commerce flouriſhed, and the land was cultivated; but theſe were but poor compenſations for the want of that vigour, elevation, and freedom, which periſhed with the Roman republic itſelf, or with the political character of the other nations which had been abſorbed in this ruinous abyſs.

The military and political virtues, which had been exerted in forming this empire, having finiſhed their courſe, a general relaxation enſued, under which, the very forms that were neceſſary for its preſervation were in proceſs of time neglected. As the ſpirit which gave riſe to thoſe forms was gradually ſpent, human nature fell into a retrograde motion, which the virtues of individuals could not ſuſpend; and men, in the application of their faculties even to the moſt ordinary purpoſes of life, ſuffered a ſlow and inſenſible, but almoſt continual, decline.

In this great empire, the fortunes of nations over the more cultivated parts of the earth, being embarked on a ſingle bottom, were expoſed to one common and general wreck. Human nature languiſhed for ſome time under a ſuſpenſion of national exertions, and the monuments of former times were, at laſt, overwhelmed by one general irruption of barbariſm, ſuperſtition, and ignorance. The effects of this irruption conſtitute a mighty chaſm in the tranſition from antient to modern hiſtory, and make it difficult to ſtate the tranſactions and manners of the one, in a way to be read and underſtood by thoſe whoſe habits and ideas are taken intirely from the other.

THE END.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Exhibiting its

COASTS and INTERNAL DIVISIONS

With the Principal

NAVAL and MILITARY STATIONS

under

Augustus

List of the Roman Provinces.

Columns 1st & 2d are those which Augustus reserved to himself; 3d & 4th such as he committed to the Senate; 5th Such as were added to the Empire by Claudius & Trajan; 6th Dependant Kingdoms, Principalitys.

1st SPAIN	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th
GALLICIA	CALESYRIA	AFRICA	CYRENAICA	BRITANNIA.	MAURITANIA
LUSITANIA	PHAENICIA	NUMIDIA	BYTHYNIA	* Added under	THRACIA
CARTHAGENENSIS	CILICIA	ASIA	PONTUS	the Auspices	PALESTINE
TARRACONENSIS	CYPRUS	GRAECIA	SARDINIA	of Claudius	ARABIA
GAUL	EGYPTUS.	DALMATIA	BAETICA.	DACIA	COMMAGENE
NARBONENSIS		MACEDONIA		MESOPOTAMIA	CAPADOCIA.
LUGDUNENSIS		SICILIA		&	
AQUITANIA		CRETA		BABYLON	
CELTICA		LYBIA		by Trajan.	

NB. Augustus afterwards transferred Cyprus to the Senate, and Exchanged the Gallia Narbonensis for Dalmatia.

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J. Bell. Sculp.t

ERRATA.

Page 19, line 19, for *Bæotis* read *Bætis*.
35, —— 25, for *a very diſorderly ſtate* read *in a very diſorderly ſtate*.
75, —— 29, for *in* read *on*.
79, —— 8, for *in* read *on*.
119, —— 20, for *Elia* read *Eleà*.
129, —— 3, for *him* read *them*.
157, —— 13, for *Conſul* read *Prætor*.
241, —— 4, for *his* read *this*.
248, —— 12, for *is an* read *as in*.
258, —— 14, for *upon* read *up on*.
282, —— 22, for *ſeals* read *ſeats*.
289, —— 25, for *temrary* read *temporary*.
321, —— 9, for *for* read *to*.
331, —— 15, for *to authoriſing* read *authoriſing*.
341, —— 12, for *was* read *which was*.
365, —— 23, for *continued* read *continuing*.
388, —— 8, for *times* read *time*.
426, —— 15, inſtead of *expoſed, and the prieſthood; had,* read *expoſed; and the prieſthood had*.
455, —— 24, for *had* read *laid*.

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